

American Quarterly

VOLUME XVI

970-5 SPRING 1964

(4) NUMBER 1

ALAN TRACHTENBERG The Rainbow & the Grid

PHILIP GLEASON The Melting Pot: Symbol of
Fusion or Confusion?

HENRY M. LITTLEFIELD The Wizard of Oz: Parable
on Populism

OTHER CONTRIBUTORS

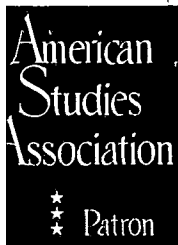
Carolyn Wynne

Robert L. Daniel

James H. Cassedy Cushing Strout K. S. Narayana Rao John Braeman

AMERICAN CALENDAR Newsletter of the American Studies Association

\$1.25 A COPY



INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS
of the AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

1964

ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
CARLETON COLLEGE
CHICO STATE COLLEGE
COLORADO COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR
WOMEN
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
DUKE UNIVERSITY
EASTERN NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
HEIDELBERG COLLEGE
HIRAM COLLEGE

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SIMPSON COLLEGE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
GENESEO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY
TULANE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
RIVERSIDE
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

970.05
AM 35

American Quarterly



Volume XVI SPRING 1964 No. 1

The Rainbow and the Grid 3
ALAN TRACHTENBERG

The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion? 20
PHILIP GLEASON

The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism 47
HENRY M. LITTLEFIELD

Aspects of Space: John Marin and William Faulkner 59
CAROLYN WYNNE

American Influences in the Near East before 1861 72
ROBERT L. DANIEL

Muckraking and Medicine: Samuel Hopkins Adams 85
JAMES H. CASSEDY

NOTES

A Note on Degler, Riesman and Tocqueville 100
CUSHING STROUT

Addendum on Eliot and the *Bhagavad-Gita* 102
K. S. NARAYANA RAO

ESSAY REVIEW

World War One and the Crisis of American Liberty 104
JOHN BRAEMAN

REVIEWS 112

AMERICAN CALENDAR 124

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; in the United States and Canada; \$7.00 in other countries; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 188 High St., Nutley, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1964, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Studies Association

Ralph H. Gabriel, *President*

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Russel B. Nye, *Vice President*

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

E. McClung Fleming, *Treasurer*

WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

Donald N. Koster, *Bibliographer*

ADELPHI COLLEGE

Myron H. Luke, *Acting Bibliographer*

C. W. POST COLLEGE

Robert F. Lucid, *Executive Secretary*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Executive Council

John Q. Anderson

TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY

Bernard Bowron

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Edwin H. Cady

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Wilson Clough

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Hennig Cohen

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

John Hope Franklin

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Norman H. Pearson

YALE UNIVERSITY

David M. Potter

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Arnold Sio

COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Robert E. Spiller

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

Hennig Cohen, *Editor*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Robert E. Spiller, *Chairman*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Editorial Board

Arthur Bestor

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Walter Bezanson

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

David B. Davis

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

John Gerber

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John Higham

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

John Kouwenhoven

BARNARD COLLEGE

Bert J. Loewenberg

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

Leo Marx

AMHERST COLLEGE

William G. McLoughlin

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Henry B. Parkes

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Stow Persons

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John William Ward

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published by the University of Pennsylvania in cooperation with the American Studies Association. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor and be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. No responsibility is taken for injury or loss.

ALAN TRACHTENBERG

Pennsylvania State University

The Rainbow and the Grid

WRITING IN HIS JOURNAL BEFORE 1800, GENERAL JEREMIAH JOHNSON OF Brooklyn noted that "a gentleman of acknowledged ability and good sense" had proposed to erect a bridge across the East River in less than two years. General Johnson himself felt that the project had some merit, but wrote that "the idea has been treated as chimerical from the very magnitude of the design."¹ Nothing more is known about this "chimerical" plan, but the tone of General Johnson's remark is revealing. The "magnitude" of the undertaking gave it a visionary aspect; it would require a bold, imaginative and dedicated builder. If such a bridge would ever arise, it would be a monumental feat. Here indeed was a challenge, not only to American technology, but to American patriotism; through a project of this sort, the new energies of the young nation could show themselves to the world. To span the East River would be more than a physical act; it would be symbolic of national destiny.

It is not surprising that the next proposal for a Brooklyn Bridge should have precisely this lofty tone. It was made in 1811 by a New Yorker, Thomas Pope, in *A Treatise on Bridge Architecture*.² A child of the Enlightenment, Pope made his proposal as the exemplum of a theory of bridge construction; from a comprehensive study of the history of bridge forms, of bridge science, of new world geography, he distilled a method for American bridges. His book is the first historical study of bridges to appear in America, surely an appropriate vehicle for the first recorded plan for what became the New World's greatest bridge.

Like his more famous namesake, Thomas Pope frequently spoke in rhyme. His epigraph blazoned on the title page:

¹ Quoted in D. B. Steinman, *The Builders of the Bridge* (New York, 1945), p. 297. Also see Harold Coffin Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," No. 512 [New York, 1944]), p. 146.

² The full title is, *A Treatise on Bridge Architecture: in which the superior advantages of the Flying Pendant Lever Bridge are fully proved*. (New York, 1811). All page references are to this edition.

Exulting Science now disdains
 The ties of custom's proud controul,
 And breaks the rude and barbarous chains
 That fetter'd down the free-born soul.

Like Jefferson, Pope respected "the ancients," but respected "experience" even more. In a study of the past, he pointed out in his Preface, we discover "those fundamental rules which have, in later times, governed the improvement of every age." But the past cannot answer the questions of the present. There is no standard except "experience," "whereby to resolve or proportionate the formation of any article of convenience, that man by his necessity might be led to contrive" (pp. ix-x). The practical men, the craftsmen, are the true men of science; the academicians are "unskilled pretenders."

There is nothing distinctly American about Pope's ideas of science. They were prevalent throughout western Europe in the last half of the eighteenth century, when applied science was making great advances. The work of men like Perronet in France, and Rennie and Telford in England, demonstrated that the new age of steam required a marriage between theory and practice, between architecture and engineering. But in advocating that such a marriage take place in America, Pope adduced reasons derived from America's unique historical and geographical conditions. For example, much like Horatio Greenough in the next generation, he criticized the Georgian style of public architecture on behalf of a native vernacular style. About façades he writes, "we have the painful mortification to witness the whole of an extended front, though built with marble, crowded with glaring absurdities from one end to the other." This situation ill bespeaks "the wisdom, grandeur and correct taste of a great nation" (p. xxi). Pope blamed this on the academic imitators, the "gentlemen of the gown," "those flimsy pretenders to Science, and enemies to the useful Arts, who now strut about like so many crows dressed in a few borrowed plumes, which only serve to make their deformity more conspicuous" (p. xxii). His solution is "a combination formed of ingenious mechanics and learned mathematicians." Although a man of obvious learning, Pope refers to himself as a landscape gardener and architect, a craftsman rather than a scholar or historian. Likewise, the list of subscribers to his *Treatise* consists mainly of New York masons, carpenters, stone cutters, shipwrights and merchants, although the professional and educated classes are also represented by the notable names of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, Lieutenant Governor DeWitt Clinton, James Renwick, Robert R. Livingston, the President of the New York American Academy of Arts and several faculty members of Columbia College.

Pope's main concern, however, is bridges, and his *Treatise* is a preface to the leading motifs of the internal improvement period about to begin. Written in four parts, the study consists of a historical account of the development of bridges, a description of Pope's own patented invention, a cantilever "Flying Pendant Lever Bridge," a pioneering appraisal of the structural possibilities of native materials, like timber, stone, brick and iron, and an extraordinary conclusion, a verse essay of 210 lines of heroic couplets repeating his proposal made in an earlier section, for a model bridge at New York.³ On the eve of the nation's first period of technological change Pope enlists history, invention, science and poetry in America's campaign to master the continent.

Pope's historical account of "sundry bridges" is comprehensive enough to remain even today a major source of information. It also serves in the *Treatise* to prove a special destiny for America, where the history of bridges will reach a new phase. Here, geography makes bridges essential to the nation.

It is a notorious fact that there is no country in the world which is more in need of good and permanent Bridges than the United States of America. Extended along an immense line of coast on which abound rivers, creeks, and swamps, it is impossible that any physical union of the country can really take place until the labours of the architect and mechanic shall have perfectly done away with the inconvenience arising from the intervention of the waters. (p. 127)

If nature created the problem, it also provided for the solution, in the abundance of natural resources on the continent.

Our forests teem with the choicest timber; and our floods can bear it on their capacious bosoms to the requisite points. Public spirit alone is wanting to make us the greatest nation on earth; and there is nothing more essential to the establishment of that greatness than the building of Bridges, the digging of canals, and the making of sound turnpike roads. (p. 127)

From this argument, which echoes Jefferson's second inaugural address, Pope proceeds directly to a "mathematical description" of his own invention, a prefabricated timber bridge which can be mass-produced and assembled on the building site. Using the method of his masters, Archimedes, Galileo and Newton, Pope demonstrates through axioms and deductions the practicality of his vision. Furthermore, the mathematical nature of the plan, together with the reliance upon native timber, meant

³ Reprinted in *Quest for America*, ed. Charles Sanford (New York, 1964).

that the "flying pendent lever bridge" was universally applicable in America. He proposes this bridge as a national form.

The bridge itself was a very flat arch, consisting of twin cantilevers, joined at the center, and stiffened with a diagonal bracing. The two cantilever arms were series of longitudinal ribs constructed into a solid girder and covered with a diagonal sheathing. Pope claimed that such a structure could be extended 3,000 feet across the Hudson River; if the principles were mathematically sound, he felt, only the strength of the material would limit the size of the span. In another section of the *Treatise*, Pope describes a 94-foot model of a "flying pendent lever bridge," or, as it came to be known, the "rainbow bridge," which he exhibited as a proposed East River bridge. He included testimony by a group of New York shipwrights about the soundness of the plans. The "rainbow bridge" was to soar 1,800 feet from shore to shore, 223 feet above high water—dimensions which exceed even Roebling's bridge.

Pope did not design his bridge to fit any specific place; it was an invention in the broadest meaning, a contrivance which could be used wherever a bridge was needed. In this sense it can be spoken of as a "pure" bridge, a formal principle. This made its national significance all the more dramatic for Pope. His bridge represented the "free-born soul" which "breaks the rude and barbarous chains" of academic tradition. For Pope, the bridge was a symbol of America itself.

In the long poem which serves as his conclusion, Pope writes:

Let the broad arc the spacious HUDSON stride,
And span COLUMBIA'S rivers far more wide;
Convince the world AMERICA begins
To foster arts, the ancient work of kings.

The poem is a plea for the chance to build one model bridge (in this case, over the Hudson River, which has the double virtue of being wider than the East River, and of fitting the metrical pattern of the line). The very boldness of the plan was, Pope thought, its most characteristic feature.

Stupendous plan! which none before e'er found,
That half an arc should stand upon the ground . . .
Like half a rainbow rising on the shore,
While its twin partner spans the semi o'er,
And makes a perfect whole, that need not part,
Till time has furnished us a nobler art.

About half of the poem describes the technical aspects of the bridge, the "simple rules" upon which this self-evident structure is based. The rest

of the poem is taken up with a dialogue between the author and a skeptic, who wonders "how to reconcile those novel truths./With what the *Doctors* teach their college youths." The poet argues on behalf of experimental science and freedom against those "fools" who teach "That nothing strange or new can e'er be brought,/ But what in ancient times were known or wrought." Pope casts himself and his bridge in the role of defenders of truth and scientific discovery against ignorance and superstition.

Yet, science has her sons in every age,
Her babes of skill, her striplings, and the sage,
And daughters too, on which her hand bestows
Sublime discernments, that no stranger knows;
Though bastards oft intrude and steal the bread
With which the sons of merit should be fed,
Array themselves in ep'lettes, swords and gowns,
And strut about like showmen's drest-up hounds;
And if you ask them a new work to view.
"Oh, sir," say they, "it never can be true;
"Besides, I have no time to spare, to look
"At schemes like these; they're not within my book."

Thomas Pope did not get a chance to build his bridge. Although his structural principles were sound enough and were used in later cantilever bridges, either the Hudson or the East River would have been impossible to span in wood; the rainbow would have collapsed of insufficient weight. This weakness, however, is less important than the poetic vision of a bridge in America's leading city as a symbol of America itself. Illustrated in the *Treatise* (Figure 1), the Hudson River version of the "rainbow bridge" is a flat, graceful arch, made of two gently tapering arms connected in the center. It has two spirelike towers flanking the New York abutment, with no traditional form, although the slender, tapered arms of the arch call to mind the delicate cast-iron arch which Thomas Telford designed to replace London Bridge in 1801, and it foreshadows the thin, stark lines of Maillart's reinforced concrete arches in Switzerland. Pope seems to have been concerned exclusively with the form of his bridge, with its fitness and its "mechanical beauty," rather than its actual service as an urban bridge. He never bothered to describe the roadway, or the kind of traffic it could handle. It was a pure structural form, an ideal possibility for America to use in its building program. To "cultivate its growth," as Pope writes in the last line of his poem, would be a noble act; it would be a tribute to science and to art, and to America for fostering both.

A better sign of what America was fostering in 1811 is the report of a New York commission appointed four years earlier to propose "Improvements touching the layout of streets and roads in the City of New York." This report established the familiar gridiron street plan for Manhattan, a plan which, according to one historian, "marks the division between old and modern New York."⁴ If Pope's vision belonged to the eighteenth century, the commissioners' report, whose sole concern was efficiency, belonged to the nineteenth. They make a nice contrast in values.

The gridiron plan of 1811 has been blamed in the twentieth century for many of the unpleasant features of modern Manhattan, the narrow east-west streets, the congestion and, especially, the unimproved condition of riverside areas. The plan became a vise, restricting the chances for large-scale horizontal planning along natural contours, and forcing the city to build vertically. Strictly speaking, it was not a city plan at all; compared to L'Enfant's plan for Washington, it was simply a street map. One modern planner has likened it to a drainage system.⁵

It is interesting to compare the style of the 1811 plan with the style of Pope's "rainbow bridge." The gridiron had its own touch of grace, as one might put it, in being totally devoid of any pretension to art or beauty; it was a pure application of plane geometry. Its only intention was to subdivide the land and lay out streets. Unlike Pope, the commissioners were unmoved by thoughts of national grandeur; their motive was avowedly commercial and utilitarian. Explaining their choice of the gridiron pattern, they wrote that they had considered "whether they should confine themselves to rectilinear and rectangular streets, or whether they should adopt some of those supposed improvements, by circles, ovals and stars, which certainly embellish a plan, whatever may be their effects as to convenience and utility."⁶ Embellishment was so far from their purpose that a tone of disdain appears in their use of the term.

The commissioners made their assumptions quite clear; utility meant nothing more or less than a straight line between any two points. Speaking of themselves in the third person they wrote:

In considering that subject, they could not but bear in mind that a city is to be composed of the habitations of men, and that strait sided and right angled houses are the most cheap to build, and the most conveni-

⁴ I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909* (New York, 1918), III, 478.

⁵ Thomas Adams, Harold M. Lewis, Lawrence M. Orton, *The Building of the City, Regional Plan of New York and its Environs* (New York, 1931), II, 51.

⁶ Quoted in Christopher Tunnard and Henry Hope Reed, *American Skyline* (New York, 1956), p. 57.

ent to live in. The effect of these plain and simple reflections was decisive.⁷

Likewise, economy was a matter of the *cash* value of land, rather than any other salutary values—the *disposal* rather than the use of land.

Those large arms of the sea which embrace Manhattan Island, render its situation, in regard to health and pleasure, as well as to convenience of commerce, peculiarly felicitous; when therefore, from the same causes, the price of land is so uncommonly great, it seemed proper to admit the principles of economy to greater influence, than might under circumstances of a different kind, have consisted with the dictates of prudence and the sense of duty.⁸

The same geography which moved Thomas Pope to dream of a rainbow, becomes an excuse to surrender “prudence” and a “sense of duty” to the demands of commercial efficiency.

The peculiar style of the 1811 plan is, then, its unrelenting adherence to the single motive of efficiency. In this it was unambiguous; the landscape *had to be subdued*, not for the sake of achieving a harmonious life between man and nature, but for the sake of the rapid development of a commercial city whose single unit was the private building lot. A modern city was to be imposed upon the island; nature itself was granted no say in determining how that city should grow and organize itself. As an exasperated critic of the plan wrote in a pamphlet in 1818, the gridiron platte ignored the changing levels of land; only the courses, widths and lengths of the streets were designated, and the land was expected to surrender its individuality to the platte. The city seems, this irate citizen wrote,

resolved to spare nothing that bears the semblance of a rising ground. . . . These are men, as has been well observed, who would have cut down the seven hills of Rome, on which are erected her triumphant monuments of beauty and magnificence and have thrown them into the Tyber or the Pomptine marshes.⁹

The land was a hindrance in the minds of the commissioners; it had to be transformed into geometry.

How did the gridiron plan serve the city? Mainly, as a means of earning public revenue. Late in the seventeenth century, the city corporation had been the leading landowner on Manhattan Island. Land tax was the corporation's major source of revenue. The easiest way to raise large

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Quoted in Stokes, p. 478.

⁹ Quoted in Stokes, p. 482.

sums of money for public projects, such as swamp reclamation, was either to lease or sell packages of the land.¹⁰ In the eighteenth century, the city used both methods; long-term leases were issued with the expectation that improvements upon the land would increase values and thus rents and taxes. The city continued this practice throughout the eighteenth century, disposing of its public lands either through outright sales or through long-term leases. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were lots scattered at odd points across the island, most of which was still wilderness. At this point, as one historian writes, "New streets were needed to serve the land already sold and to open up the common land still in city ownership."¹¹ In 1807, the legislature authorized a commission to design an efficient method of expediting the further sale and exploitation of the land for public revenue, as well as to encourage private building, in order to increase the tax value of existing lots.

The plan of 1811 was, in short, a big step toward the transfer of ownership of the island from public to private hands. After 1811, municipal ownership and the leasehold system were on the way out, and the real-estate speculator, of which John Jacob Astor became the prototype in the 1820s, took over control of the city's land. In 1844, to settle an enormous public debt, the city finally disposed by auction of what remained of its original heritage of common land.

One of the major consequences of the 1811 plan and the sale of the common lands was the city's surrender of centralized control of planning and building on the island. This handing over of the control of city development to private investors affected all future building. As the *Regional Plan* of 1931 put it, the division of the land into salable packages made individual profit rather than "architectural control in the interests of the community" the decisive factor in the city's growth and appearance.¹² One specific effect of the gridiron plan was that it ruled out the residential square, popular in London; another was that it ignored the residential development of waterfront lands, one of the most blatant of missed opportunities of New York planning.

Another consequence of the 1811 plan is less obvious. The architectural needs of the city were necessarily based on the limited horizontal space available for commercial structures. Limited space, together with the great danger of costly fires in crowded sections, made the rural New England methods of wood-frame construction risky, and led to the more appropriate iron-frame methods of Badger and Bogardus in the 1840s.

¹⁰ See Cleveland Rodgers, "The City as Landlord," *New York Plans for the Future* (New York, 1943), pp. 34-53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹² Adams, p. 50.

1 This in turn began the development toward the steel-skeleton tall building. This line of architectural development, based primarily on the internal structure of single narrow buildings rather than the treatment of spaces wider than the individual lot, became America's unique contribution to modern architecture. One interesting result of the emphasis upon a uniform internal structure is that monumentalism in building was reduced to the design of the façade rather than the arrangement of buildings in relation to each other, and the construction of large building units. The gridiron, for example, prevented the fusion of the separate geniuses of Bogardus and Frederick Law Olmstead to create a zone of buildings in relation to nature; instead, Olmstead's Central Park is set aside from the essential life of the city, in its own rectangular space, and Bogardus' iron front developed into a standardized pseudo-Renaissance form that paraded the crowded streets of lower Manhattan.

1 The 1811 plan helped to fix the character of New York as a New World commercial city. The plan conceived of man facing only raw nature on the island; there was no visible past to build around, or even to destroy. It prepared the way for large-scale real estate speculation; it also prepared for expansion into the wilderness lying at the northern end of the island. Moreover, it prepared for traffic, making every street a potential thoroughfare. Thus, along with Thomas Pope's rainbow, it prepared for Brooklyn Bridge.

X The antagonism between the rainbow and the grid was a germ of what Van Wyck Brooks called a hundred years later the tragic split between "high ideals" and "catch penny realities." In this early case, the rainbow was itself an effort to overcome the split, to fuse vernacular materials and building crafts with loftiness of design. But the grid was devoted only to the needs of commercial growth. Such narrow devotion to "efficiency" resulted not many years later in all the urban diseases we still suffer today, crowded living quarters, congested thoroughfares, blight, hazards to health, and ugliness. These are the outward signs of an inward bifurcation of the impulses to wealth and to welfare. The split between aesthetics and business, between heart and mind, is, of course, not especially American. But given the naked landscape as a field for aggrandizement of the human will under the name of progress, the split widened into a virtual way of life in the New World.

1 It is wrong to assume that the nineteenth century had no ideal of community life by which to criticize its own practice. Pope's proposal to combine native materials with originality in design to serve public aesthetic needs was such an ideal; it belongs in the line of organicist thought embracing Horatio Greenough and Frank Lloyd Wright. A high dramatic

moment in that line was the opening of Brooklyn Bridge in 1883. For John A. Roebling was as deeply aware of the split as Thomas Pope, and followed his predecessor in proposing to join two growing commercial centers, New York and Brooklyn, with a rainbow. By promising to build a beautiful bridge as well as a sound one, Roebling tried deliberately to overcome the separation between utility and art. But this is to state in merely the simplest terms all the divisions and conflicts in post-Civil War America Roebling hoped to overcome by his bridge. The symbolic reaches of the bridge are unlimited once the metaphors of crossing over and connecting are recognized. Thus the Opening Ceremonies orators set the tone for future celebration, including Hart Crane's, by addressing Brooklyn Bridge as a herald of the future, yet a link with the past, as a healer of the breach between labor and capital, a sign of the victory of honest Americanism over Tweedism, as a link between city and country, east and west, and even, as one speaker put it, between heaven and earth. Yet the bridge was unmistakably a traffic bridge in the least complicated dimension of its existence; it carried trains and carriages, and allowed four hundred million citizens a year to pass over the river to and from the business sections of the cities. It was, in short, a symbol rooted in actualities, a marriage of the rainbow and the grid.

But to have thought that Brooklyn Bridge truly solved the vexing problems of the late nineteenth century was absurd. It is true that the troubled history of its thirteen years of construction, its shift from private to public hands, was an excellent lesson to the city in the management of major public projects, a lesson applied in the 1890s when New York sponsored a municipal transportation system. But there were deeper problems that remained untouched, perhaps even exacerbated by the bridge. One of these was the very subtle and complex tensions between city and country. By looking at this problem, even somewhat hastily, it will be clear that the marriage of the rainbow and the grid, like all marriages, was not without its own profound conflicts.

In the period after the war Brooklyn was known as a "city of homes," a dormitory suburb of Manhattan. But by 1880 it was already a full-scale city in its own right, with more than a half-million inhabitants. Its growth had been even more rapid than Manhattan's. In 1810, Brooklyn had about three thousand people, and covered about one square mile on Long Island; at the end of the century, it had close to a million people, and was the third largest city in the country. Much of its sudden increase in size was based on the absorption of twenty-five other villages during the century, but industry and commerce were also major factors. By 1880, Brooklyn was third in the nation in number of manufacturing establishments, fourth in the total amount of capital invested in industry,



Figure 1. Thomas Pope. THE RAINBOW BRIDGE. 1811.



Figure 2. John A. Roebling. ORIGINAL DESIGN FOR BROOKLYN BRIDGE. 1869.

fourth in total value of manufactured products and second in average wages. It had over five thousand factories; twenty years earlier, it had less than five hundred.

In spite of its industrial and commercial growth a vigorous village pride persisted throughout the century, and has remained, if only in a sentimentalized form, to give the city its unique tone in the twentieth century. In the early years of its expansion, however, the spirit of localism had a decidedly defensive tone, as members of the older generation set their teeth to resist the encroaching metropolitanism represented by Manhattan.

New York and Brooklyn have nothing in common, not in "object, interest, or feeling," argued General Jeremiah Johnson in 1833.¹³ Johnson, a revered member of the revolutionary generation, spoke of Brooklyn as though it were a distinct region, set apart from the commercial center across the river. In fact, he felt, geography would preserve the uniqueness of the region. The waters that flow between the two cities, he wrote, "form a barrier between them which, however frequently passed, still form and must forever continue to form an unsurmountable obstacle to their union." This was surely an anachronistic point of view in 1833, at the height of the internal improvement period, when nature's obstacles seemed to be invitations to surmount them, and when the continent's waterways seemed to guarantee national unity rather than the preservation of regional peculiarities.

Although General Johnson's localism soon gave way to a more ambitious civic boosting, the sense of something lost in the rapid shoals of nineteenth-century progress disturbed some citizens. There is some evidence of ambivalence toward progress. One apparently optimistic citizen was Walt Whitman, who had grown up in the rural sections of Long Island as well as in Brooklyn village. Whitman passed back and forth between city and country throughout his youth, and his poems between 1855 and 1860 reflect in their images and rhythms an intimacy with both ways of life. In "Song of Myself" (1855) the protean self of the poem has easy access to both the "blab of the pave, the tires of carts," and the "big doors of the country barn . . . the dried grass of the harvest-time." There is no conflict, no fear of the city, no nostalgia for a landscape buried in the past. Whitman always identified himself as a New Yorker, meaning one who knew both the countryside and the sea as well as the crowds. In *Specimen Days* (1882) he cites as one of the "leading sources" of his character precisely this "combination of my Long Island birth-spot, sea-shores, childhood scenes, absorptions, with teeming Brook-

¹³ Quoted in *New York City Guide*, American Guide Series (New York, 1939), p. 431.

lyn and New York." With its excursions into the country and its loving description of flora and fauna, *Specimen Days* itself testifies for the enduring appeal of nature to the cosmopolitan Whitman. To the end of his life he maintained this apparent unity of opposites.

I will not suggest that it was not a true unity. Certainly it was true to the conditions of Whitman's own life, the rural-urban scenes running together as one image of the richness of life. But what catches our attention is that he retained that rural-urban image throughout a period of vast change ("a strange, unloosen'd, wondrous time," he called it), which saw American life increasingly urbanized, and Long Island increasingly swallowed up by New York City. Could it be possible that after the Civil War the image became a form of covert resistance, or rebellion, or sheer rejection of a major current? If this is true, it is so on a less than conscious level, for Whitman's proclamations are all in favor of the unhampered growth of New York and Brooklyn and their union "in one city—city of superb democracy, amid superb surroundings."

Indeed, in the only poem in which he poses the two ways of life as alternatives, Whitman rejects the pastoral for the urban, the "garden of beautiful flowers, where I can walk undisturb'd," for "Manhattan streets," and their "phantoms incessant and endless." The poem is "Give me the splendid silent sun," published in *Drum Taps* in 1865. It is not ostensibly a war poem, though it expresses with Whitman's characteristic accuracy the underlying tensions of his age. The poem opens with a catalogue of the rural images that, "tired with ceaseless excitement, and rack'd by the war-strife," the poet yearns for. The chief features of the rural scene are its quiet and its solitude; there are trellised grapes, grass unmowed, "serene-moving animals," a "sweet-breath'd woman," a "perfect child." Instead of the noise of the city and the burden of national life, the poet wants "to warble spontaneous songs, reliev'd, recluse by myself, for my ears only." The catalogue with its refrain of "Give me," is the cry of the poet's soul—a most familiar romantic cry, it will be noted. The Wordsworthian theme is suddenly reversed, however, as the poet "adheres" to his city, which holds him "enchain'd," refusing to give him up. What holds him are "faces," and stanza one ends on the reversal: "I see my own soul trampling down what it ask'd for."

The cry in stanza two is now, "Keep your splendid, silent sun; Keep your woods, O Nature." Now Whitman catalogues the "shows" of Manhattan, the "interminable eyes" and the "powerful throbs," the "endless and noisy chorus." Threaded among the common city images, the wharves and theaters, are many images of the war, parades of recruits and of returning veterans, drums and pageants, a "turbulent musical chorus." It is in favor of all this, the variety of crowds, the promiscuous mingling

of peoples, that Whitman rejects the womblike content of the country; as, indeed, America as a whole seemed to be doing at that very moment. The poem's best achievement is its musical tonality, and the contrast between the rich and placid lines of stanza one with the harsh, nervous and pulsing beats of stanza two suggests that the poem comes out of an intense personal conflict. In spite of the line of argument, the poem seems to me less of a choice between two ways of life than a plain confrontation, and one that poses in personal terms a historical conflict of an entire culture. The choice is convincing neither in the poem nor in Whitman's later life, which remained, as I have shown, divided between city and country. What matters is, however, that the catalogue of rural images effuses an unmistakable aura of a dream, of a life always intended but never realized. It is the dream generated precisely by those tensions which come from modern city life (and, significantly, modern war)—a dream which needs to be stated in order to be rejected by the conscious, realistic mind.

In 1861-62, shortly before his departure for the battlefield at Fredericksburg, Whitman had written a series of twenty-five articles for the *Brooklyn Standard*, which provide an important glimpse of this same conflict on the eve of his Civil War experiences. He had just published the famous 1860 Third Edition of *Leaves of Grass*, and was in a period of cautious relaxation. Whitman's prose rarely expresses as affectively as his poetry his sense of crisis and tension, and this series of historical and personal reminiscences of Brooklyn is no exception. But "Brooklyniana"¹⁴ does reveal that certain things were brewing in him, and these things help us see the connection between the rural-urban conflict of "Give me the splendid silent sun" with the rainbow-grid conflict of New York.

The articles were not written as formal history, but as an informal account of local traditions, obscure events, prominent families, old houses and so on. Whitman wrote not as a scholar but as a popular journalist; as a native of Brooklyn, he frequently referred to stories he had heard from old-timers like General Jeremiah Johnson, and to his own childhood memories. He also described some of his favorite rambles and outings on Long Island. The entire series has the flavor of a relaxed, easy-going, whimsical excursion. There is small literary merit to these newspaper articles, and Whitman himself did not try to preserve them. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the series had at the time a significance for him beyond their value as popular newspaper pieces. The articles were an attempt, he wrote in the opening paragraph of No. 1, to

¹⁴ *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, ed. Emory Holloway (New York, 1932), II, 222-325. All page references are to this edition.

preserve the traditions of the locale. Agreeing with a New York journal which had remarked "that the whole spirit of a floating and changing population like ours is antagonistic to the recording and preserving of what traditions we have of the American Past," Whitman pointed out that this antihistorical tendency was especially true "in the huge cities of our Atlantic seaboard." Brooklyn and New York, for example, are "filled with a comparatively fresh population, *not* descendents of the old residents, and without hereditary interest in the locations and their surroundings" (pp. 222-23). Still, he felt sure, "there will come a time, here in Brooklyn, and all over America, when nothing will be of more interest than authentic reminiscences of the past. Much of it will be made up of subordinate 'memoirs,' and of personal chronicles and gossip" (p. 223). With their gossip and personal memories, his own articles are obviously a response to the changing conditions of American life. They will try to "preserve" what General Johnson tried to defend, the consciousness of a regional uniqueness.

It is significant that Whitman does not oppose Brooklyn to Manhattan; in fact, he encourages closer ties between the two cities. In several of his articles, he makes the point that Brooklyn is a healthier place to live than New York, and hopes more New Yorkers will take advantage of the "city of homes." He points out that the earliest Dutch settlers selected Manhattan only for their outpost, while Brooklyn was their residence. Manhattan was "sterile and sandy, on a foundation of rock . . . bleak, sterile and rough," while the "aboriginal Island of Paumanock," was a "beautifully rich country, sufficiently diversified with slopes and hills, well wooded, yet with open ground enough" (p. 224). The agricultural settlers chose Brooklyn, the traders chose Manhattan. And although Manhattan has the best commercial situation in the world, nothing recommends the city as a *place to live*. In Brooklyn, the natural terrain has been preserved, he pointed out, making it a beautiful as well as healthy city.

Whitman did not foresee any conflict between the local pride and regionalism he wished to preserve, and the large urban center of "a great million inhabitants" he prophesied for Brooklyn. In one article he pointed out that the greater attractions of Brooklyn were already "steadily drawing hither the best portion of the business population of the great adjacent metropolis" (p. 252). He described the advantages of Brooklyn; the best and cheapest gas, "the best water in the world," moderate taxes and honest city authorities (Boss Tweed was at this time rising to power in New York). He boasted of the "architectural greatness" of Brooklyn, consisting of "hundreds and thousands of superb private dwellings for the comfort and luxury of the great body of middle class

- people" (p. 253). His outlook was, in short, cheerful and optimistic; he betrays no uneasiness about a city of a million inhabitants, in fact encourages it.

But the very existence of "Brooklyniana," and its stated purposes in No. 1 clearly enough demonstrates that Whitman sensed a loss in such numbers. Part of the time he sounds like a local booster, urging more and more growth, closer ties with Manhattan, and over-all progress; but other times his tone is nostalgic and backward-looking. This is not a conflict Whitman admits; that must wait until "Give me the splendid silent sun." But it is implicit nonetheless. Written just five years before John Roebling was to lay his plans for an East River bridge before a group of enterprising New York and Brooklyn businessmen, "Brooklyniana" fails to mention a bridge, but Whitman's explicit argument is very close to that which wanted a convenient highway for all those millions who would live in Brooklyn, own Brooklyn property, pay Brooklyn taxes, and work in Manhattan. Whitman's own logic leads one to see the inefficiency of the ferry as a means of passage. Yet the loss of the ferry, a direct consequence of Brooklyn Bridge, meant the loss at the very least of one means of making a slow and meaningful transition between the "beautiful hills of Brooklyn" and the "tall masts of Manhattan." Writing in the early 1860s Whitman faced a watershed in the history of his city; he looked back to the rural past, and ahead to "a great million inhabitants," only faintly suspecting that the difference would be much more than one of numbers.

In 1829 the *New York Gazette* reported a proposal for a chain suspension bridge, optimistically figured at 2,100 feet from toll station to toll station, and 160 feet above the East River. The proposer had two arguments: such a bridge would supply a monument to rank Brooklyn and New York with Westminster and London, and, "the rise of property in Brooklyn alone would defray the expense of the project." He also suggested that "pure" water from Brooklyn could be conveyed to Manhattan in pipes under the bridge floor, implying that such a bridge would practically fuse city and country.

A more feasible proposal came in 1835 from a civil engineer and architect, W. Lake, in a letter to the *American Railroad Journal*. He referred to the common inconvenience suffered by all ferry users, especially those in a hurry. A solution to the daily interruptions of business, he wrote, would be a suspension bridge, which would not interfere with river traffic (although his plan was for a five-span bridge, which would have rather crowded the river with supporting piers). Such a bridge, he pointed out, was not only practical from the engineering point of view,

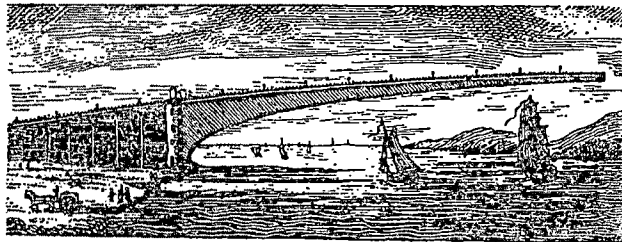
but also profitable from the commercial point of view; it would be a good speculation for an ambitious company. It would also add beauty to the city.

The rapidly increasing intercourse between New York and Long Island will, probably, soon require the formation of a wide street leading from Broadway. What a beautiful connection would such a bridge, as it is here described, form between this supposed new street and Fulton Street, Brooklyn! It would altogether be one of the most magnificent suspension bridges in the world.¹⁵

In a subsequent issue of the journal, Mr. Lake reinforced his proposal by describing the theory and history of suspension bridges, referring frequently to Thomas Pope's *Treatise on Bridge Architecture*, thus demonstrating a continuity in proposals for a "magnificent" bridge across the East River.

There were yet other plans and projects. In 1836, someone suggested a dike across the river; in the 1840s, there was talk of a stupendous bridge one hundred feet wide. One projector blandly proposed to fill in the East River, giving the city more land and more profit, and settling for all time the matter of bridges. In these years a street in Brooklyn running down to the river was named Bridge Street. In the 1870s this street received the abutment of John A. Roebling's rainbow, Brooklyn Bridge. And sixty years later another poet, Hart Crane, recognized in Roebling's bridge a "steeled Cognizance," a "mystical synthesis of America," that united, however unstably, the values of both rainbow and grid. His poem *The Bridge* (1930) thereby fulfilled more than a century of aspiration.

¹⁵ *American Railroad Journal*, Vol. IX, No. I (January 10, 1835), pp. 4-5.



From Pope's *TREATISE ON BRIDGE ARCHITECTURE*.

PHILIP GLEASON
University of Notre Dame

The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?

READERS OF THE REPUBLIC WILL RECALL THAT AFTER SOCRATES HAS OUTLINED the structure of his ideal city, he devises a mythological explanation of its origin in order to furnish a symbolic representation and justification for the distinctions that exist between Guardians, Auxiliaries and the mass of the people. According to the "myth of the metals," the governing classes spring from races with gold or silver souls, while the ordinary citizens are members of a humbler iron-souled race. In the present century, a different sort of myth of the metals has flourished among Americans who would reject the platonic variety. Our myth of the metals, compressed into one key image, is the "melting pot." Unlike Plato's, it was not deliberately contrived to provide a supernatural sanction for the existing social order, but it is intimately related to the origins and nature of American society; and at a time when students of American civilization are absorbed in the scrutiny of images, myths and symbols, it is appropriate to take a look also at the melting pot.

Hans Kohn regards the notion of the melting pot as "a fundamental trait of American nationalism,"¹ and few symbols associated with American nationality have entered more deeply into the language. References to the melting pot appear not only in formal studies of ethnic adjustment in the United States, but the expression is also used by foreign observers and it crops up frequently in the press as well. A Chicago newspaper, for example, editorially commended the selection of Miss Hawaii to represent the United States in the 1962 Miss Universe contest because she was the "typical child" of "a true American-style 'melting pot'"; and before the 1962 election, Joseph Alsop surveyed a neighborhood in San Francisco where various ethnic elements "coexisted in an amiable melting-pot style." Television and the advertising industry also

¹ *American Nationalism. An Interpretative Essay* (New York, 1961), p. 172.

make use of the symbol. A national network's musical salute to the diverse elements in the American population was called "The Melting Pot"; and an advertisement for a recent book on cities asks: "Cities and suburbs—melting pots or trouble spots?"²

The melting pot, then, is both widely current and used by a variety of writers with the evident expectation that its meaning will be clear; there is much evidence to support the assertion that the "melting pot concept is stubbornly entrenched in our national subconscious," and that it is "part of the American official mythology."³ On the other hand, there has been widespread disagreement about what the melting pot symbolizes, and many people have for differing reasons explicitly repudiated the symbol, believing that it distorts American experience or betrays American ideals. Is the melting pot even a symbol? The tendency to place the expression within quotation marks indicates that it is a somewhat self-conscious symbol, but at the same time it differs from such deliberately chosen national symbols as the flag; nor is it a specific real object, like the Liberty Bell, which is elevated to the level of a symbol because of some historical association. Still less does the melting pot resemble a symbolic document like the Constitution or our national heroes who have taken on symbolic stature. And, indeed, the melting pot is often referred to as a "concept" or a "theory" rather than a symbol.

In the following pages I propose to trace some of the ways in which the term "melting pot" has been understood and used, and to evaluate it as a symbol. To forestall as much confusion of terminology as possible, it would be well to make clear at the outset that the term can be used as a *simile* (America is like a melting pot), a *metaphor* (America is a melting pot) or a *symbol* (Millions of immigrants came tumbling into the melting pot). That which distinguishes the symbol from the simile or metaphor is the absence of any overt comparison between two things which are understood to bear an analogical relationship to each other. The symbol is, as it were, cut loose freely from the thing-symbolized and enjoys a separate existence of its own, while at the same time it is recognized as a metaphor, half of which is left unstated.⁴ The melting pot is

² *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 14, October 6, 1962; *South Bend Tribune*, television supplement for July 29-August 4, 1962; *New York Times Book Review*, November 18, 1962, p. 17. Cf. Edward W. Chester, *Europe Views America. A Critical Evaluation* (Washington, 1962), chap. ii. Although obviously relevant to the theme, Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, 1963), appeared too late to be considered here.

³ Andrew M. Greeley, "Areas of Research on Religion and Social Organization," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, XXIII (Summer 1962), 111.

⁴ The essays of Owen Barfield and C. S. Lewis in Max Black (ed.), *The Importance of Language* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962), are especially helpful on metaphoric language.

P 7017

perhaps used with equal frequency as a metaphor and as a symbol, as these levels of figurative language are distinguished here; but since it has become so conventionally understood as representing the process of ethnic interaction, and since it has taken on such a vivid life of its own, the melting pot will, for the most part, be referred to here as a symbol.

The use of the melting pot as a symbol for the process whereby immigrants are absorbed into American society and somehow changed into Americans dates from 1908 when Israel Zangwill's play, *The Melting-Pot*, was first presented. The group of ideas and attitudes which the term is usually thought of as representing did not, however, originate with Zangwill but was much older. In general, that cluster of ideas included the belief that a new nation, a new national character and a new nationality were forming in the United States, and that the most heterogeneous human materials could be taken in and absorbed into this nationality. It was frequently maintained as a corollary that the "new man" who was to be produced by the cross-fertilization of various strains in America would be superior to any the world had previously seen; intermarriage between the different elements often figured as the chief agency in the formation of the new composite American.

The outstanding early statement of these notions was Crèvecoeur's celebrated answer to the question, "What then is the American, this new man?" Crèvecoeur's discussion in his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) developed or implied all of the themes listed above; moreover, he used the word "melt" to describe the process of forming a new nationality. "Here," he wrote, "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, . . ." As a result of his use of the word, and his treatment of the general theme, Crèvecoeur has been called the originator of the melting pot symbol.⁵ This is incorrect. Crèvecoeur did not use the symbol of a *melting pot* at all, although he did give forceful expression to the ideas which it is often understood to symbolize. After Crèvecoeur, DeWitt Clinton used the key word "melt" in commenting on how the English tongue was "melting us down into one people," and in the 1840s a nativistic Congressman recalled an earlier day when immigrants "*melted* into the mass of American population" instead of clannishly preserving their own identity.⁶ But if anyone used the expression "melting pot" it at-

⁵ J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1957), p. 39; Louis B. Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763* (New York, 1957), p. 45; Joseph Leftwich, *Israel Zangwill* (New York, 1957), p. 251.

⁶ Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946), p. 74; Edith Abbott (ed.), *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem. Select Documents* (Chicago, 1926), p. 755.

tracted no attention and did not enter into general usage. Emerson seems to have come closest to the symbol when he wrote in his journal that the energies of the various nationalities in America would "construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature," which would be as vigorous "as the new Europe which came out of the smelting-pot of the Dark Ages." It seems, however, that no particular attention was drawn to Emerson's metaphor until 1921.⁷ Frederick Jackson Turner referred to the "composite nationality" of the American people in his famous address on the significance of the frontier in 1893; he described the frontier as a "crucible" where "the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics."⁸ Turner thus anticipated the use of a term that Zangwill used interchangeably with the melting pot in his drama.

No doubt there were others in the nineteenth century who used similar terms, or even the melting pot itself; it remains true, nevertheless, that the melting pot symbol did not go into general usage until the presentation of Zangwill's play. An article entitled "Are We A People?" which was reported in July, 1908 in the *Literary Digest* furnishes a suggestive bit of negative evidence. This discussion by Franklin H. Giddings, the Columbia sociologist, concerned itself with immigrant assimilation and American nationality and employed a number of figurative expressions like "blending," "fusing," "melting," "smelting process" and "amalgam." But it did not contain the expression "melting pot."⁹ It seems unlikely that this article would have contained no reference to the melting pot if it had appeared a year or so later.

A consideration of several background factors helps explain why *The Melting-Pot* had such impact and why the symbol passed into general use so rapidly. First, there was the tremendous immigration of the period. Between 1900 and the outbreak of World War I, an average of about one million immigrants a year entered the United States. Predominantly "new immigrants" from southern and eastern Europe who gathered in conspicuous enclaves in the great cities, these millions attracted much public attention and the "immigration problem," which a governmental commission investigated to the tune of forty-one volumes, became involved in practically all the political and social issues of the

⁷ Emerson's remarks were first published in 1912 in *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson with Annotations*, eds. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (10 vols; Boston, 1909-14), VII, 116. Stuart P. Sherman drew particular attention to this "notable passage" in his Introduction to *Essays and Poems of Emerson* (New York, 1921), p. xxxiv.

⁸ *Frontier and Section. Selected Essays of Frederick Jackson Turner*, with an Introduction by Ray Allen Billington (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1961), p. 51.

⁹ *Literary Digest*, XXXVII (July 11, 1908), 37-38.

Progressive Period. Public attitudes were shifting and uncertain in these years which John Higham calls the most obscure in the whole history of American nativism.¹⁰ There were strong currents of opinion unfriendly to free immigration and fearful of the nation's ability to absorb the newcomers. But the return of prosperity and the military and imperial feats at the turn of the century engendered a surge of nationalistic self-confidence strongly reinforcing the traditional view that America could welcome and assimilate all who came to her shores. Zangwill's play thus appeared at a time when there were millions of immigrants in the country who were themselves immediately concerned with the matter of assimilation, and when the American people at large were troubled and uncertain about the question. The play was popular, the title was known to hundreds of thousands who never saw it performed, the times required discussion of immigration and there was need for a handy and generally accepted symbol for the whole complicated business—more favorable circumstances for launching the new symbol could hardly be imagined.¹¹

The Melting-Pot opened in Washington on October 5, 1908. Theodore Roosevelt was among the first-nighters and later referred to it as an "extraordinarily able and powerful play." "I do not know when I have seen a play that stirred me as much," he wrote to Zangwill. Roosevelt and Oscar Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, were both quoted in subsequent advertising as saying "It is a great play," but Roosevelt probably attracted more attention to it by criticizing some lines which portrayed Americans as taking a lighthearted view of divorce and public corruption.¹² The passage was rewritten by Zangwill, and the play moved to Chicago where it played for one week and a short time later returned for a longer run. By September 6, 1909, when it opened in New York, *The Melting-Pot* had already been mentioned by Jane Addams as a play whose title could furnish the theme for an important sociological treatise, and the *Literary Digest* referred to it as a "much-discussed drama."¹³

Although the New York critics were unenthusiastic, *The Melting-Pot* played 136 times and "the public crowd[ed] the performances" according

¹⁰ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955), p. 158 and chaps v-vii.

¹¹ Compare Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny. A History of Modern American Reform*. (Revised ed; New York, 1956), p. 61.

¹² Washington *Evening Star*, October 6, 1908; Roosevelt to Zangwill, October 15, 1908, in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, eds. Elting E. Morison et al. (8 vols; Cambridge, 1951-54), VI, 1288-89; Chicago *Inter Ocean*, October 25, 1908, magazine section, p. 10; *New York Times*, September 5, 1909; *Current Literature*, XLV (December 1908), 671; Leftwich, *Zangwill*, pp. 251-59, discusses the play.

¹³ *Literary Digest*, XXXVIII (April 24, 1909), 691; *ibid.*, XXXIX (September 18, 1909), 440.

to one reviewer, who explained its popularity by saying: "it is a play of the people, touched with the fire of democracy, and lighted radiantly with the national vision."¹⁴ Oddly enough, it was an English Jew who was said to have captured the American spirit and who gave the nation a new symbol for itself. Israel Zangwill had already established himself as a novelist and dramatist, especially by his *Children of the Ghetto*, and he was also the leading promoter of a modified Zionist program, being the founder of the Jewish Territorial Organization. His work in assisting Jewish emigrants familiarized Zangwill with the immigration situation in the United States and it is a mistake to assert, as some critics of the melting pot have done, that he was simply naive and uninformed about the state of affairs in America. Furthermore, Zangwill's essay on *The Principle of Nationalities* indicates that he had pondered long on themes related to nationalism and the interaction of different national groups in the same state; several of the ideas which are presented dramatically in *The Melting-Pot* are restated in more systematic fashion in this study, published in 1917.¹⁵ A decade earlier, however, Zangwill had declared that *The Melting-Pot* was a "*Tendenz-Schauspiel*" in the sense that it dramatized a problem rather than trying to provide an answer to the problem.¹⁶

The principal "problem" that Zangwill dealt with in *The Melting-Pot* concerned the situation of the Jews in the United States. This, of course, reflected his overriding preoccupation with the destiny of the Jews in the modern world and his conviction that for Jews it was a question of "renationalization or denationalization." To Zangwill, this set of alternatives meant that Jews should either acquire a homeland and develop their own nationality in their own nation, or they should become really and inwardly part of the nation in which they found themselves, thus "denationalizing" themselves as a distinct people.¹⁷ The notion of the United States as a melting pot—a place where old-world nationality drops away and various elements fuse into a new nationality—operates in the play as a general framework within which the drama of the Jewish protagonist is enacted.

¹⁴ *Survey*, XXIII (November 6, 1909), 168.

¹⁵ Zangwill, *The Principle of Nationalities* (New York, 1917). Annamarie Peterson, "Israel Zangwill (1864-1926): A Selected Bibliography," *Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Notes*, XXIII (September-December 1961), 136-40, lists Zangwill's writings. Mrs. Peterson kindly informed me that she knows of no serious study of Zangwill's sociological views. Letter to the author, January 12, 1963. Leftwich, *Zangwill*, is a topically organized biography.

¹⁶ Zangwill, "America—'The Melting Pot,'" Chicago *Inter Ocean*, December 6, 1908, magazine section, p. 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

The protagonist, whose speeches launched the melting pot as *the* symbol for the American assimilative process, is David Quixano, a young Jewish immigrant whose family has been murdered in the Kishineff pogrom; he is a composer who is at work on a great "American symphony" which will capture in music the vast racial and ethnic harmony gradually coming into being in America. David meets and falls in love with Vera, a settlement-house worker who is also an immigrant from Russia. Vera is a Christian, but the lovers resolve to marry in spite of the religious difference, following David's conviction that in America immigrants are to cast off their inherited attitudes, loyalties and prejudices. Then David learns that Vera's father is the Russian officer who directed the Kishineff massacre and whose face haunts David's memory of that terror. In his revulsion, he abruptly breaks off the romance with Vera, thus betraying in his own mind the ideal of the melting pot, which he interprets to mean that the European past is to have no hold at all upon the immigrant in America. After suffering remorse for this lapse from his principles, added to the customary agonies of a lover, David is reunited with Vera in the last scene immediately after the triumphant performance of his American symphony. The play ends with a paean of praise and hope for the melting pot as David and Vera stand on the roof of the settlement house transfixed by the vision of the Statue of Liberty gilded in the distant sunset.

David is "prophetically exalted" by this vision and delivers the following speech which deserves quotation as the play's fullest description of the workings of the melting pot:¹⁸

It is the fires of God round His Crucible. There she lies, the great Melting-Pot—listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth—the harbour where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian,—black and yellow—

[Vera] Jew and Gentile—

Yes, East and West, and North and South, . . . how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labour and look forward!

Peace, peace, to all ye unborn millions, fated to fill this giant continent—the God of our *children* give you Peace.

¹⁸ Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot. A Drama in Four Acts* (New York, 1909), pp. 198-99.

In an earlier speech, which was used in advertising the play, David spoke of America as "God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming"; he also asserted that "the real American"—"the fusion of all races, the coming superman"—had not yet made his appearance, but was "only in the Crucible."¹⁹

These "incidental dithyrambs on the 'crucible' theme," as one reviewer called them,²⁰ do not constitute a very detailed theory of ethnic adjustment in the United States, but insofar as it specifically concerned the Jews in America, *The Melting-Pot* seemed clearly to preach the doctrine of complete assimilation. Jews who did not wish to forget their distinctive identity, it was suggested in one passage, should "work for a Jewish land" instead of emigrating to America. The emphasis on assimilation was not well received by many American Jews. An editorial in the *American Hebrew* called it a "counsel of despair" which could not be taken seriously, and several years later a Jewish writer declared that the Jews had no intention of denying their heritage "for the contents of any pot—even though it be the Melting-Pot."²¹

Aside from the Jewish question, *The Melting-Pot* seems to imply that the immigrant should actively will his own assimilation; but since the process is portrayed as automatic, it probably makes no difference whether he does or not. It is God's melting pot; He is the Alchemist who presides over it, and presumably the process can go forward without conscious human collaboration. The play clearly indicates that the processes of the melting pot are unfinished; the product will be novel, but it has not yet come out of the crucible. This means that all that goes into the pot contributes to the "real American," the coming superman who is to make his appearance in the future. The whole vision is oriented toward the future—"the ideals of the fathers shall not be foisted on the children." Not only the immigrants, but America as a whole is seen in the process of becoming. To a character who is a caricature of the idle-rich American, David prophesies: "There shall come a fire round the Crucible that will melt you and your breed like wax in a blowpipe— . . . America *shall* make good!"²²

A reviewer in *The Forum* took issue with the assumption that immigration was still forming America. Speaking for the "traditional Americans

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. Cf. Chicago *Inter Ocean*, October 25, 1908, magazine section, p. 10.

²⁰ Chicago *Inter Ocean*, October 22, 1908.

²¹ Zangwill, *Melting-Pot*, p. 47; *American Hebrew*, quoted in *Current Literature*, XLV (December 1908), 672; Rabbi Joel Blau, quoted in Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life* (New York, 1947), p. 144. For other Jewish reactions, see, *Literary Digest*, XXXVII (October 31, 1908), 628-29; Leftwich, Zangwill, p. 252 ff.

²² Zangwill, *Melting-Pot*, pp. 157, 92.

to whom Mr. Zangwill would deny the national name," he showed concern over the "indiscriminate commingling of alien races on our soil," and flatly denied that "the scum and dregs of Europe" could enrich America. On the other hand, many immigrant spokesmen have found the melting pot equally unacceptable because it seemed to require too great a degree of assimilation. According to a very nationalistic German-American writer, *The Melting-Pot* was "simply a mixture of insipid phrases and un-historical thinking" and represented "just the contrary of that toward which we strive." He warned that any attempt to "do away with our German cultural type . . . in the smudge kitchen of a national melting pot" would come to naught. In addition to Jews and Germans, spokesmen for the Norwegian and the Slavic immigrants have been critical of the notion of the melting pot.²³

These immigrant critics obviously understand the melting pot differently from the *Forum* reviewer: the complaint of the former is that it means too much conformity to America as it already exists, while the latter is fearful that America itself is to be transformed. This ambiguity in the meaning or "theory" of the melting pot was present at the beginning and was to persist. But before considering the "theoretical" aspects of the subject, we should examine the use of the melting pot as a symbol, because the theoretical ambiguity has not lessened the use of the symbol, and the popularity of the symbol has perpetuated and aggravated the ambiguities of meaning.

The melting pot symbol was introduced at a propitious moment, achieved almost instant popularity, and has been employed by countless writers with every imaginable embellishment and variation. Two magazines have used *The Melting Pot* as their title; a novel called *On the Way to the Melting Pot* was published in Norwegian; and a study of immigration was entitled *The Melting-Pot Mistake*. Librarians frequently arrange immigrant stories under some such rubric as "Out of the Melting Pot," and the field of immigrant fiction was surveyed by Carl Wittke in an article entitled "Melting Pot Literature." Dumas Malone summarized the information about immigrants who were included in the *Dictionary of American Biography* in an article on our "Intellectual Melting Pot."²⁴

²³ *Forum*, XLII (November 1909), 434-35; Julius Goebel quoted in Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York, 1922), pp. 61-62; Einar Haugen, "The Struggle over Norwegian," *Norwegian-American Studies*, XVII (Northfield, Minn., 1952), 23; Joseph A. Wyrwal, *America's Polish Heritage. A Social History of the Poles in America* (Detroit, 1961), p. 244 ff.; Louis Adamic, *From Many Lands* (New York, 1939), pp. 301, 303.

²⁴ *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada*. Ed. Winifred Gregory (2nd ed.; New York, 1948), p. 1706; Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*

We have also had linguistic, rural, frontier, urban and civil rights melting pots, as well as "melting pot wards."²⁵ The United States is usually thought of as *the* melting pot, but smaller units also claim the title: Puritan Boston was called a melting pot in the twentieth century; a very old state, Pennsylvania, and the newest one, Hawaii, share the same honor; and now the nation of Israel threatens to usurp America's place as the modern melting pot.²⁶

"What's in the Melting Pot?" asked *The Survey* in 1912, but not until 1922 did the House of Representatives furnish an "Expert Analysis of the Metal and Dross in America's Modern Melting Pot."²⁷ "The Pot's Constituents" have usually been found to be various immigrant groups, but foreign bodies of a different sort are also spoken of as being in the crucible. W. F. Adams handled the symbol very straightforwardly when he said that "solid groups of Irish of the lowest class were thrown as cohesive masses into the melting pot"; but for some reason, it is the small Czech group whose career in the melting pot has been most closely scrutinized. Thomas Capek traced their passage "Through Intermarriage into the Melting-Pot," another writer focused on the Czechs in the microcosmic melting pot of Colfax County, Nebraska, and a third has written more generally of the Czech "ingredient."²⁸

in *America. A Study of Bilingual Behavior* (2 vols; Philadelphia, 1953), I, 152; Henry Pratt Fairchild, *The Melting-Pot Mistake* (Boston, 1926); Theodore Blegen, *Grass Roots History* (Minneapolis, 1947), p. 19; Wittke in *College English*, VII (1946), 189-97; Malone in *American Scholar*, IV (1935), 444-59. Cf. also Mircea Vasiliu, *Which Way to the Melting Pot?* (New York, 1963).

²⁵ Albert H. Marckwardt, *American English* (New York, 1958), pp. 57-58; Douglas G. Marshall, "Nationality and the Emerging Culture," *Rural Sociology*, XIII (1948), 42; Edward N. Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925* (New York, 1948), chap. v; Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (2nd ed.; Garden City, N. Y., 1956), chap. v; J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIX (September 1962), 234.

²⁶ "Boston's Melting Pot," *Literary Digest*, LIV (April 14, 1917), 1063; Ralph Wood (ed.), *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, 1942), p. 3; Gerrit P. Judd IV, *Hawaii, An Informal History* (New York, 1961), chap. xiii; J. Isaac, "Israel—A New Melting Pot?" in W. D. Borrie (ed.), *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants* (Unesco, 1959), pp. 234-66.

²⁷ *Survey*, XXVIII (April 27, 1912), 161-62; *Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot*. Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 68 Cong., 3 sess., November 21, 1922. Serial 7-C. Statement by Harry H. Laughlin (Washington, 1923), pp. 729, 760.

²⁸ Quoted in Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America. The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939), p. 131; Thomas Capek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America. A Study of their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic and Religious Life* (Boston, 1920), chap. vii; John S. Hejhal, "The Czechs in the Melting Pot: Americanization in Colfax County, Nebraska, 1869-1959" (Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1959); Joseph Martinek, "Czechoslovakian Ingredient in the Melting Pot," *American Czechoslovak Flashes*, October 15, 1917, cited in R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People. Minorities in American Culture* (Boston, 1949), p. 620.

The ordinary immigrants have sometimes had rather strange companions in the pot. Carl Russell Fish did not hesitate to bring the Pilgrim Fathers perilously close to a dunking, and he declared that their story survived as a "vital spirit sweetening the melting pot." Both labor and religion have been in the pot, but one hopes that these inoffensive abstractions were not part of the "slag" that George Creel complained of in 1922. It is perhaps poetic justice that Israel Zangwill was deposited in his own pot, but the reader is brought up short at seeing the following heading in an index: "Melting pot: children in."²⁹ It was suggested as early as 1912 that the universally-held conceit of national superiority be cast into the melting pot, and in 1916 President Woodrow Wilson called for the enlargement of the melting pot to include the whole world; therefore, it is not surprising that Sisley Huddleston found "Europe in the Melting Pot" in 1922.³⁰ But however much the melting pot might be internationalized, it still concerned Americans primarily as it related to this country and its history. Looking into our past, Americans could see the melting pot beginning to simmer in colonial Pennsylvania; it was still "simmering gently" at the end of the War of 1812, but by the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 it had come to "full boil." A century later the restrictive laws of the 1920s were said to bring the "America of the Melting Pot" to an end, and Henry Pratt Fairchild predicted with no regret that the symbol was so battered that it would not be called into service by subsequent writers.³¹

One of the principal reasons for the durable popularity of the melting pot is that it brings before the mind's eye a vivid picture, and one is almost irresistibly impelled to describe what he sees happening in and around the pot. Once a person writes—or even thinks—"melting pot," he

²⁹ Fish, "The Pilgrim and the Melting Pot," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VII (December 1920), 187-205; Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York, 1947), p. 228; Margaret Mead, "How Religion Fared in the Melting Pot," in C. Kluckhohn et al., *Religion and Our Racial Tensions* (Cambridge, 1945), chap. iv; Creel, quoted in Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 277; Zangwill in *the Melting-Pot. Selections from the Works of the Author*, ed. Elsie E. Morton (London, n.d.); Bessie Bloom Wessel, *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island* (Chicago, 1931), p. 289.

³⁰ Percy S. Grant, "American Ideals and Race Mixture," *North American Review*, CXCIV (April 1912), 514; *The New Democracy. Presidential Messages, Addresses, and Other Papers (1913-1917)*, Vol. IV of *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, eds. Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd (6 vols; New York, 1925-27), 180-81; Huddleston, "Europe in the Melting Pot," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXX (1922), 414-20.

³¹ Wood, *Pennsylvania Germans*, p. 17; Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860. A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (New York, 1961), p. 72; Russel B. Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830* (New York, 1960), p. 123; David A. Reed, "America of the Melting Pot Comes to an End," *New York Times*, April 27, 1924; Fairchild, *Melting-Pot Mistake*, p. 11.

is caught. Only the strongest can resist the temptation to embellish the image, and there are few phenomena of nature which have been more comprehensively reported than the workings of the melting pot. It is, for instance, obvious that a melting pot requires a fire; but what kind of fire? In the play, David Quixano called it a "purging flame," and Zangwill later spoke of the melting pot burning off at the top while new material was added at the bottom. Woodrow Wilson saw the need for a "fire of pure passion" around the crucible, while Max Farrand pointed out that it worked best when the fires were kept at "forced draught"; a reviewer of a recent book on Polish Americans declared, however, that the fire could be cooled by "the winds of action of . . . patriotic immigrant societies."³²

Even greater efforts of the literary imagination have been expended in describing the action and contents of the melting pot. David Quixano contributed a number of images: he described the pot as roaring, bubbling, stirring, seething, melting and fusing. Although this might seem to furnish an adequate picture, it proved quite superficial. Other writers have shown that the pot also simmers, boils, ferments, devours, curdles and coagulates. Furthermore, a critical West Coast observer was able to penetrate the vapors of the melting pot to see the "yellow froth" that defiled it; and, unhappily, the pot was not without both "scum" and "dross."³³

Confronting the image of a great melting pot, one could appropriately take a variety of actions. One could, for example, keep watch over it, become concerned about its capacity or draw lessons from it. For the person who desired a more active role, it was possible to stir the pot; but this had to be done cautiously since there was the danger of overtaxing it, and cracks had been detected. Some observers spoke of the need to make sure that the melting pot really melted its contents, especially when the cold draughts of World War I blew across the Atlantic and caused the contents of the pot to recrystallize, with dangerous lines of fracture appear-

³² Zangwill, *Melting-Pot*, p. 199; *Literary Digest*, XLVIII (February 28, 1914), 425; *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, IV, 180; Max Farrand, "Assimilation," *New Republic*, IX (December 23, 1916), 209-10; review by Stanley R. Pliska, in *Journal of Southern History*, XXVIII (February 1962), 110.

³³ Zangwill, *Melting-Pot*, pp. 198-99; Hansen, *Atlantic Migration*, p. 72; Nye, *Cultural Life of the New Nation*, p. 123; Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants*, p. 146; Fish, "The Pilgrim in the Melting Pot," *loc. cit.*, p. 190; Cushing Strout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York, 1963), p. 135; Wood, *Pennsylvania Germans*, p. 17; "Yellow Froth on the Melting Pot," *Sunset, the Pacific Monthly*, XXXV (May 1916), 36; Edwin E. Grant, "Scum from the Melting-Pot," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX (May 1925), 643; *Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot*, pp. 725, 729, 760.

ing between ethnic masses.³⁴ Occasionally a writer would call attention to the need for forms into which the molten contents might be poured, but unfortunately a good deal of vagueness enveloped the subject of what was to come from the melting pot. David Quixano foresaw a "superman" emerging from the crucible, while President Wilson would settle for "the fine gold of untainted Americanism" as a product; a hostile critic feared that a new language was supposed to "steam forth" from the pot. Many more, of course, were uneasily aware that the melting pot could fail completely; some even claimed that it did not exist.³⁵

The fact that the melting pot symbol has been used so often and in so many ways does not mean that it has won universal acceptance as the most satisfactory symbol for the process of ethnic adjustment and interaction in America. Indeed, it has been called a "startlingly bad" symbol,³⁶ and a great number of alternatives have been suggested, many of them consciously offered as replacements for the melting pot. In the play, Zangwill used the term "crucible" as a synonym for "melting pot," but it has never led an independent life as a symbol—it remains merely a synonym. George R. Stewart suggested the term "transmuting pot" as a clarifying replacement for "melting pot"; he feels that "transmuting pot" is better because it specifies that the immigrants are on the whole changed into traditional Americans instead of producing a new and exotic national type.³⁷ Other alternatives to the melting pot can be grouped in five rough classifications:

1. *Culinary*. It is probably indicative of something about our national character that culinary symbolism supplies more replacements for the melting pot than any other source. In one of the more graphic examples,

³⁴ J. B. Murphy, "What America Means and How to Americanize the Immigrant," *Immigrants in America Review*, I (September 1915), 92; editorial, "The Capacity of the Melting Pot," *ibid.*, II (April 1916), 14; Max Henrici, "The Lesson of the Melting Pot," *American Leader*, IX (March 9, 1916), 277-79; Henry Berman, "Stirring the Melting Pot," *Jewish Immigration Bulletin*, IV (September 1914), 2-4; James D. Whelpley, "The Overtaxed Melting Pot," *Living Age*, LXIII (April 11, 1914), 67-72; Simon J. Lubin and Christina Krysto, "The Strength of America; I, Cracks in the Melting Pot," *Survey*, XLIII (December 20, 1919), 258-59; Gerald C. Treacy, "The American Melting Pot," *America*, XXIII (July 17, 1920), 295; Walter V. Woehlke, "Confessions of a Hyphenate," *Century Magazine*, XCIII (1916), 930.

³⁵ Fairchild, *Melting-Pot Mistake*, p. 120; Zangwill, *Melting-Pot*, pp. 37-38; *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, IV, 180; *Forum*, XLII (November 1909), 435; An Unassimilated Foreigner, "The Failure of the Melting Pot," *Nation*, CX (January 24, 1920), 100-2; Randolph S. Bourne, "Trans-National America," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXVIII (July 1916), 89; "The 'Melting Pot' a Myth," *Journal of Heredity*, VIII (March 1917), 99-105.

³⁶ George R. Stewart, *American Ways of Life* (New York, [c] 1954), p. 23.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24. Cf. also W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven, 1945), p. 155.

Karl E. Meyer likens America to a pressure-cooker rather than a melting pot, and other writers have suggested stew, soup, salad or salad bowl, and mixing bowl as alternatives.³⁸

2. *Color*. Other images suggest light or color in some way. America has been compared to a flower garden containing various blossoms (ethnic groups) of different color, size, fragrance and so on. The country has also been called a mosaic, a kaleidoscope and a cultural rainbow. Emily Green Balch, a respected student of immigration, suggested the metaphor of "irradiation" to describe the way in which various ethnic groups interact with each other and their American surroundings.³⁹

3. *Musical*. Two metaphors relate to music. In advocating his "federation of nationalities" idea, Horace Kallen suggested visualizing America as an orchestra rather than as a melting pot because in an orchestra individuals and small groups work together to produce a harmony of sound from a variety of different instruments. Another writer described America as containing a host of different nationalities who were engaged in a stately and formal dance: America was "The Choir Dance of the Nations."⁴⁰

4. *Mechanical*. For a gadget-minded people, we have been quite unimaginative in suggesting mechanical metaphors for the nation and what is going on in it. The most explicitly mechanistic symbol is that of a weaving machine which combines different elements into one fabric. This metaphor was mentioned by Fairchild in 1926 with the note that probably no one had ever heard of it. Denis Brogan has much more recently suggested that America resembles a pipeline where a number of different elements are all racing along in the same direction, but with little interaction between them.⁴¹

³⁸ Karl E. Meyer, *The New America. Politics and Culture in the Age of the Smooth Deal* (New York, 1961), chap. ix; Wyrwal, *America's Polish Heritage*, p. 119; Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek (eds.), *One America. The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and Cultural Minorities* (3rd ed; New York, 1952), p. 518; Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past. The Forces that Shaped Modern America* (New York, 1959), pp. 290, 296; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States 1830-1850. The Nation and Its Sections* (New York, 1935), pp. 55, 286.

³⁹ Wyrwal, *America's Polish Heritage*, p. 245; Horace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States. Studies in the Group Psychology of the American Peoples* (New York, 1924), pp. 58-59; Stephen Graham, *With Poor Immigrants to America* (New York, 1914), pp. 287-88; Richard M. Dorson, *Bloodstoppers & Bearwalkers. Folk Traditions of the Upper Peninsula* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 10; Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants. A Changing New England Tradition* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 193.

⁴⁰ Kallen, *Culture and Democracy*, pp. 124-25; Graham, *With Poor Immigrants*, chap. xvi.

⁴¹ Fairchild, *Melting-Pot Mistake*, pp. 151-52; D. W. Brogan, *The American Character* (New York, 1956), pp. 119-20.

5. *Derogatory*. At least four alternative symbols are unmistakably insulting to the immigrants who came to America and are in the process of assimilation. In 1921, George Creel asked whether "dumping ground" was not a more fitting metaphor than the melting pot, and five years later Henry Pratt Fairchild declared flatly that: "If we must have a symbol for race mixture, much more accurate than the figure of the melting pot is the figure of the village pound." Fairchild later added two other symbols to the derogatory category when he compared America to a catch-basin and a cul-de-sac for immigrants.⁴²

If we turn from the symbolic to the theoretical melting pot we encounter more disagreement; indeed, it would be more correct to speak of "theories" of the melting pot because there are almost as many versions of the theory as there are embellishments of the symbol. The main difficulty in pinning down the theory is that many writers simply refer to "the melting pot theory" as though the figure of speech itself conveyed a clear and univocally understandable concept which requires no further definition; the symbol, in other words, is assumed to be a theory. The melting pot may be an example of "concrete symbolism," as Zangwill put it,⁴³ but it is hardly precise enough to constitute a "theory"; a theory of the melting pot should spell out just what is meant by the melting of various elements together and how it takes place. Unfortunately, few who speak of the melting pot theory do this; usually one must infer what the theory is thought to be from the way the symbol is handled.

The most fundamental ambiguity in the melting pot as a symbol and the point of greatest confusion in the theory is whether the immigrant *only* is changed, or whether America, the host society, is also changed by the processes of the melting pot. Does the theory imply that the entire make-up of American life is inevitably changed exactly in proportion to the quantity of the various immigrant ingredients thrown into the pot, as George R. Stewart seems to believe; or is Lawrence Frank Pisani correct in thinking that only the immigrants, the ingredients in the pot, are affected by the melting process? A closely related and equally basic question is: does the melting pot receive immigrants, strip them of their cultural heritage and make old-style, Anglo-Saxon Americans of them; or does it

⁴² Creel, "Melting Pot or Dumping Ground?" *Collier's*, LXVIII (September 3, 1921), 9-10; Fairchild, *Melting-Pot Mistake*, p. 125; Fairchild, *Race and Nationality*, p. 117. The inevitable comparison of the melting pot to a "witches' cauldron" also implied derogation of the immigrants. Cf. William W. Cook, *American Institutions and Their Preservation* (2nd ed.; 2 vols; New York, 1929), II, 578. Madison Grant said New York was becoming a "*cloaca gentium*." Quoted in Oscar Handlin (ed.), *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1959), p. 185.

⁴³ Zangwill, "America—'The Melting Pot,'" Chicago *Inter Ocean*, December 6, 1908.

combine the immigrants with the native Americans in a new amalgam embodying the best qualities of both elements? Here again one can find diametrically opposed answers; in at least one case the contradictory versions were both advanced in the same book.⁴⁴

There are several other points of confusion about the melting pot theory. Does it refer to biological "blending," that is, intermarriage, or does it refer to cultural assimilation? Is the theory to be understood as descriptive, or prescriptive; does it show us how a process is taking place, or tell us how to further the action of that process? There is also disagreement about the relationship of the melting pot theory to the Americanization movement of the World War I period: one writer asserts that the Americanization movement was an outgrowth of "the philosophy underlying the melting pot theory," but another claims that it was a repudiation of the laissez-faire approach of the "melting-pot idea." It is suggestive of the confusion surrounding the melting pot as a theory that Horace Kallen, who devoted much energy to attacking the melting pot, has recently been hailed for his vision in discerning what "so many others of us refused to see and to feel, . . . that our country is a true melting-pot."⁴⁵

There are two general considerations that help to account for the confusion that arose about the meaning of the expression "the melting pot": the first of these concerns the play by Zangwill; the other, the subsequent use of the expression by persons who interpreted it in different ways.

Because the expression is so closely connected with Zangwill's play, one looks to *The Melting-Pot* to discover the theory of immigrant assimilation which is dramatized there. It is, as we have seen, possible to draw some inferences about Zangwill's ideas on immigrant assimilation from the play; nevertheless, the fact that it was criticized by native American and immigrant spokesmen for opposite reasons indicates that a dramatic presentation is not a satisfactory method of conveying in unequivocal terms and adequate detail a theory about so complex a process as immigrant assimilation. Furthermore, Zangwill was primarily concerned in the play with Jewish assimilation in America, and his treatment therefore concentrates on this one relatively small, and particularly complicated, aspect of the larger problem, thus introducing other elements of uncertainty. In short, Zangwill's play did not provide a comprehensive statement of any theory of immigrant adjustment, and it was natural that such

⁴⁴ Stewart, *American Ways of Life*, pp. 23-24; Pisani, *The Italian in America. A Social Study and History* (New York, 1957), p. 255; Edgar T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, N. C., 1939), pp. 250, 284.

⁴⁵ Clyde V. Kiser, "Cultural Pluralism," *The Annals*, CCLXII (March 1949), 128; Ellen Terry Bremer, "Development of Private Social Work with the Foreign Born," *ibid.*, p. 143; Stanley H. Chapman in Horace M. Kallen, *Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea. An Essay in Social Philosophy* (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 109.

"theory" as was presented there should be interpreted differently by different persons.

What Zangwill did was to restate dramatically many of the imprecise traditional notions about America's absorptive power and supply a new symbol which soon gained widespread popularity. As a symbol, the melting pot could be freighted with any one of a number of meanings depending upon the view of immigration and assimilation held by those who used it. Those favorably disposed toward free immigration, and confident of America's assimilative power, might interpret the melting pot to mean that the nation could continue to receive immigrants, absorb them in some unspecified fashion, and profit from the diverse cultural traits which they added to the national composite. To those less favorably disposed, and less confident, the melting pot could symbolize a more purposeful process of purging away the inherited culture of the immigrant and remolding him into an old-line, Anglo-Saxon American with all the approved habits, attitudes and beliefs.

An example of the former attitude is Percy Stickney Grant's article on "American Ideals and Race Mixture," which appeared in the *North American Review* in 1912⁴⁶ in answer to an alarmist view of "The Future of American Ideals" by the restrictionist, Prescott F. Hall. Grant argued that "Fusion is the law of progress," and that America would be strengthened by the acceptance and assimilation of new and vigorous strains in the national mixture. He was sympathetic to the immigrant throughout, and concluded his discussion by quoting approvingly the "familiar words of Israel Zangwill" on the virtues of "the great Melting Pot." Within a few years, however, the outbreak of the war in Europe and its reverberations in this country caused attitudes toward the melting pot to shift drastically. The tolerant and optimistic view that it was automatically working to produce a new and better American declined sharply, and the conviction grew that it was the function of the melting pot to make immigrants into patriotic Americans after the pattern of the Americans who got here first.

The return of thousands of immigrants who were reservists in the armies of the belligerents, the burst of war enthusiasm on the part of those who remained and the growing bitterness of various ethnic groups shocked many Americans by revealing the strength of the ties that bound the immigrants to their homelands. Most of the anxiety was centered on the German-Americans, but there was a more generalized suspicion that the nation could not count on the undivided loyalty of the entire immigrant population. In these circumstances, the movement to Americanize

⁴⁶ CXCIV (April 1912), 513-25.

the immigrant which had gotten under way before the war was given a powerful new impetus, and there was much talk of heating the melting pot, stirring it and "our bounden duty to keep our eye" on it.⁴⁷ "Put baldly," wrote a contemporary student, "the devotees of the crude, current notion of the 'melting pot,' bid America take the immigrant . . . strip him of his cultural heritage, throw him into the great cauldron, stir the pot vigorously, speak the magic word 'Americanization' and through the mystic vapors would rise the newly created 'American.'"⁴⁸

As American nationalism mounted during the war and immediate postwar period, this view of the melting pot became almost unalterably fixed, and the American whom the pot was supposed to produce conformed more and more to the stereotype of the "100 percent American." In 1919 two critics of this attitude satirized it by imagining a "keeper of the melting pot" who addresses the immigrants as follows: "Jump into the cauldron, and behold! You emerge new creatures, up-to-date, with new customs, habits, traditions and ideals. Immediately you will become like us; the taint will disappear. . . . You will become full-fledged Americans. The magic process is certain. . . ." ⁴⁹ This, to be sure, is exaggerated, but consideration of the melting pot pageant of the Ford Motor Company's school for its immigrant employees suggests that the keeper's speech did not fundamentally misrepresent the expectations of some Americans. In one version, the pageant features a "Ford English School Melting Pot" perhaps seven to eight feet in height and ten to twelve in diameter; the legend *E Pluribus Unum* appears above the bail of the pot. A number of immigrants, dressed in native costume and carrying placards showing their country of origin, descend into the center of the pot from the rear; the transmogrified "new Americans" appear in two lines on the steps leading up and over the rim on either side. Gone now are the beards and kerchiefs! All are dressed stiffly in business suits and bear in one hand a scroll—presumably their naturalization papers—and in the other, a small American flag. According to some reports, the Americanized immigrants sang the national anthem as they left the pot, and one observer suspected that each carried an Eversharp pencil in his pocket.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See, for example, *Immigrants in America Review*, I (September 1915), 3, 23, 92. On Americanization, see, Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York, 1948).

⁴⁸ Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation. The Blending of Immigrant Heritages in America* (New York, 1920), p. 233.

⁴⁹ Lubin and Krysto, "Strength of America," *Survey*, XLIII (December 1919), 258.

⁵⁰ See photograph in *Outlook*, CXIV (1916), 197; Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, [c] 1922), pp. 86-87; Ray Allen Billington in Caroline F. Ware (ed.), *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940), pp. 79-80; Fairchild, *Race and Nationality*, p. 129; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 248.

As a result of identification with such activities, the melting pot came to be looked upon as almost exclusively a purger of "foreign dross" and "impurities"; the melting pot "theory" tended to lose all association with the idea that immigrants could make valuable contributions to a yet unfinished American culture. Consequently those who were repelled by the narrowness of the more extreme Americanizers tended also to reject the melting pot which stood, in their minds, for enforced conformity to a repugnant version of Americanism. The melting pot acquired in the First World War a bad reputation with liberals which it has not yet fully lived down. The critics of that era who did most to fix liberals' distaste for the melting pot were Horace M. Kallen and Randolph S. Bourne.

Kallen's first discussion of the subject appeared early in 1915 in a lengthy two-part article in *The Nation*, "Democracy *Versus* the Melting-Pot," which was reprinted in 1924 with very minor changes in a volume containing other essays on ethnic adjustment in America. He attacked the melting pot, not only because he found the "100 percentism" of the Americanization program abhorrent, but also because he did not want the immigrant to be "melted" at all: he was convinced that the immigrant neither could nor should divest himself of his ethnic identity.

What is inalienable in the life of mankind [Kallen wrote] is its intrinsic positive quality—its psycho-physical inheritance. Men may change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent; they cannot change their grandfathers. Jews or Poles or Anglo-Saxons, in order to cease being Jews or Poles or Anglo-Saxons, would have to cease to be, while they could cease to be citizens or church members or carpenters or lawyers without ceasing to be. The selfhood which is inalienable in them, and for the realization of which they require 'inalienable' liberty is ancestrally determined, and the happiness which they pursue has its form implied in ancestral endowment.⁵¹

Not only the exaggerated form of the melting pot was wrong, according to Kallen, but any kind of policy which had as its goal assimilation of the immigrant. Instead of assimilation, Kallen proposed as the correct policy the recognition and deliberate fostering of the enduring quality of ethnic differences; the goal, properly envisaged, was that America should become a federation of distinct nationalities using English as "the language of its great tradition," but preserving for the "emotional and involuntary life" of each nationality "its own peculiar dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable esthetic and intellectual forms."

⁵¹ *Nation*, C (February 18, 25, 1915), 190-94, 217-20; quoted from Kallen, *Culture and Democracy*, pp. 122-23.

Thus 'American civilization' may come to mean the perfection of the coöperative harmonies of 'European civilization'—the waste, the squalor and the distress of Europe being eliminated—a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind. As in an orchestra every type of instrument has its specific *timbre* and *tonality*, founded in its substance and form; . . . so in society, each ethnic group may be the natural instrument, its temper and culture may be its theme and melody and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all may make the symphony of civilization.⁵²

When he restated his position in 1924, Kallen rejected—without changing his fundamental point—the criticism that his ancestrally endowed, inalienable psycho-physical ethnic identities were based on a faulty theory of race. At the same time he coined the term "Cultural Pluralism" to describe his approach.⁵³

Kallen, who was German-born, Jewish and a supporter of Zionism, had a personal emotional involvement in the preservation of ethnic distinctiveness, but Randolph Bourne who came from old American stock also advocated roughly the same policy. He and John Dewey, who held similar views, represented American cultural nationalists, disgusted by the extremes of the Americanizers, who nevertheless firmly believed in the necessity to work purposefully for a genuine American nationality and culture. The nationalism they wanted, however, would be truly democratic and international, and they allowed for the active partnership of the immigrant in the creation and life of the American national culture. Bourne's position was outlined in an article entitled "Trans-National America" which appeared about a year after Kallen's essay was first published. He referred critically to the melting pot a dozen times, declaring among other things that it had never existed and that as long as Americans had thought in melting pot terms they were looking to the past instead of the future. While denying the existence of the melting pot, Bourne paradoxically attacked the Americanized second-generation immigrants who were products of the melting process; indeed, he quite forgot his democratic tolerance in describing the "tame flabbiness" of the "cultural half-breeds" who were unlucky enough to have lost their "foreign savor."⁵⁴

Bourne's ideal was a cosmopolitan dual nationality which would permit one to be fully American and at the same time fully Italian, Polish

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155 ff., 43.

⁵⁴ *Atlantic Monthly*, CXVIII (July 1916), 86-97; reprinted in Bourne, *History of a Literary Radical and Other Essays* (ed.), Van Wyck Brooks (New York, 1920), pp. 266-99.

and so on. John Dewey had the same thing in mind when he asserted that the true American is "not American plus Pole or German. But the American is himself Pole-German-English-French-Spanish-Italian-Greek-Irish-Scandinavian-Bohemian-Jew-and so on."⁵⁵ Dewey's remarks were addressed to educators and he saw the schools as a key agency in actualizing his rather baffling prescription for nationality. A few years later some sort of high point was reached in the proposals for systematically inculcating cosmopolitan nationalism in the American people: a series of articles in *The Survey* which began by criticizing the Americanizers' view of the melting pot ended with the suggestion that a cabinet-level department of "Nation Building" be established in Washington.⁵⁶

Another hostile critic of the melting pot was Horace J. Bridges who included in his essays *On Becoming an American* an analysis of "The Fallacy of the Melting-Pot." Bridges' quarrel was really only with that version of the melting pot which conceived it as a device for reducing everyone to a predetermined homogeneity. In his positive prescription for cultural cross-fertilization, Bridges did not differ too widely from the interpretation of the melting pot as a blender of diverse cultural heritages, and he explicitly rejected the view that foreign nationalities should be preserved intact.⁵⁷ There was, however, one student of ethnic adjustment who saw clearly that the melting pot could be interpreted in tolerant and liberal fashion. Isaac B. Berkson's *Theories of Americanization* contained a perceptive analysis of the "melting pot theory" which commended its hospitality to the contributions of all groups, and characterized it as pervaded by "a spirit of humane toleration, and a notion of the dynamic nature of society." But, in the end, Berkson also rejected the melting pot because it required that the unique identity of each ethnic group be "annihilated" as the price of that group's adding its bit to the composite American culture.⁵⁸

By the early 1920s, hostility to the melting pot "theory" probably prevailed among the majority of those who held liberal views on immigration and ethnic adjustment; most—but not all—of this hostility stemmed from the belief that the theory required the stripping away of inherited cul-

⁵⁵ Dewey, "Nationalizing Education," in National Education Association of the United States, *Addresses and Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting*, . . . , LIV (1916), 183-89.

⁵⁶ Lubin and Krysto, "Strength of America," *Survey*, XLIII (December 20, 1919-March 6, 1920), esp. pp. 258-59, 690 ff.

⁵⁷ Bridges, *On Becoming an American. Some Meditations of a Newly Naturalized Immigrant* (Boston, 1919), chaps. viii-x; see also the review of this book quoted in Handlin (ed.), *Immigration as a Factor*, pp. 156-58.

⁵⁸ Berkson, *Theories of Americanization. A Critical Study with Special Reference to the Jewish Group* (New York, 1920), pp. 73-78.

tures and the imposition of Anglo-Saxonism by indoctrination. At the same time, many of those who *did* feel that such was the proper function of the melting pot had become disillusioned by its failure to operate in the desired fashion. Immigrant resistance to Americanization programs, the bickering of nationalities over the provisions of the Versailles treaty and the spread of "bolshevik" tendencies all contributed to the conviction that the melting pot had failed. The suspicion that the "dross" outweighed the "metal" was reinforced by the "expert analysis of the melting-pot" of the eugenicist, H. H. Laughlin, whose report to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization dealt with the proportion of the "socially inadequate" in the immigrant population.⁵⁹ To those who stressed racial considerations, the melting pot was wrong, not so much because it had failed, but because the notion of race mixing itself was misguided; race mixing meant mongrelization, not the production of a superior nationality. The most important frontal attack was Henry Pratt Fairchild's *Melting-Pot Mistake* (1926) which criticized the melting pot for encouraging racial amalgamation, although admitting it was a fairly good symbol for the process. As a symbol for cultural assimilation, however, Fairchild found the melting pot "pitiably inadequate" because cultural heritages could not be melted together and because it focused on the process of interaction rather than the result.⁶⁰

Even those who disagreed with Fairchild on many points might concur in calling the melting pot a mistake, and since both friends of immigration and restrictionists were critical of the symbol, he seemed quite justified in predicting "that it is not likely ever to be dragged into service again."⁶¹ For at least two reasons, this turned out to be another "melting pot mistake": the first reason is that the symbol had already become firmly embedded in American speech; the second, which is perhaps hardly to be distinguished from the first, is that in spite of its theoretical vagueness the melting pot continued to find occasional employment by students of society as a conceptual tool.

All through his career Frederick Jackson Turner looked upon the frontier as a melting pot in which the distinctive American nationality was forged. Edward N. Saveth says that for Turner "the melting pot becomes an important institutional determinant" and that the "concept" is recurrent in his writings; Merle Curti refers to the melting pot in his recent

⁵⁹ *Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot*, *passim*; Roy L. Garis, *Immigration Restriction. A Study of the Opposition to and Regulation of Immigration into the United States* (New York, 1927), p. 239 ff.; Robert A. Divine, *American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 7, 12-14.

⁶⁰ Fairchild, *Melting-Pot Mistake*, esp. pp. 119-20.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

case study of the validity of certain aspects of the Turnerian approach.⁶² Another student of society who used the melting pot as a conceptual tool was Bessie Bloom Wessel, who formally defined it to refer to the amalgamation of different stocks through intermarriage in her *Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island*. This examination of the "melting" process was endorsed, both as to method and results, in a Foreword by the noted anthropologist, Clark Wissler. On the whole, however, sociologists regarded the "melting pot theory" as outmoded or unsophisticated; even so they usually mentioned it as a primitive earlier approach.⁶³ The study which undoubtedly gave the greatest impetus to the use of the melting pot as a conceptual tool was Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy's survey of the patterns of mate selection in New Haven from 1870 to 1940. Her article, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot" (1944), introduced the multiple, or compartmentalized, melting pot. Since her research showed that marriages between different nationalities were increasing, but still tended to take place within the confines of the three major religious divisions, Kennedy concluded that immigrant assimilation took place within the "triple-melting-pots" of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism. Kennedy's triple-melting-pot thesis was given popular currency, and applied much more broadly to religious sociology, in Will Herberg's widely-read and influential study, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*.⁶⁴

Because of the sociologists' discovery of the multiple melting pot, or perhaps because of the mounting evidence that some sort of "melting" has indeed occurred in the American population since 1900, the melting pot is presently recovering a good deal of its respectability. There are still those whose distaste for the term has not abated: Horace Kallen remains unconverted, in spite of admirers who would credit him with the discovery of the melting pot, and Carl N. Degler, Karl E. Meyer, Amitai Etzioni and Franklin D. Scott have all lately found fault with it, while a recent writer in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* criticized the melting pot with racial arguments reminiscent of the 1920s.⁶⁵ On the other hand,

⁶² Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants*, p. 122 ff.; Curti *et al.*, *The Making of an American Community. A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, 1959), pp. 61, 105, 297.

⁶³ Wessel, *Ethnic Survey*, pp. 23, vii; Christine Avghi Galitzi, *A Study of Assimilation Among the Roumanians in the United States* (New York, 1929), pp. 157-58; William C. Smith, *Americans in the Making. The Natural History of the Assimilation of Immigrants* (New York, 1939), p. 114.

⁶⁴ Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (January 1944), 331-39; Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew. An Essay in Religious Sociology* (rev. ed.; Garden City, N. Y., 1960), chaps. ii-iii.

⁶⁵ Kallen, *Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea*, pp. 197-98; Degler, *Out of Our Past*, pp. 295-96; Meyer, *New America*, chap. ix; Etzioni, "The Ghetto—A Re-evaluation," *Social Forces*, XXXVII (1958-59), 260; Scott in Commager (ed.), *Immigra-*

Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. included the melting pot, "in the best sense of the term," among America's ten greatest contributions to civilization; an editor of *The New Republic* associated prejudice and narrow provincialism with cultural pluralism and more seemed favorably inclined toward the melting pot; David Riesman found that the early melting pot had some attractive features, and Theodore H. White, Louis B. Wright and the authors of a recent college text in American history have also spoken positively of it within the last few years.⁶⁶ Hans Kohn, along with Herberg, feels that those who saw America as a melting pot early in this century were more accurate observers than those who held that ethnic identity would persist indefinitely.⁶⁷

Resisting the temptation to ask what the melting pot boils down to, we may now attempt to draw some conclusions. We should note, first of all, that it is the melting pot as symbol rather than as theory which is of primary importance; the difficulty in framing an adequate theory of immigrant adjustment was, in fact, one of the principal reasons for the popularity of the symbol. As a symbol, the melting pot stands in some fashion for the process of interaction of different ethnic groups and for the society in which the process is taking place. At the time the symbol came into general usage, this process was not understood in any clear and comprehensive way, yet it was of great public importance and was much discussed. Theoretical concepts like "assimilation" were employed in this discussion, and so were popular figurative terms like "mixing," "melting," "blending" and "fusing." The melting pot provided a large symbol, a comprehensive figurative framework, which subsumed into itself many metaphoric terms already in common use; it seemed to conform in some way to the process that was going on, and it lent itself to picturesque elaboration which made it ideal for colorful use by journalists. Consequently, the symbol became extremely popular and entered deeply into the whole thought-process respecting immigration; for many people, no doubt, it was the basic piece of intellectual equipment where immigration was concerned. But considering the lack of precise understanding of the subject,

tion and American History, p. 123; J. M. Radzinski, "The American Melting Pot: Its Meaning for Us," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CXV (April 1959), 873-86.

⁶⁶ Schlesinger, "America's Influence: Our Ten Contributions to Civilization," *Atlantic Monthly*, CCIII (March 1959), 67; Christopher Jencks, "The Next Thirty Years in Our Colleges," *Harper's Magazine*, CCXXIII (October 1961), 126-27; Riesman, *Individualism Reconsidered* (Garden City, N. Y., 1955), pp. 54-55; White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York, 1961), p. 267 ff.; Wright, *Cultural Life of the American Colonies*, p. 45; Harry J. Carman, Harold C. Syrett, Bernard W. Wishy, *A History of the American People* (2nd ed.; 2 vols; New York, 1961), II, 796-97.

⁶⁷ Kohn, *American Nationalism*, pp. 155, 171; Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, p. 20.

and the very loose use of the symbol, it was bound to be ambiguous; it could not convey anything univocal because that for which it stood was neither clearly nor univocally understood.

If we concede that the ambiguities of the melting pot symbol *reflected* the confusion existing in the public mind about the processes of immigrant adjustment, the next question is: Did the symbol of the melting pot *add* to that confusion? The answer is that it did. All of us, as George Eliot observed, "get our thoughts entangled in metaphors";⁶⁸ we tend to equate literally the symbol with the thing-symbolized. In this particular instance, the substitution in thought and discussion of a very concrete symbol (melting pot) for a very subtle and complex thing-symbolized (ethnic interaction) was almost bound to result in added confusion. The very effectiveness of the symbol tended to focus undue attention upon it rather than transferring attention to the thing-symbolized, and all too frequently discussion of immigration was cast into the wrong terms. Human beings are not metals; they do not literally "melt"; they do not "fuse"; groups of human beings are not really "alloys." Everyone, of course, "knew" this—but to talk continually in terms of the melting pot, employing the vocabulary of metallurgy, tended inevitably to color the general public understanding of immigration and ethnic adjustment. Unconsciously, one suspects, many people came to feel that there was something wrong with immigrants if they did not visibly start "blending." Furthermore, the elaboration of the symbol proceeded, quite naturally, along lines proper to the operation of a melting pot. But were all these elaborations appropriate to the processes that were supposed to be symbolized? Does it not seem likely that figures like "heating up the pot," or "pouring into molds," suggested ideas respecting immigration that might not otherwise have been thought of at all? At the very least, these figures of speech lent a spurious plausibility to certain ideas simply because they fitted in so nicely with the symbolism of the melting pot, not necessarily because they were appropriate to the reality of ethnic interaction.

Perhaps the most serious distortion of understanding that the melting pot symbolism entailed was the notion of uniformity of product. That which comes out of a melting pot we think of as uniform in color, consistency, texture and other qualities; the repeated use of melting pot symbolism reinforced, if it did not generate, the expectation that the result of ethnic interaction should also be absolutely uniform. It is this emphasis on uniformity which more than anything else has caused liberals to condemn the melting pot "theory."

⁶⁸ Quoted as epigraph in Black (ed.), *The Importance of Language*.

But granting all its confusions and even the particularly unfortunate connotation of uniformity—which can be mitigated by interpretation⁶⁹—the melting pot remains the best symbol that has been devised for ethnic interaction in America. It is by far the most popular symbol, and its very ambiguity allows its use by those who disagree about what it means, but these are not the chief reasons for calling it the best symbol. It is the unique merit of the melting pot that the element of ever-changing-process is intrinsic to the symbol itself, and that which is symbolized, ethnic interaction, is above all an ever-changing dynamic process. There are two other distinctive merits of the melting pot symbol: first, the strong implication that the interaction of the various elements proceeds according to its own inner laws in the general direction of reducing the most glaring differences, and is subject to human manipulation to only a limited degree; and, second, the suggestion that the final result of the interaction cannot with certainty be known beforehand.

If we compare the melting pot with some of the alternative symbols mentioned earlier its superiority is, I believe, clear. If the melting pot can be validly criticized because it suggests too strongly uniformity of product, this is surely even more true of George R. Stewart's "transmuting pot"; what this verbal change in fact does is specify one version of the melting pot—the version that immigrants are to be changed into something which is predetermined. Unless one thinks that the element of predetermination is present to a greater degree than can be implied by the melting pot it is hard to see why transmuting pot should be preferred. The alternative symbols of "soup," "stew" and the like certainly have nothing to recommend them on aesthetic grounds, and are usually justified by arguments exactly the opposite of Stewart's: they are urged as substitutes because the melting pot is alleged to imply too strongly that the distinctive ethnic identities disappear, while in a stew, carrots, for example, do remain somehow carrots even after an indefinite period of stewing. Here the matter resolves itself into the question of whether one would agree that a third-generation Irish-American is to an immigrant Irishman as a carrot-in-the-pot-nine-days-old is to a raw carrot. Furthermore, these symbols do not convey as forcefully as the melting pot the sense of ever-changing-process, and they suggest "chef" more strongly than the melting pot sug-

⁶⁹ The stress on uniformity is largely obviated by thinking of the melting pot as an unfinished process, where there is no "drawing off" of the product. If we picture a pot without a tap, in continuous interaction, would it not conform to the reality to suppose that if one dipped into the contents in 1960 he would find the specimen he took considerably more "melted" than it might have been in 1930 or 1900? Still this would not imply absolute homogeneity of contents throughout in 1960 any more than in 1900.

gests a directive human manipulator. Practically all the other alternative symbols surveyed—salad, mosaic, flower garden and so on—are fundamentally defective in that they are essentially static; they do not convey the notion that the materials involved are in a process of transformation. Even those that seem to involve action (e.g., weaving machine, orchestra) fall down here since the constitutive elements are themselves unchanging. Furthermore, a weaving machine implies a weaver, and an orchestra requires a conductor. Perhaps something could be done with "irradiation," but it hardly seems worthwhile to take up all the others from "choir dance" to dog pound.

As a symbol the melting pot seems to me superior to these and it certainly has in its favor the weight of popular usage. Among intellectuals the real challenger of the melting pot symbol is not another symbol, but rather the concept of cultural pluralism. This concept which is almost as old as the melting pot, and whose history is equally involved, cannot be discussed here. It is pertinent to note, however, that although it is an abstract concept, cultural pluralism has accumulated an emotional charge equal to that carried by any symbol; moreover, it is not without a few ambiguities of its own, and has perhaps even generated a little confusion. In the form first proposed by Kallen, cultural pluralism amounted to a kind of "ethnic predestination,"⁷⁰ and it did not prove to be an accurate prognosis of the future development of immigrant groups in the United States. It is now much modified and amounts, on the whole, to tolerance of as much cultural diversity as is compatible with the minimum essential national unity. Every idea—even cultural pluralism—can be interpreted in narrow and dogmatic fashion, and it is worth pointing out to the cultural pluralist critics of the melting pot that that much-abused symbol has represented, for many Americans, aspirations and values that resemble those cherished by pluralists—openness toward the future; receptiveness to immigrants and the cultural values they bring; and the gradual and harmonious integration of these immigrants and their descendants into the ever-evolving life of the nation.

⁷⁰ Berkson, *Theories of Americanization*, p. 87. Cf. Sidney Ratner (ed.), *Vision & Action. Essays in Honor of Horace M. Kallen on His 70th Birthday* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), p. 106, note.



HENRY M. LITTLEFIELD

Mount Vernon High School, N. Y.

The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism

ON THE DESERTS OF NORTH AFRICA IN 1941 TWO TOUGH AUSTRALIAN BRIGADES
went to battle singing,

Have you heard of the wonderful wizard,
The wonderful Wizard of Oz,
And he is a wonderful wizard,
If ever a wizard there was.

It was a song they had brought with them from Australia and would soon spread to England. Forever afterward it reminded Winston Churchill of those "buoyant days."¹ Churchill's nostalgia is only one symptom of the world-wide delight found in an American fairy-tale about a little girl and her odyssey in the strange land of Oz. The song he reflects upon came from a classic 1939 Hollywood production of the story, which introduced millions of people not only to the land of Oz, but to a talented young lady named Judy Garland as well.

Ever since its publication in 1900 Lyman Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has been immensely popular, providing the basis for a profitable musical comedy, three movies and a number of plays. It is an indigenous creation, curiously warm and touching, although no one really knows why. For despite wholehearted acceptance by generations of readers, Baum's tale has been accorded neither critical acclaim, nor extended critical examination. Interested scholars, such as Russel B. Nye and Martin Gardiner, look upon *The Wizard of Oz* as the first in a long and delightful series of Oz stories, and understandably base their appreciation of Baum's talent on the totality of his works.²

The Wizard of Oz is an entity unto itself, however, and was not originally written with a sequel in mind. Baum informed his readers in 1904

¹ Winston S. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour* (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 615-16.

² Martin Gardiner and Russel B. Nye, *The Wizard of Oz and Who He Was* (East Lansing, Mich., 1957), pp. 7 ff, 14-16, 19. Professor Nye's "Appreciation" and Martin Gardiner's "The Royal Historian of Oz," totaling some forty-five pages, present as definitive an analysis of Baum and his works as is available today.

that he had produced *The Marvelous Land of Oz* reluctantly and only in answer to well over a thousand letters demanding that he create another Oz tale.³ His original effort remains unique and to some degree separate from the books which follow. But its uniqueness does not rest alone on its peculiar and transcendent popularity.

Professor Nye finds a "strain of moralism" in the Oz books, as well as "a well-developed sense of satire," and Baum stories often include searching parodies on the contradictions in human nature. The second book in the series, *The Marvelous Land of Oz*, is a blatant satire on feminism and the suffragette movement.⁴ In it Baum attempted to duplicate the format used so successfully in *The Wizard*, yet no one has noted a similar play on contemporary movements in the latter work. Nevertheless, one does exist, and it reflects to an astonishing degree the world of political reality which surrounded Baum in 1900. In order to understand the relationship of *The Wizard* to turn-of-the-century America, it is necessary first to know something of Baum's background.

Born near Syracuse in 1856, Baum was brought up in a wealthy home and early became interested in the theater. He wrote some plays which enjoyed brief success and then, with his wife and two sons, journeyed to Aberdeen, South Dakota, in 1887. Aberdeen was a little prairie town and there Baum edited the local weekly until it failed in 1891.⁵

For many years Western farmers had been in a state of loud, though unsuccessful, revolt. While Baum was living in South Dakota not only was the frontier a thing of the past, but the Romantic view of benign nature had disappeared as well. The stark reality of the dry, open plains and the acceptance of man's Darwinian subservience to his environment served to crush Romantic idealism.⁶

Hamlin Garland's visit to Iowa and South Dakota coincided with Baum's arrival. Henry Nash Smith observes,

Garland's success as a portrayer of hardship and suffering on Northwestern farms was due in part to the fact that his personal experience happened to parallel the shock which the entire West received in the later 1880's from the combined effects of low prices, . . . grasshoppers, drought, the terrible blizzards of the winter of 1886-1887, and the juggling of freight rates. . . .⁷

³ L. Frank Baum, *The Marvelous Land of Oz* (Chicago, 1904), p. 3 (Author's Note).

⁴ Gardiner and Nye, *Wizard*, pp. 5-7, 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

⁶ See Calton F. Culmsee, *Malign Nature and the Frontier* (Logan, Utah, 1959), VII, 5, 11, 14. The classic work in the field of symbolism in Western literature is Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (New York, 1961), pp. 225-26, 261, 284-90.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

As we shall see, Baum's prairie experience was no less deeply etched, although he did not employ naturalism to express it.

Baum's stay in South Dakota also covered the period of the formation of the Populist party, which Professor Nye likens to a fanatic "crusade." Western farmers had for a long time sought governmental aid in the form of economic panaceas, but to no avail. The Populist movement symbolized a desperate attempt to use the power of the ballot.⁸ In 1891 Baum moved to Chicago where he was surrounded by those dynamic elements of reform which made the city so notable during the 1890s.⁹

In Chicago Baum certainly saw the results of the frightful depression which had closed down upon the nation in 1893. Moreover, he took part in the pivotal election of 1896, marching in "torch-light parades for William Jennings Bryan." Martin Gardiner notes besides, that he "consistently voted as a democrat . . . and his sympathies seem always to have been on the side of the laboring classes."¹⁰ No one who marched in even a few such parades could have been unaffected by Bryan's campaign. Putting all the farmers' hopes in a basket labeled "free coinage of silver," Bryan's platform rested mainly on the issue of adding silver to the nation's gold standard. Though he lost, he did at least bring the plight of the little man into national focus.¹¹

Between 1896 and 1900, while Baum worked and wrote in Chicago, the great depression faded away and the war with Spain thrust the United States into world prominence. Bryan maintained Midwestern control over the Democratic party, and often spoke out against American policies toward Cuba and the Philippines. By 1900 it was evident that Bryan would run again, although now imperialism and not silver seemed the issue of primary concern. In order to promote greater enthusiasm, however, Bryan felt compelled once more to sound the silver leitmotif in his campaign.¹² Bryan's second futile attempt at the presidency culminated in November 1900. The previous winter Baum had attempted unsuccessfully to sell a rather original volume of children's fantasy, but that April, George M. Hill, a small Chicago publisher, finally agreed to print *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

⁸ Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics* (East Lansing, Mich., 1959), pp. 63, 56-58, 75, 105. See also John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), pp. 82, 93-95, 264-68.

⁹ See Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America* (New York, 1958).

¹⁰ Gardiner and Nye, *Wizard*, p. 29.

¹¹ See William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle* (Lincoln, Neb., 1897), pp. 612-29. Two recent studies are notable: Harold U. Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion* (New York, 1959), pp. 187-211 and Nye, *Politics*, pp. 105-20.

¹² See Richard Hofstadter's shattering essay on Bryan in *The American Political Tradition* (New York, 1960), pp. 186-205. Nye, *Politics*, pp. 121-22; Faulkner, *Reform*, pp. 272-75.

Baum's allegiance to the cause of Democratic Populism must be balanced against the fact that he was not a political activist. Martin Gardiner finds through all of his writings "a theme of tolerance, with many episodes that poke fun at narrow nationalism and ethnocentrism." Nevertheless, Professor Nye quotes Baum as having a desire to write stories that would "bear the stamp of our times and depict the progressive fairies of today."¹³

The Wizard of Oz has neither the mature religious appeal of a *Pilgrim's Progress*, nor the philosophic depth of a *Candide*. Baum's most thoughtful devotees see in it only a warm, cleverly written fairy tale. Yet the original Oz book conceals an unsuspected depth, and it is the purpose of this study to demonstrate that Baum's immortal American fantasy encompasses more than heretofore believed. For Baum created a children's story with a symbolic allegory implicit within its story line and characterizations. The allegory always remains in a minor key, subordinated to the major theme and readily abandoned whenever it threatens to distort the appeal of the fantasy. But through it, in the form of a subtle parable, Baum delineated a Midwesterner's vibrant and ironic portrait of this country as it entered the twentieth century.

We are introduced to both Dorothy and Kansas at the same time:

Dorothy lived in the midst of the great Kansas prairies, with Uncle Henry, who was a farmer, and Aunt Em, who was the farmer's wife. Their house was small, for the lumber to build it had to be carried by wagon many miles. There were four walls, a floor and a roof, which made one room; and this room contained a rusty-looking cooking stove, a cupboard for the dishes, a table, three or four chairs, and the beds.

When Dorothy stood in the doorway and looked around, she could see nothing but the great gray prairie on every side. Not a tree nor a house broke the broad sweep of flat country that reached to the edge of the sky in all directions. The sun had baked the plowed land into a gray mass, with little cracks running through it. Even the grass was not green, for the sun had burned the tops of the long blades until they were the same gray color to be seen everywhere. Once the house had been painted, but the sun blistered the paint and the rains washed it away, and now the house was as dull and gray as everything else.

When Aunt Em came there to live she was a young, pretty wife. The sun and wind had changed her, too. They had taken the sparkle from her eyes and left them a sober gray; they had taken the red from her cheeks and lips, and they were gray also. She was thin and gaunt, and never smiled now. When Dorothy, who was an orphan, first came to

¹³ Gardiner and Nye, *Wizard*, pp. 1, 30.

her, Aunt Em had been so startled by the child's laughter that she would scream and press her hand upon her heart whenever Dorothy's merry voice reached her ears; and she still looked at the little girl with wonder that she could find anything to laugh at.

Uncle Henry never laughed. He worked hard from morning till night and did not know what joy was. He was gray also, from his long beard to his rough boots, and he looked stern and solemn, and rarely spoke.

It was Toto that made Dorothy laugh, and saved her from growing as gray as her other surroundings. Toto was not gray; he was a little black dog, with long silky hair and small black eyes that twinkled merrily on either side of his funny, wee nose. Toto played all day long, and Dorothy played with him, and loved him dearly.¹⁴

Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur would not have recognized Uncle Henry's farm; it is straight out of Hamlin Garland.¹⁵ On it a deadly environment dominates everyone and everything except Dorothy and her pet. The setting is Old Testament and nature seems grayly impersonal and even angry. Yet it is a fearsome cyclone that lifts Dorothy and Toto in their house and deposits them "very gently—for a cyclone—in the midst of a country of marvelous beauty." We immediately sense the contrast between Oz and Kansas. Here there are "stately trees bearing rich and luscious fruits . . . gorgeous flowers . . . and birds with . . . brilliant plumage" sing in the trees. In Oz "a small brook rushing and sparkling along" murmurs "in a voice very grateful to a little girl who had lived so long on the dry, gray prairies" (p. 20).

Trouble intrudes. Dorothy's house has come down on the wicked Witch of the East, killing her. Nature, by sheer accident, can provide benefits, for indirectly the cyclone has disposed of one of the two truly bad influences in the Land of Oz. Notice that evil ruled in both the East and the West; after Dorothy's coming it rules only in the West.

The wicked Witch of the East had kept the little Munchkin people "in bondage for many years, making them slave for her night and day" (pp. 22-23). Just what this slavery entailed is not immediately clear, but Baum later gives us a specific example. The Tin Woodman, whom Dorothy meets on her way to the Emerald City, had been put under a spell by the Witch of the East. Once an independent and hard working

¹⁴ L. Frank Baum, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, pp. 11-13. All quotations cited in the text are from the inexpensive but accurate Dover paperback edition (New York, 1960).

¹⁵ Henry Nash Smith says of Garland's works in the 1890s, "It had at last become possible to deal with the Western farmer in literature as a human being instead of seeing him through a veil of literary convention, class prejudice or social theory," *Virgin Land*, p. 290.

human being, the Woodman found that each time he swung his axe it chopped off a different part of his body. Knowing no other trade he "worked harder than ever," for luckily in Oz tinsmiths can repair such things. Soon the Woodman was all tin (p. 59). In this way Eastern witchcraft dehumanized a simple laborer so that the faster and better he worked the more quickly he became a kind of machine. Here is a Populist view of evil Eastern influences on honest labor which could hardly be more pointed.¹⁶

There is one thing seriously wrong with being made of tin; when it rains rust sets in. Tin Woodman had been standing in the same position for a year without moving before Dorothy came along and oiled his joints. The Tin Woodman's situation has an obvious parallel in the condition of many Eastern workers after the depression of 1893.¹⁷ While Tin Woodman is standing still, rusted solid, he deludes himself into thinking he is no longer capable of that most human of sentiments, love. Hate does not fill the void, a constant lesson in the Oz books, and Tin Woodman feels that only a heart will make him sensitive again. So he accompanies Dorothy to see if the Wizard will give him one.

Oz itself is a magic oasis surrounded by impassable deserts, and the country is divided in a very orderly fashion. In the North and South the people are ruled by good witches, who are not quite as powerful as the wicked ones of the East and West. In the center of the land rises the magnificent Emerald City ruled by the Wizard of Oz, a successful humbug whom even the witches mistakenly feel "is more powerful than all the rest of us together" (p. 24). Despite these forces, the mark of goodness, placed on Dorothy's forehead by the Witch of the North, serves as protection for Dorothy throughout her travels. Goodness and innocence prevail even over the powers of evil and delusion in Oz. Perhaps it is this basic and beautiful optimism that makes Baum's tale so characteristically American—and Midwestern.

Dorothy is Baum's Miss Everyman. She is one of us, levelheaded and human, and she has a real problem. Young readers can understand her quandary as readily as can adults. She is good, not precious, and she thinks quite naturally about others. For all of the attractions of Oz Dorothy desires only to return to the gray plains and Aunt Em and Uncle Henry. She is directed toward the Emerald City by the good Witch of the North, since the Wizard will surely be able to solve the problem

¹⁶ Hicks declares that from the start "The Alliance and Populist platforms championed boldly the cause of labor. . . ." *Revolt*, p. 324. See also Bryan's Labor Day speech, *Battle*, pp. 375-83.

¹⁷ Faulkner, *Reform*, pp. 142-43.

of the impassable deserts. Dorothy sets out on the Yellow Brick Road wearing the Witch of the East's magic Silver Shoes. Silver shoes walking on a golden road; henceforth Dorothy becomes the innocent agent of Baum's ironic view of the Silver issue. Remember, neither Dorothy, nor the good Witch of the North, nor the Munchkins understand the power of these shoes. The allegory is abundantly clear. On the next to last page of the book Baum has Glinda, Witch of the South, tell Dorothy, "Your Silver Shoes will carry you over the desert. . . . If you had known their power you could have gone back to your Aunt Em the very first day you came to this country." Glinda explains, "All you have to do is to knock the heels together three times and command the shoes to carry you wherever you wish to go" (p. 257). William Jennings Bryan never outlined the advantages of the silver standard any more effectively.

Not understanding the magic of the Silver Shoes, Dorothy walks the mundane—and dangerous—Yellow Brick Road. The first person she meets is a Scarecrow. After escaping from his wooden perch, the Scarecrow displays a terrible sense of inferiority and self doubt, for he has determined that he needs real brains to replace the common straw in his head. William Allen White wrote an article in 1896 entitled "What's the Matter With Kansas?" In it he accused Kansas farmers of ignorance, irrationality and general muddle-headedness. What's wrong with Kansas are the people, said Mr. White.¹⁸ Baum's character seems to have read White's angry characterization. But Baum never takes White seriously and so the Scarecrow soon emerges as innately a very shrewd and very capable individual.

The Scarecrow and the Tin Woodman accompany Dorothy along the Yellow Brick Road, one seeking brains, the other a heart. They meet next the Cowardly Lion. As King of Beasts he explains, "I learned that if I roared very loudly every living thing was frightened and got out of my way." Born a coward, he sobs, "Whenever there is danger my heart begins to beat fast." "Perhaps you have heart disease," suggests Tin Woodman, who always worries about hearts. But the Lion desires only courage and so he joins the party to ask help from the Wizard (pp. 65-72).

The Lion represents Bryan himself. In the election of 1896 Bryan lost the vote of Eastern labor, though he tried hard to gain their support. In Baum's story the Lion, on meeting the little group, "struck at the Tin Woodman with his sharp claws." But, to his surprise, "he could make no impression on the tin, although the Woodman fell over in the road and lay still." Baum here refers to the fact that in 1896 workers were often

¹⁸ Richard Hofstadter (ed.), *Great Issues in American History* (New York, 1960), II, 147-53.

pressured into voting for McKinley and gold by their employers.¹⁹ Amazed, the Lion says, "he nearly blunted my claws," and he adds even more appropriately, "When they scratched against the tin it made a cold shiver run down my back" (pp. 67-68). The King of Beasts is not after all very cowardly, and Bryan, although a pacifist and an anti-imperialist in a time of national expansion, is not either.²⁰ The magic Silver Shoes belong to Dorothy, however. Silver's potent charm, which had come to mean so much to so many in the Midwest, could not be entrusted to a political symbol. Baum delivers Dorothy from the world of adventure and fantasy to the real world of heartbreak and desolation through the power of Silver. It represents a real force in a land of illusion, and neither the Cowardly Lion nor Bryan truly needs or understands its use.

All together now the small party moves toward the Emerald City. Coxey's Army of tramps and indigents, marching to ask President Cleveland for work in 1894, appears no more naively innocent than this group of four characters going to see a humbug Wizard, to request favors that only the little girl among them deserves.

Those who enter the Emerald City must wear green glasses. Dorothy later discovers that the greenness of dresses and ribbons disappears on leaving, and everything becomes a bland white. Perhaps the magic of any city is thus self imposed. But the Wizard dwells here and so the Emerald City represents the national Capitol. The Wizard, a little bumbling old man, hiding behind a facade of papier mâché and noise, might be any President from Grant to McKinley. He comes straight from the fair grounds in Omaha, Nebraska, and he symbolizes the American criterion for leadership—he is able to be everything to everybody.

As each of our heroes enters the throne room to ask a favor the Wizard assumes different shapes, representing different views toward national leadership. To Dorothy, he appears as an enormous head, "bigger than the head of the biggest giant." An apt image for a naive and innocent little citizen. To the Scarecrow he appears to be a lovely, gossamer fairy, a most appropriate form for an idealistic Kansas farmer. The Woodman sees a horrible beast, as would any exploited Eastern laborer after the trouble of the 1890s. But the Cowardly Lion, like W. J. Bryan, sees a "Ball of Fire, so fierce and glowing he could scarcely bear to gaze upon it." Baum then provides an additional analogy, for when

¹⁹ Bryan, *Battle*, pp. 617-18, "During the campaign I ran across various evidences of coercion, direct and indirect." See Hicks, *Revolt*, p. 325, who notes that "For some reason labor remained singularly unimpressed" by Bryan. Faulkner finds overt pressure as well, *Reform*, pp. 208-9.

²⁰ Faulkner, *Reform*, pp. 257-58.

the Lion "tried to go nearer he singed his whiskers and he crept back tremblingly to a spot nearer the door" (p. 134).

The Wizard has asked them all to kill the Witch of the West. The golden road does not go in that direction and so they must follow the sun, as have many pioneers in the past. The land they now pass through is "rougher and hillier, for there were no farms nor houses in the country of the West and the ground was untilled" (p. 140). The Witch of the West uses natural forces to achieve her ends; she is Baum's version of sentient and malign nature.

Finding Dorothy and her friends in the West, the Witch sends forty wolves against them, then forty vicious crows and finally a great swarm of black bees. But it is through the power of a magic golden cap that she summons the flying monkeys. They capture the little girl and dispose of her companions. Baum makes these Winged Monkeys into an Oz substitute for the plains Indians. Their leader says, "Once . . . we were a free people, living happily in the great forest, flying from tree to tree, eating nuts and fruit, and doing just as we pleased without calling anybody master." "This," he explains, "was many years ago, long before Oz came out of the clouds to rule over this land" (p. 172). But like many Indian tribes Baum's monkeys are not inherently bad; their actions depend wholly upon the bidding of others. Under the control of an evil influence, they do evil. Under the control of goodness and innocence, as personified by Dorothy, the monkeys are helpful and kind, although unable to take her to Kansas. Says the Monkey King, "We belong to this country alone, and cannot leave it" (p. 213). The same could be said with equal truth of the first Americans.

Dorothy presents a special problem to the Witch. Seeing the mark on Dorothy's forehead and the Silver Shoes on her feet, the Witch begins "to tremble with fear, for she knew what a powerful charm belonged to them." Then "she happened to look into the child's eyes and saw how simple the soul behind them was, and that the little girl did not know of the wonderful power the Silver Shoes gave her" (p. 150). Here Baum again uses the Silver allegory to state the blunt homily that while goodness affords a people ultimate protection against evil, ignorance of their capabilities allows evil to impose itself upon them. The Witch assumes the proportions of a kind of western Mark Hanna or Banker Boss, who, through natural malevolence, manipulates the people and holds them prisoner by cynically taking advantage of their innate innocence.

Enslaved in the West, "Dorothy went to work meekly, with her mind made up to work as hard as she could; for she was glad the Wicked Witch had decided not to kill her" (p. 150). Many Western farmers have held

these same grim thoughts in less mystical terms. If the Witch of the West is a diabolical force of Darwinian or Spencerian nature, then another contravening force may be counted upon to dispose of her. Dorothy destroys the evil Witch by angrily dousing her with a bucket of water. Water, that precious commodity which the drought-ridden farmers on the great plains needed so badly, and which if correctly used could create an agricultural paradise, or at least dissolve a wicked witch. Plain water brings an end to malign nature in the West.

When Dorothy and her companions return to the Emerald City they soon discover that the Wizard is really nothing more than "a little man, with a bald head and a wrinkled face." Can this be the ruler of the land? Our friends looked at him in surprise and dismay.

"I thought Oz was a great Head," said Dorothy. . . . "And I thought Oz was a terrible Beast," said the Tin Woodman. "And I thought Oz was a Ball of Fire," exclaimed the Lion. "No; you are all wrong," said the little man meekly. "I have been making believe."

Dorothy asks if he is truly a great Wizard. He confides, "Not a bit of it, my dear; I'm just a common man." Scarecrow adds, "You're more than that . . . you're a humbug" (p. 184).

The Wizard's deception is of long standing in Oz and even the Witches were taken in. How was it accomplished? "It was a great mistake my ever letting you into the Throne Room," the Wizard complains. "Usually I will not see even my subjects, and so they believe I am something terrible" (p. 185). What a wonderful lesson for youngsters of the decade when Benjamin Harrison, Grover Cleveland and William McKinley were hiding in the White House. Formerly the Wizard was a mimic, a ventriloquist and a circus balloonist. The latter trade involved going "up in a balloon on circus day, so as to draw a crowd of people together and get them to pay to see the circus" (p. 186-87). Such skills are as admirably adapted to success in late-nineteenth-century politics as they are to the humbug wizardry of Baum's story. A pointed comment on Mid-western political ideals is the fact that our little Wizard comes from Omaha, Nebraska, a center of Populist agitation.²¹ "Why that isn't very far from Kansas," cries Dorothy. Nor, indeed, are any of the characters in the wonderful land of Oz.

The Wizard, of course, can provide the objects of self-delusion desired by Tin Woodman, Scarecrow and Lion. But Dorothy's hope of going

²¹ Professor Nye observes that during 1890 (while Baum was editing his *Aberdeen weekly*) the Nebraska Farmer's Alliance "launched the wildest campaign in Nebraska history." *Politics*, p. 64-65. Bryan was a Senator from Nebraska and it was in Omaha that the Populist party ratified its platform on July 4, 1892. See Henry Steele Commager (ed.), *Documents of American History* (New York, 1958), II, 143-46.

home fades when the Wizard's balloon leaves too soon. Understand this: Dorothy wishes to leave a green and fabulous land, from which all evil has disappeared, to go back to the gray desolation of the Kansas prairies. Dorothy is an orphan, Aunt Em and Uncle Henry are her only family. Reality is never far from Dorothy's consciousness and in the most heart-rending terms she explains her reasoning to the good Witch Glinda,

Aunt Em will surely think something dreadful has happened to me, and that will make her put on mourning; and unless the crops are better this year than they were last I am sure Uncle Henry cannot afford it. (p. 254)

The Silver Shoes furnish Dorothy with a magic means of travel. But when she arrives back in Kansas she finds, "The Silver Shoes had fallen off in her flight through the air, and were lost forever in the desert" (p. 259). Were the "her" to refer to America in 1900, Baum's statement could hardly be contradicted.

Current historiography tends to criticize the Populist movement for its "delusions, myths and foibles," Professor C. Vann Woodward observed recently.²² Yet *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has provided unknowing generations with a gentle and friendly Midwestern critique of the Populist rationale on these very same grounds. Led by naive innocence and protected by good will, the farmer, the laborer and the politician approach the mystic holder of national power to ask for personal fulfillment. Their desires, as well as the Wizard's cleverness in answering them, are all self-delusion. Each of these characters carries within him the solution to his own problem, were he only to view himself objectively. The fearsome Wizard turns out to be nothing more than a common man, capable of shrewd but mundane answers to these self-induced needs. Like any good politician he gives the people what they want. Throughout the story Baum poses a central thought; the American desire for symbols of fulfillment is illusory. Real needs lie elsewhere.

Thus the Wizard cannot help Dorothy, for of all the characters only she has a wish that is selfless, and only she has a direct connection to honest, hopeless human beings. Dorothy supplies real fulfillment when she returns to her aunt and uncle, using the Silver Shoes, and cures some of their misery and heartache. In this way Baum tells us that the Silver crusade at least brought back Dorothy's lovely spirit to the disconsolate plains farmer. Her laughter, love and good will are no small addition to that gray land, although the magic of Silver has been lost forever as a result.

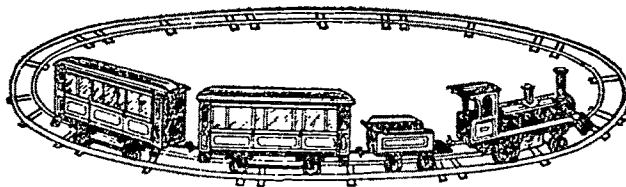
²² C. Vann Woodward, "Our Past Isn't What It Used To Be," *The New York Times Book Review* (July 28, 1963), p. 1; Hofstadter, *Tradition*, pp. 186-205.

Noteworthy too is Baum's prophetic placement of leadership in Oz after Dorothy's departure. The Scarecrow reigns over the Emerald City, the Tin Woodman rules in the West and the Lion protects smaller beasts in "a grand old forest." Thereby farm interests achieve national importance, industrialism moves West and Bryan commands only a forest full of lesser politicians.

Baum's fantasy succeeds in bridging the gap between what children want and what they should have. It is an admirable example of the way in which an imaginative writer can teach goodness and morality without producing the almost inevitable side effect of nausea. Today's children's books are either saccharine and empty, or boring and pedantic. Baum's first Oz tale—and those which succeed it—are immortal not so much because the "heart-aches and nightmares are left out" as that "the wonderment and joy" are retained (p. 1).

Baum declares, "The story of 'the Wonderful Wizard of Oz' was written solely to pleasure children of today" (p. 1). In 1963 there are very few children who have never heard of the Scarecrow, the Tin Woodman or the Cowardly Lion, and whether they know W. W. Denslow's original illustrations of Dorothy, or Judy Garland's whimsical characterization, is immaterial. *The Wizard* has become a genuine piece of American folklore because, knowing his audience, Baum never allowed the consistency of the allegory to take precedence over the theme of youthful entertainment. Yet once discovered, the author's allegorical intent seems clear, and it gives depth and lasting interest even to children who only sense something else beneath the surface of the story. Consider the fun in picturing turn-of-the-century America, a difficult era at best, using these ready-made symbols provided by Baum. The relationships and analogies outlined above are admittedly theoretical, but they are far too consistent to be coincidental, and they furnish a teaching mechanism which is guaranteed to reach any level of student.

The Wizard of Oz says so much about so many things that it is hard not to imagine a satisfied and mischievous gleam in Lyman Frank Baum's eye as he had Dorothy say, "And oh, Aunt Em! I'm so glad to be at home again!"



CAROLYN WYNNE
San Francisco, California

Aspects of Space: John Marin and William Faulkner

THE ARTIST'S REVOLUTION HAS KEPT PACE WITH THE SCIENTIST'S: BOTH develop from a concept of space as pliable, dynamic and adaptable. The work of William Faulkner and John Marin provides a case study of the ways in which two different arts derive similar techniques from this new idea of space.

Often painting and literature are thought of as a space-art and a time-art respectively, but to a remarkable extent in this century they have intruded on each other's traditional provinces. When Joseph Frank convincingly demonstrated that "modern literature . . . is moving in the direction of spatial form," he explained "that the reader is intended to apprehend . . . spatially, in a moment of time, rather than as a sequence."¹ Arnold Hauser, analyzing what happens when time is spatialized, states that "inner happenings" are presented "not only in longitudinal but also in cross-sections" with "the emphasis on their contiguity, their simultaneity."² The modern novel, then, is a world of simultaneous events and ideas—the concurrent flow of many forces, all occupying different areas of space but existing in the same moment of time.

One immediately sees the break with traditional form by considering what the term "narrative" implies. For a narrative is a sequence of time, of events following each other; the progress is from past to present. But the modern writer uses the absorption of the past by the present, as well as the present relationship of events occurring in the same moment: his typical forms are rhythms, parallel and converging lines, jumps from place to place. He does not usually build his story from a regular time sequence of past to present.

The explicit difference becomes obvious when one looks at the use of place in *The Autobiography of Henry Adams*, if the book is thought of

¹ "Spatial Form in Modern Literature," LIII, Pt. I, *The Sewanee Review* (1945), 225.

² *The Social History of Art* (London, 1952), II, 945.

as a novel. Adams calls his first two chapters "Quincy" and "Boston"; each place represents a major choice open to Adams, and the contents of both occur simultaneously in Adams' consciousness. Yet both employ historical time and primarily are symbolic comparisons; Adams plays their values off against each other. A modern novelist would engage these two space elements, not as place, but as illustrations of the simultaneity of events in time.

Contemporary painting shows the same spatialization of time, another indication that artistic methods in different media seem increasingly similar. This, of course, is opposed to Lessing's classic argument which Frank clearly summarizes:

Form in the plastic arts . . . is necessarily spatial, because the visible aspect of objects can best be presented juxtaposed in an instant of time. Literature, on the other hand, makes use of language, composed of a succession of words proceeding through time; and it follows that literary form . . . must be based primarily on some form of narrative sequence.³

The Bergsonian concept of time drastically modified this pure notion. Hauser finds that Bergsonian time is met with in all contemporary art genres⁴ and Frank concludes that aesthetic form in literature and the plastic arts has evolved identically—"both artistic mediums," he says, "have moved to overcome, so far as possible, the time-elements involved in their perception."⁵ The artist, then, has felt compelled to deal with time in a new way whose starting point lies in physics and mathematics. "Space in modern physics," Sigfried Giedion remarks, "is conceived of as relative to a moving point of reference, not as the absolute and static entity of the baroque system of Newton."⁶ The artist today begins from this idea of relativity.

John Marin shared this modern exploration. Although the tension in his work between psychological time and actual time may indicate his special wish to render forces impinging upon each other (for he probably saw different kinds of time also as kinds of forces), Marin particularly stressed the dynamic, fluid quality of time. His earlier work such as *Girl Sewing* (1910) shows the intensification of a moment, the very stillness of that moment (as also seen in *Tyrol at Kufstein, Tyrol Series, No. 3* (1910), but his more typical vision begins about 1912 with the abrupt movement in *Woolworth Building, No. 31*, where the actual different stages of building (the past) are seen in the completed building (the present). Here Marin merged not only the urgency of time, but

³ Frank, Pt. I, p. 223.

⁴ Hauser, II, 946.

⁵ Frank, Pt. III, pp. 650-51.

⁶ *Space, Time and Architecture* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 432.

also the past building stages as well as the past of the older, surrounding buildings, all into the present moment of experience.

A water color of this period illustrates Marin's idea of time as broken into different forces—*Movement-Fifth Avenue* (1912). In the lower part of the painting, the hurrying vehicle traffic gives the frantic rush of time; above hover the tall buildings but they are faceted so that their seeming permanence (compared to the traffic below) is questioned; on one of the buildings hangs a clock which commands immediate attention—caught at 11 o'clock, the clock indicates mechanical time, the time by which the buildings and traffic are measured; over this scene shines a fantastic sun emanating rays of a meteor or comet appearance—this is final time, an eternal time upon which the clock depends as the traffic, in turn, depends on the clock. Thus, this painting displays the simultaneity of time through spatial form.

One reason for Faulkner's intense consciousness of time is his deep roots in the South, the section of the United States retaining the highest degree of regionalism. And this region is intimately wrapt in a peculiar cloak of time, for in the South time has stood still—the preservation of the past has been more important than the present: in *Light in August* Hightower's life has been "a single instant of darkness in which a horse galloped and a gun crashed."⁷ But even the Southerner cannot deny the reality of the present, and thus his time is a curious merging of present outrage and vivid past recollections. Faulkner's novels, although stuffed with deeds of violence, have an odd stillness of stopped time, of poignant stultifying memories: his treatment of simultaneity lacks the dynamicism of Marin's work but the problem of form is the same.

As I Lay Dying presents simultaneous segments of time, compartmentalized in different minds conceived of as different spaces all journeying into the future. In *The Sound and the Fury* the story issues from four portraits, three of members of the Compson family and one of their Negro cook, Dilsey. Each mind possesses a different time concept. The mind of Benjy, the thirty-year-old idiot, makes no distinction between past and present. For him the two times are inextricably merged: the past is as real and present to him as the very present instant; an object he handles brings to him a flow of past memory which passes into present associations, for his mind has no real memory since he cannot distinguish between past and present. Quentin Compson, obsessed by the "arbitrary dial,"⁸ attempts to stop time, to obliterate the present. Jason Compson

⁷ (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), p. 430.

⁸ *The Sound and the Fury & As I Lay Dying* (New York: The Modern Library, 1946), p. 96.

tries to own his time as he hurries to catch up with the past. Dilsey, with her firm grip on the actual present reality, automatically adjusts the Compsons' clock three hours forward to the correct time.⁹ Faulkner's work is typically modern in its concern with the present moment, but his is a very particular kind of present moment, one whose content is principally a past in conflict with the present.

This modern idea of time, with its basic element of simultaneity, has characteristically worked toward rendering a high moment of perception, a very special recognition of the fleeting moment. In painting this moment of "truth" has taken several forms. Impressionism, for example, aims to expose "the unique of the moment, which has never existed before and will never be repeated."¹⁰ Marin's *Girl Sewing* (1910) and especially his *London Omnibus* (1908) present perceptions of experience in a partially impressionistic manner which insists that the viewer gather the elements into his own eye and reassemble them into a cohesive vision. Another type of intensity, that partly demonstrated by the dynamic flux of expressionism, is typical of Marin's later work. Simplification, distortion and modification are precisely the marks in Marin's water colors which express the dynamic quality of the high moment of experience. The distortion, of course, does not destroy structural discipline, but it is applied to form as well as content. The intensification of the present moment of vision is evident from his treatment of the sun in different paintings. Sometimes it is black, sometimes orange, sometimes red; at times it is elongated across the sky, it may be a double sun but at other times it is an emphatic blob or is broken into slashing lines of rays of color and light. In *Boat and Sea-Deer Isle, Maine Series, No. 27* (1927) two suns, green as if composed of the sea below them, ride the sky on each side of the sailboat; the sails of the boat, twisted at the point where they meet the horizon, suggest a sudden twirl of wind; the total picture seems monochromatic: these careful simplifications and distortions illustrate the catching and holding still, for an imperceptible instant, an intense moment of vision and experience. In *Lower Manhattan* (1920) one bold diagonal slash indicates the El, segmentizing the picture into two triangles while providing a base for the jutting city buildings. The very simplicity of this slash suggests the speed and energy of the life in which the El plays a dominant part.

When Faulkner arrives at this high moment of perception, some of his work methods are strikingly similar to Marin's. In literature, we often read

⁹ "... a cabinet clock . . . struck five times. 'Eight o'clock,' Dilsey said." *The Sound and the Fury*, p. 290.

¹⁰ Hauser, II, 925.

simultaneous, unrelated thoughts pouring into the consciousness just as in painting we observe simultaneous elements whose only formal relationship is one of time, not of content. The strategies of repetition, rhythm, large blocks of color or episode are often analogous in both arts. Joe Christmas in *Light in August* reaches his moment of perception when he turns to face his killers; only through the act of death can he receive the identity he has sought. Faulkner's method of approaching this moment is literally to run Joe Christmas around a circle: whether he runs forward or backward, he will always arrive at the same point, the same moment of death. His mind also works in a circular manner: sometimes he advances from his abstract state toward identity; sometimes he retreats; but he always comes back to the same realization of his peculiar lack of real identity. By casting his character's experience in a circular form, that is, by utilizing a spatial element, Faulkner rendered a passage of time which merges, at its highest moment of perception, with the point of space upon the circle Christmas has run.

This suggests the problem of motion in time, and motion in space, which tend increasingly to become motion in time-space: the two kinds of motion merge into one. Motion, in turn, implies forces and energy. Depiction of motion has been most exploited by the futurist movement in painting, and it is an element from futurism that Marin took for his own. Futurists, trying to show the formal pulls of objects on each other, splintered form like the Impressionists broke up color. A rhythm of movements emerged from the disintegration and provided a basic unity.¹¹ About his own work Marin wrote:

I see great forces at work; great movements; the large buildings and the small buildings; the warring of the great and the small; influences of one mass on another greater or smaller mass. Feelings are aroused which give me the desire to express the reaction of these 'pull forces', those influences which play with one another; great masses pulling smaller masses, each subject in some degree to the other's power.¹²

Marin's forces are tightly controlled by their inter-relationships. He often uses straight lines which continue until suddenly curbed. An unexpected impression of balance is achieved while the dynamic quality of "forces at work" remains intact. His Manhattan studies contain his more forceful, energetic movement but movement is also present in his quiet Maine scenes. His *Pertaining to Stonington Harbor, Maine* (1926)

¹¹ See James Johnson Sweeney, *Plastic Redirections in 20th Century Painting* (Chicago, 1934), p. 70.

¹² Herbert J. Seligmann, ed., *Letters of John Marin* (New York: for An American Place, 1931), written for his fourth exhibition at 291 in 1913.

shows rocks (presumably in the foreground), an island on the water, a sailboat, and farther back, the town, and then the mountains beyond the town. Bringing all these elements to the foreground with a distortion of traditional perspective allows the separate parts of the scene to intermingle and exert force on each other. The sailboat appears to be a manifestation of the town as if the town buildings (and no doubt the people in them) produced this image of their interest. In *Maine Islands* (1922) the "static" islands are not still but floating; even in such a still representation as *Becalmed* (1923) the converging forces of still water and still wind give an impression of potential energy.

Strangely, in Faulkner's work the same emphasis on force produces an odd stasis, for despite violent action the forces are so carefully balanced that they give all together a standing-still effect. But when Faulkner arrests time by means of this very balance of violences, he uses spatial terms. A character not only arrests time but appears to arrest space. Joe Christmas, who constantly looks back as he runs,¹³ is observing the space and time he previously occupied. Often in Faulkner's writing the space or scenery moves, not the person, for he is standing still in time. The stasis on the part of Joe Christmas is produced by the formal idea of the circle: he can never escape but must always return to the same point. The true *action* in *Light in August* is Lena Grove's movement: her slow, ponderous, deliberate motion proceeds along a straight line which nothing can deflect. She opens the book riding in "a wagon that's going a piece of the way" and she closes the book: "Here we aint been coming from Alabama but two months, and now it's already Tennessee."¹⁴ Her straight line of action cuts directly across Joe Christmas' circle, lending moral grandeur to the two paths of action, the line and the circle, while demonstrating the spatial forms in which the simultaneous action has happened.

This static impression is reenforced because so much of Faulkner's principal work is made up of reflective minds, minds mulling over the past and then reporting how they see the present. The reader must piece together all the different minds in order to figure out the action. Therefore the actions become formal relationships rather than progressions through time or space. In *As I Lay Dying* the journey with the coffin includes a flood, a fire, a broken leg—all necessities for action—but because these are only known through fragments in several persons' consciousnesses they seem to the reader to be conjectures: he says, "That is what must have happened, that is the way Darl sees it; or maybe it was this way, Cash

¹³ See Alfred Kazin, "The Stillness of Light in August," in Charles Feidelson Jr. and Paul Brodtkorb Jr., eds., *Interpretations of American Literature* (New York, 1959), p. 366.

¹⁴ *Light in August*, pp. 6, 444.

thinks this is what happened," and so on, until the action becomes the relationships between the different minds and their different views rather than any progressive, unified account of exactly what has happened.

Marin and Faulkner, although differing in their treatment of the contents of actions, both present balanced, formal relationships of forces. And the same *movement of space* can be discerned in Faulkner's writing as in Marin's painting. E. M. Benson says specifically of Marin's work:

[Space] is no longer a passive field on which objects are placed, but an active one with a . . . will of its own. As space becomes a live thing, it reacts against other live things, creating friction if the things in its field of action are more resistant, and motion, if less resistant. So that objects . . . can no longer remain tranquil, but are potentially mobile.¹⁵

This same description might well apply to Faulkner's work. How often in his writing space moves and becomes alive producing friction or motion. For instance, in *As I Lay Dying*:

We go on, with a motion so soporific, so dreamlike as to be uninferant of progress, as though time and not space were decreasing between us and it.

. . . The signboard passes; the unscarred road wheels on.¹⁶

The signboard and the road move, exerting their forces on the wagon; the wagon, in the truest sense, stands still. For Benjy, who has no concept of cause and effect and therefore, of sequence, space is also alive:

I could hear Queenie's feet and the bright shapes went smooth and steady on both sides, the shadows of them flowing across Queenie's back. They went on like the bright tops of wheels. Then those on one side stopped at the tall white post where the soldier was. But on the other side they went on smooth and steady, but a little slower.¹⁷

The slow, almost stopped space and objects seen by Lena in *Light in August* sharply contrast with those observed by Joe Christmas: ". . . the vehicle does not seem to progress. It seems to hang suspended in the middle distance forever and forever." Later, as the wagon creaks on, "Fields and woods seem to hang in some inescapable middle distance, at once static and fluid, quick, like mirages." But to Joe Christmas, pursuing his accelerating circle, it is not he that flees but the road. Before his final flight, Faulkner describes in detail "the street which was to run for fifteen years," a street which runs through both space and time: "From that night the thousand streets ran as one street . . . It was fifteen years long." The

¹⁵ John Marin. *The Man and His Work* (Washington, 1935), p. 76.

¹⁶ *As I Lay Dying*, p. 413.

¹⁷ *The Sound and the Fury*, p. 31.

moving scenery along the running street, composed of "savage and spurious board fronts of oil towns" and "yellow wheat fields" and "cities without remembered names,"¹⁸ exerts forces "relative to a moving point of reference,"¹⁹ Joe Christmas.

Space also has traditional, more static value in Marin's and Faulkner's work. If elements are perceived spatially in a moment of time they must be broken up into fragments or facets which allow different views of the same objects. Although critics claim there is little mass or volume in Marin's work (and it is obvious that Marin chose to depict the dynamic quality of motion), there remain remnants of different planes and forms. While Cubism, from which the emphasis on planes derives, displays a solidity of form not seen in Marin's work, the forms themselves are suggested and basic beneath his fluid lines of motion. *The Telephone Building* (1926), despite its overall impression of forces at work, hints at an underlying concept of volume and mass relationships. Facets from all perspective points are laid one on top of another; the different planes of the volume and the different basic forms of the mass are fragmented and redone in a new relationship. The eye must recompose these into a meaningful experience.

In the same way the spatial form of the modern novel makes it necessary, as Frank says, to read—or at least to apprehend, reflexively. The units of meaning have no obvious relationship to each other when read consecutively. It is only with reflexive thinking that they assume their relationships in the reader's mind. Like a viewer reconstructing in his mind's eye the relationship between elements in one of Marin's paintings, a Faulkner reader discovers the relationships between the different minds in *As I Lay Dying* or *The Sound and the Fury*. Both men's works are based on a space logic that demands a consciousness of relationship rather than any one individual reference point. The reader or viewer must juxtapose images; the painter has already done the juxtaposition but the writer asks the reader to look at his novel in much the same way as he would a modern painting. Although the writer, too, has done the juxtaposition, this cannot be comprehended at first because it is not presented on a single sheet of paper. Understanding comes only with reflection. And perhaps more of modern painting is comprehended reflexively than is at first apparent. In the same way that the reader must be "continually fitting fragments together and keeping allusions in mind until, by reflexive reference, he can link them to their complements,"²⁰ so must a viewer of a painting link pattern, repetition and fragments together until he achieves an organic impression.

¹⁸ *Light in August*, pp. 7, 24, 195-97.

¹⁹ See note 6.

²⁰ Frank, Pt. I, p. 234.

This kind of reading or viewing demands concentrated participation from the viewer or reader for he is not *told* anything directly; it is up to him to figure it out. Sometimes a modern novel or painting annoyingly assumes the quality of a puzzle requiring a certain amount of gamesmanship, but the basic structure is exposed when examined. Many readers are disconcerted to find themselves suspended within the viewpoint of a character whose impressions are too personal to be experienced or comprehended by others, in this case, by readers. The same difficulty often arises when looking at a painting. In Marin's *Lower Manhattan from the River* (1921) certainly the buildings are immediately obvious but the viewer is asked not only to accept the reassembling of their facets but also to recreate the artist's experience in his own mind.

The reader or viewer works hard. By taking on the reader or viewer as an active partner, the artist is granted freedom to recreate or reassemble his own world. But this freedom insists upon laborious consideration of the tools of the artist's medium. Marin's respect for the exact nature of his tools when he wrote, "Using paint *as* paint is different from using paint to paint a picture. . . . I am representing paint first of all . . .,"²¹ corresponds to the care which the writer lavishes on words *as* words.²² Faulkner has been criticized for his incautious playing with words; however, it is not carelessness on his part but rather a search for each word's exact evocative power.

The shift from objective representation to subjective rendering also changed the concept of the point of view or perspective—a problem closely related to space. As the novel turned to the use of several subjective points of view and the painter conceived of the eye *inside* the picture rather than looking into it from *outside*, the necessity of presenting simultaneity immediately became obvious. The phases of change from the traditional viewpoint or perspective are almost identical in literature and painting. Space, before the Cubists, was considered from a fixed point outside the picture; the viewer looked at a painting as if he were looking through a window. To the Cubists this idea of space was too narrow: it forced the painter to mask volumes or prisms since the outside observer would naturally only see parts of them if he stood in one fixed spot. Early attempts to treat perspective relatively resulted in mosaics of boxes, each box using the traditional perspective but showing the box from a different angle. The single fixed point of absolute

²¹ Quoted in Sam Hunter, *Modern American Painting and Sculpture* (New York, 1959), p. 92.

²² Leon Edel remarks, "To the literary artist seeking to catch the atmosphere of the mind, words are a stock-in-trade as difficult to handle as paints are to a painter. . . ." in *The Modern Psychological Novel* (New York, 1955), p. 124.

perspective had been exchanged for several fixed points. Finally the painter broke up the absolute perspective in each cell thus also breaking up masses. The concave view and the convex view of the same object now sat side by side. This use of relative perspective put an emphasis on the plane instead of the lines and focal point of traditional perspective.

The new concept of space meant that "the observer must project himself through it,"²³ the precise demand modern literature makes of its reader. The same problem for the reader or spectator results: a novel or a painting known through several points of view inevitably confronts the puzzle of authority—for no *one* of the points of view has exclusive authority; interpretation is only possible when all the points of view or perspectives are juxtaposed and this, of course, leads back to the presentation of simultaneity. Relative perspective and relative viewpoints make it possible to present simultaneous elements (planes, prisms, ideas, events) in the same moment of time.

Marin was not a radical user of relative perspective. His *Storm Over Taos, New Mexico* (1930), for instance, gives the impression of the traditional point of view. But in many of his paintings, especially the New York scenes, he does use interpenetrating planes and lines. The viewer's eye must rove inside and outside the painting; he cannot observe only from his traditional stand outside. *Street Crossing, New York* (1928) distinctly uses broken-up mass although this is not so obvious as Marin's wish to depict motion in space—but here, even the motion is seen from different points of view for it is composed of lines—diverging, deflecting, jutting, converging, touching, crossing. Faulkner, of course, was a supremely competent explorer of relative patterns. For example, in *The Sound and the Fury* four minds give their different views of the same events. One result of this technique is that not only are the events finally pieced together by the reader but he also absorbs the different personalities.

The extreme end of relative perspective veers toward a loss of underlying structure. In literature, if the reader cannot merge himself to some extent with the points of view presented he will never understand the experience described: the work becomes merely a mass of unrelated and ultimately meaningless words. Some dutiful readers have found *The Fable* such a case. In painting the same loss of structure may occur when absolute perspective disintegrates: the inter-relationships of lines and planes of color can, without a tight grasp by the painter, dissolve into "a hopeless congeries of line-and-color-forms."²⁴

²³ Giedion, p. 432.

²⁴ Sweeney, p. 54.

One of Marin's major techniques for preserving his structure is not only peculiar to himself but also curiously similar to one of Faulkner's devices. For a typical Marin structural form is the frame within the frame, the same structure Faulkner uses for his writing. This is not an unusual literary device for many stories are built within framing stories. Faulkner, however, not only wraps a story in layers of other stories such as Lena Grove's story (a frame whose four sides have been stretched into a straight line) which encloses Joe Christmas' desperate circle, but he also demarcates moral limits as well as time differentiations by a modified use of frames. It is the variety of frames and the uses to which they are put that are Faulkner's special touches. R. W. B. Lewis speaks of "parentheses, and . . . parentheses within those parentheses, like one memory jogging another" in *The Bear*; certainly parentheses are one form of framing device. Also in *The Bear* "what is positive in human nature . . . envelops and surrounds what is evil,"²⁵ in other words a moral frame encloses its enemy. Different type faces detach times, past and present, from each other in *The Sound and the Fury*. Since these devices set off, detach and outline fragments of memory, time or moral limits, they may be called frames: they preserve structure while they prevent a final blurring of content which might make the "story" unintelligible.

A unique feature of Marin's work is, of course, the framing device and the enclosure structure. Most critics agree that these frames are an integral part of Marin's conception although they seem a bit perplexed about their function. The frames prevent his "'movements' from sliding off the edges of the picture"²⁶ perhaps, but to say they are "never arbitrary stylistic devices . . . but . . . structurally inherent in the subject matter"²⁷ begs the question. In Marin's more mature work (and his *very* late work is released from enclosures) these frames within frames are more subtle and less rigid; he retains the mobility and energy force while still suggesting the formal organization of planes. In *Becalmed* (1923), besides the larger framing of the entire picture, the rectangles of the sea in the foreground are framed to separate each from the next, thus setting off the different facets of the ship's shadow upon the water.

Just why Marin used these frames is unanswerable: sometimes they suggest a window broken into segments; sometimes they seem to separate different activities from each other. Simon O. Lesser, speaking of literature, suggests that spatial limits may relieve anxiety; for example, Shakespeare's Scotland in *Macbeth* confines horror and evil within its boundaries to which England contrasts as a refuge, and a similar con-

²⁵ "The Hero in the New World," in Feidelson and Brodorb, pp. 338, 333.

²⁶ Hunter, p. 97.

²⁷ Benson, p. 28.

trast exists between the England and the France of *King Lear*.²⁸ A typically American spatial limit might be the line between city and country; innocence is sharply divided from evil in Faulkner's *The Bear* at the line where the woods meet the cultivated farms. Perhaps the viewer obtains some relief of anxiety by Marin's use of frames, but many of the larger frames that include the entire picture seem quite unnecessary; besides, the movement does not appear at all in danger of flowing off the paper. Some of the delicate enclosures like that of the lake enclosing shadows and reflections from the mountains and clouds in *Lake, Tonk Mountain, Maine Series, No. 12* (1934), are pleasing. But an opposite effect is produced by the enclosure devices in *Women Forms and Sea* (1934), in which the women forms are separated from the sea by what look suspiciously like ordinary picture frames—completely incongruous intrusions: here the frames would give anyone an attack of nerves.

Whatever the motivation, by using frames Marin managed to escape the disintegrating structural tendencies of depicting space-time. Identically, the apparent disorganization of much of Faulkner's writing is actually based on a solid structure. Besides framing devices one other example must suffice here: Lewis has pointed out that in *The Bear* "the fourth section has the same purely formal organization and is roughly the same in length as the first three combined: this suggests, rightly, that it has the function of counter-weight."²⁹ But this also suggests that Faulkner used the actual space and number of the printed pages, and the time it takes to read them, to indicate not only this section's importance but also the clue for relating the sections to each other. A reader is forced to let the weight of his attention fall on this long section: he is teased into figuring out the "scheme" of the story by the formal and mechanical contrivances of numbers of pages (space) and repetition of structures (rhythm).

While both Marin and Faulkner are representative of the turn toward abstractionism and symbolism inherent in showing spatialization of time, they also retain solid naturalistic, realistic details. Faulkner's details may be partly explained by his regional roots; from his probing of the region he has constructed a part-mythical, part-real county upon which he lavishes immense realistic, almost sociological, care. Marin's naturalistic details may arise from the same source: not a rootedness, but an ability to root himself in the scene—Manhattan, Maine, New Mexico. Despite the abstract, expressionist and Cubist marks in his painting, the recognizable object remains. Marin himself wrote:

²⁸ *Fiction and the Unconscious* (Boston, 1957), p. 186.

²⁹ Lewis, p. 337.

I don't paint rocks, trees, houses, and all things seen, I paint an inner vision. Rubbish. If you have an intense love and feeling towards these things, you'll try your damdest to put on paper or canvas, that thing. You can transpose, you can play with and on your material, but when you are finished that's got to have the root of that thing in it and no other thing.³⁰

Faulkner's realistic, specific details add up, in the end, to a myth—timeless and universal. Joe Christmas runs on and on forever just as Phaethon forever drives the chariot of the sun. Yoknapatawpha county, with all its naturalistic information, is a mythical country—not just a legend of the moral dilemma of the South but one of the modern world. This mythic quality of Faulkner is suitable for Frank remarks that the “timeless world of myth . . . finds its appropriate esthetic expression in spatial form.”³¹ Marin's paintings, of course, are not myth: the parallel development in the two arts stops here.

When we read Faulkner we survey a legendary land permanently saddened by the unfortunately real actions of its heroes. From a Marin painting we construct an actual, familiar landscape whose mountains or buildings we see daily. Both, though, used similar spatial forms to make their special worlds. And because of this they are representative of the modern creative urge.

³⁰ Seligmann, ed., *Letters*, letter to Stieglitz, August 14, 1923.

³¹ Frank, Pt. III, p. 653.



ROBERT L. DANIEL
Ohio University, Athens

American Influences in the Near East before 1861¹

THE TRANSFERENCE OF CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY NOT ONLY RESTS ON THE existence of a society possessing an element of culture capable of being shared, but it requires the existence of a second society that willingly or unwillingly, deliberately or accidentally abandons traditional ways for new ways. Ottoman Turkey, an Empire controlling most of the Balkans as well as present-day Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Egypt, was in the late eighteenth century embarking on a program of westernization. Stung by successive defeats at Russian hands in the mid-eighteenth century, Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), an admirer of French civilization, was particularly interested in those western ideas that might strengthen his Empire militarily. Accordingly he opened military schools, imported European military advisers and reorganized his fleet. Members of the "old guard," supported, if not led, by the Janissaries who had long since lost their capacity for waging victorious war, resisted these modest efforts at reform. Not until the Janissaries further lost prestige in their failure to suppress the Greek drive for independence was Mahmud II (1808-39) able to break their power. After the ruthless massacre of the Janissaries in 1826 he broadened the reform program. Administrative reforms were instituted to concentrate power and responsibility in the central government, a civil service was created, medical schools were organized, and selected students were sent to western Europe to study.²

The first Americans to make contact with Turkey were New England ship captains who commenced trading at Smyrna in the 1780s. The trade grew so slowly that the first American vessel did not reach Constantinople until 1800, and even Smyrna, the principal port, received but thirteen American ships a year on the average prior to 1820. The

¹ Research for portions of this article was made possible by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

² Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History* (New York, 1959), pp. 261-77.

American merchant who established a permanent headquarters in Turkey was exceptional. Some merchants made an occasional trip to a Near Eastern port, remaining a few days to a few weeks to supervise the selling of New England manufactures and the buying of Near Eastern produce. Most Yankee ship captains sold their cargoes through English trading houses. Thus American merchants were too little in evidence to illustrate by their mode of life much that could be imitated by the Levantines.³

Although the number of American merchants in Turkey remained small even in 1860, their contact had two significant consequences. It was at the instance of the merchants that a treaty of commerce was negotiated with Turkey in 1830. More important in terms of cultural relations was the sailing ship employed by the merchants. Interest in the sleek, efficient sailing vessel was heightened by the series of naval officers who represented the United States in negotiations in the period from 1820 to 1843: William Bainbridge, John Rodgers, William M. Crane, James Biddle and David Porter. Commodore Rodgers, after showing the ranking Turkish naval official about his flagship, reported that the Capudan Pasha had pronounced the U.S.S. *North Carolina* superior to any British, French or Russian ship the Ottoman official had seen. As a result of their acquaintance with American ships and the loss of the imperial fleet at Navarino Bay, the Ottoman government sought the right to have naval vessels constructed in the United States. Although the United States Senate refused to incorporate such provisions in the 1830 treaty with Turkey, arrangements were made subsequently by which American naval technicians might assist Turkey.⁴

To Henry Eckford, onetime constructor in charge of the Brooklyn Naval Yard, went the distinction of being the first American technician to operate in Turkey. Eckford, who had gone abroad in 1831 to exhibit and sell a ship he had built as an example of American skill, came to Constantinople, sold his ship to the Sultan and stayed to direct Turkish naval construction. While President Jackson acceded to Eckford's request for a letter of commendation, Secretary of State Van Buren warned the American chargé, David Porter, to see that Eckford's activities did not "in the smallest degree" compromise American neutrality. With Commodore Porter's support Eckford made a modest start in augmenting the Turkish fleet before he died in 1832. His successor, Henry Rhodes, made

³ David Offley to J. Q. Adams, January 24, 1824, *Negotiations with Turkey, 1818 to 1831*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, General Records of the Dept. of State, Rec. Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁴ John Rodgers to Henry Clay, July 19, 1826, *ibid.*; M. Van Buren to David Porter, April 15, 1831, *Instructions, Turkey, I*. Van Buren expressed fears that a treaty would *bind* rather than *permit* the United States to build ships for Turkey.

numerous improvements in Turkish ships. However, he encountered opposition from Turkish officials who were evidently jealous of being supplanted by a foreigner, and Rhodes was sent home in 1839.⁵

In subsequent years American technicians made occasional contributions to Turkey's military and naval reforms. Commodore Porter introduced a Mr. Cochran, inventor of a cannon, to Ottoman officials. After the Sultan was presented with a model of Cochran's gun, Cochran was given a place at the imperial gun foundry with workmen and various facilities made available to him. The American influence on the Turkish naval forces was less than it might have been, for when the Sultan expressed a desire to have a United States naval mission aid in training the Turkish navy, the State Department refused the request, contending the United States could not withdraw officers from active duty without serious prejudice to the public service. Alternatively the Department proposed that Turkey employ retired officers or that young officers of the Turkish navy train on American vessels. Little seems to have come of this or of a subsequent inspection trip made by a representative of the Ottoman government to American naval yards in the 1850s.⁶

On the whole the effort to make the Turks self-sufficient in naval construction was of limited success. During the 1830s the Turkish navy was probably stronger than it otherwise would have been without the aid of Eckford and Rhodes, but the lack of vigor in the Ottoman government negated the gains. The fleet surrendered voluntarily in 1839 to the French and Egyptians, and in the 1840s and 1850s Ottoman independence rested largely on the will of Great Britain and at times France and Russia.

Although by 1820 the Ottoman government saw the necessity of westernizing its economic system and fashioning a modern communications and transportation network, American financiers and technicians played little part. It was not that the Americans lacked the requisite skills nor that the Turks were unaware of American capabilities. Sultan Abdul Medjid I (1839-61) noted American skill in fabricating rifles and rewarded the inventive genius of Samuel F. B. Morse with a handsome decoration. American capitalists, finding ample investment opportunities closer home, were unattracted by Turkey. The Ottoman government was not itself prepared to finance an extensive program of railroad building before

⁵ Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, *Prelude to Point Four: American Technical Missions Overseas 1838-1938* (Madison, Wis., 1954), p. 155; Van Buren to Porter, April 22, 1831, Instructions, Turkey, Vol. 1. David D. Porter, *Memoir of Commodore David Porter of the United States Navy* (Albany, N. Y., 1875), p. 413.

⁶ Porter to John Forsyth, April 5, 1835, Despatches, Turkey, Vol. 5; Forsyth to Porter, May 16, 1837, Instructions, Vol. 1; J. M. Clayton to George P. Marsh, June 28, 1850, *ibid.*

1860, and the realities of power politics tended to reserve the economic development of the Ottoman Empire in the years 1830-60 to English and French firms backed by home governments which regarded such investments as an adjunct of foreign policy.

It is significant that Mahmud II, though interested in reform, was prevented during long stretches of his reign from achieving much because of the threats to his rule posed successively by uprisings of the Serbs (1815-17), the Greek War of Independence (1821-30), the Russo-Turk War (1828-29) and the conflict with Mohammed Ali (1832-33). The Hatt-I-Sherif of Gulhanê, (1839) a declaration of principles guaranteeing the life, liberty and property of all subjects and promising military and tax reform, came early in the reign of Abdul Medjid and was the work of the ablest Ottoman official of the first half of the nineteenth century, Reshid Pasha. Though the latter was an ardent supporter of Westernization his plans were thwarted by traditionalists at home and the preoccupation of the government with preserving its Balkan territories from Russia. Though reforms continued to be introduced, the most important reform of the nineteenth century, the Hatt-I-Humayun, was the price Turkey paid in 1856 for recognition at the Peace of Paris as a member of the European "Concert." It went far in assuring Christians civil rights while reducing the civil powers of the heads of the various Christian churches. Public office and liberty of conscience were guaranteed all subjects of the Sultan. Torture was abolished, prisons reformed.⁷

When the Ottoman government itself took the initiative in soliciting American aid to execute a specific project, the experience indicated that the Turks were not fully prepared to take advantage of the help asked. The most notable incident came when Abdul Mejid I asked President Polk as a personal favor to recommend two or three agriculturists to improve cotton culture in Turkey. Flattered, President Polk and Secretary of State Buchanan took pains to locate two men, Dr. James Bolton Davis, a planter, and Dr. J. Lawrence Smith, a civil engineer with training in medicine and agricultural chemistry. Davis directed the imperial model farm and experimented with several varieties of cotton. Although the American Minister Dabney Carr, who enthusiastically supported Davis, urged the State Department that at a slight expenditure "the greatest benefits" could be conferred on Turkey by sending examples of American wheat fans, threshing machines, ploughs and wagons, the suggestion was apparently rejected by the State Department. Davis subsequently ran afoul of some employees of the Sublime Porte whom Carr

⁷ Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 315-20.

charged were trying to "engross the direction and profits of every branch of public employment." Other observers, including Smith, reported the work was a failure. Certainly the hoped-for expansion of cotton production on the untilled uplands of Anatolia did not take place until long afterward. Davis' contract was terminated and he returned to the United States.⁸

Smith, however, stayed on for four years, during which time he made important contributions to geology and mineralogy and to mining operations. His discovery of emery deposits led to the exploitation of these resources. He, too, found his stay frustrating. Ottoman bureaucrats kept him in Constantinople unnecessarily. Out of the capital he was accompanied by a "troop of lazy, ignorant scoundrels," who spent more time spying on him than in assisting. Efforts to open a new coal field were blocked by the Sultan's mother and some of the great Pashas who, as owners of other mines, objected to competition. Disgusted, Smith returned to the United States to resume a distinguished teaching career at the University of Virginia and later the University of Louisville.⁹

Far and away the most important American impact on the culture of the Near East came from the missionary. American Protestantism in 1820 was riding out the swells generated by the religious ferment which marked the early years of the nineteenth century. Rejecting the skepticism and rationalism of the late eighteenth century, Protestantism placed a new emphasis on piety. On the frontier the characteristic expression of the new spirit was the revival, noisy and uninhibited; in the East it culminated in the founding of home and foreign missionary societies. Proof of one's religious commitment was to be found in service as a missionary or at least in generous financial support of the missionary societies. Of special importance was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Incorporated in 1812 as a joint undertaking of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, the American Board by 1820 had mission stations in Burma, Ceylon and Hawaii.

In 1820 the American Board established its first mission in the Near East. Initially it aimed at converting the Jews and Moslems of the Holy Land to Protestantism, but the first missionaries quickly discovered that the former were indifferent and the latter militantly hostile to Christianity. The untimely death of both members of the original team gave the work another setback. Rather than abandon the mission, the Amer-

⁸ Brown to J. Buchanan, January 5, 1846, Despatches, Turkey, Vol. 10; Dabney Carr to Sec. of State, June 6, 1847, *ibid.*, Vol. 11; Carr to Buchanan, October 24, 1848, *ibid.*, Vol. 11; Carr to Buchanan, December 14, 1848, *ibid.*

⁹ Philip Brown to Clayton, January 14, 1850, *ibid.*; Curti and Birr, *Prelude to Point Four*, pp. 22-24.

ican Board sent replacements to work among the Armenian and Greek Orthodox of Anatolia and the Levant, hoping to induce these groups to "Protestantize" themselves. In spite of the political disorders occasioned by the efforts of Ibrahim Pasha to wrest Syria from the Sultan's control in the 1830s and the efforts of the French and British to establish spheres of influence in the Levant and neighboring Egypt, the Americans established a solid base of operations at Smyrna, Beirut and Constantinople in the 1830s. The number of American missionaries in the Near East grew rapidly. They quickly became the largest Protestant group in the Near East and the most numerous foreign element in the interior of Turkey.¹⁰

From the missionary viewpoint the greatest gift that America had to share with the Holy Land was its Protestant interpretation of the Scriptures. The Americans took exception to the use of charms, relics and miraculous pictures by native Christians as well as to the "idolatrous rites and worship in an unknown tongue, manipulated by an ignorant, degraded, selfish priesthood."¹¹ Instead the Americans stressed use of the Bible in the vernacular tongue. By de-emphasizing the Virgin Mary and the Saints and abandoning the use of candles, incense and vestments, the missionaries shifted the emphasis in the worship service from the liturgy to the sermon delivered in the vernacular. Extemporaneous prayer by clergy and laymen was encouraged. Monasticism, a celibate clergy and an episcopal polity were rejected for the ordained pastor who governed his flock in collaboration with lay officers of the congregation. Few native Christians were immediately convinced of the innate superiority of Calvinistic Christianity. The priests, bishops, archbishops and patriarchs understandably regarded the American teachings as a threat to their continued hold upon their congregations, and they soon waxed hostile. The Maronite patriarch in Syria pronounced anathema on the missionaries and their converts. Maronites were "not to visit or employ them, or do them a favor or give them salutation, or converse with them in any form or manner, but let them be avoided as a putrid member and as hellish dragons." Native Christians who turned Protestant were persecuted. Their shops were boycotted, native teachers and ministers were banished, men and women were stoned in the streets, hung up by the thumbs, spit upon and struck in the face, tortured with the bastinado, and imprisoned without charge or trial. The Americans

¹⁰ William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board; an Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1910).

¹¹ N. G. Clark, "The Gospel in the Ottoman Empire," American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Annual Report, 1878*, p. xix.

were persistent, but far from bringing about reform within the Orthodox churches, by the late 1840s they had succeeded in founding a small native Protestant church which was added to the religious spectrum of the Ottoman Empire.¹²

The creation of this Protestant community had immediate political repercussions, for Ottoman Turkey was a nation of many peoples, Moslems, Jews, Orthodox Christians and Roman Catholic Christians. The Moslem Turk, possessing a legal code based on Islam, had administered the Christian minorities through the agencies of their respective churches. Hence the creation of a Protestant church necessitated the establishment of machinery by which the infant Protestant community could be governed. Ottoman experience with Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians had indicated that these religious communities were frequently used by foreign powers to the detriment of Ottoman power and prestige. Russia assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox subjects of the Sultan, while France exuded solicitude for the Roman Catholics.

The American government was too wrapped up in domestic expansion and slavery agitation to exert much power in so remote an area, and a very self-conscious application of the doctrine of separation of church and state further restrained American diplomats from championing the interests of the Protestant community. The British rushed in where the American government feared to tread. As a Protestant nation and a leading commercial power, the British saw that as guarantor of the Protestant community in Turkey they could play the champion of religious liberty and acquire a "right" to dabble in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire. In the late 1840s the British, led by Sir Stratford Canning, compelled the Sultan to grant the Protestant community the same rights hitherto enjoyed by the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Gregorian minorities. Thus in creating a Protestant church in Turkey and Syria, the American missionaries provided the British with a lever to use in the power struggle in the Near East. Ottoman society was further fragmented by a development that neither the older Christian groups nor the Ottoman government appreciated. As native Protestants were molested, the Americans found themselves in a state of dependence upon British diplomacy to protect their far-flung mission posts in the interior. On occasion the Ottoman government protested at the support the American missionaries gave British policy.¹³

Without intending to, at least at first, the missionaries from America transmitted far more than their particular brand of Christianity. From the initial stations in Smyrna (now Izmir), Beirut and Constantinople

¹² American Board, *Annual Report*, 1827, p. 60.

¹³ Philip Brown to James Buchanan, March 1, 1846, Despatches, Turkey, Vol. 10.

(Istanbul), missions were established in Caesarea, Tarsus, Diarbekir, Trebizond and even at Urumia in northwest Persia. In each of these centers American homes were established in which by 1860 native Protestants might see American books and periodicals, glass windows, and sewing machines. Here also were light, sturdy wagons, and other simple farm tools. The missionary's wife and daughters, unveiled and educated, were much in evidence. The missionary and his family personified the Protestant ethic, the virtues of honesty and sobriety being the most important. Natives desiring to affiliate with the Protestant group were expected to give convincing evidence of a religious experience, part of which would consist in the adoption and practice of the Protestant ethic.¹⁴

The missionary acted not only as an unconscious bearer of an American style of living, but quite deliberately endeavored to make innovations in popular education. The founding of schools became the great American missionary enterprise in the Near East. Missionary wives in the mid-1820s organized classes for their own children and warmly admitted neighboring native children "to teach them what they could." By the late 1830s and 1840s it seemed necessary to operate elementary schools in order that native youth be enabled to read the Scriptures for themselves. When in the mid-1840s a split developed between Protestant and non-Protestant Christian, schools were regarded as additionally necessary to hold the Protestant community intact.¹⁵

During the 1830s and early 1840s the schools were of the Lancastrian type—the American teacher working with the older students and these in turn with the younger students. Throughout the period the classes remained ungraded, as were most American schools of the same era. The simple curriculum concentrated on reading, writing and arithmetic. The Bible was used as a text. Instruction was in the native language—Arabic in Syria and Lebanon, and Armenian in Turkey. The classroom was plain, often with a dirt floor covered with mats. Students, however, were seated on benches or at desks in the American manner, a practice that seemed very worldly to Moslem critics.¹⁶

¹⁴ Henry Harris Jessup, *Women of the Arabs With a Chapter for Children*, eds. Charles S. Robinson and Isaac Riley (New York, 1873), p. 80; Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians: with Notices of the Muhammedans* (New York, 1843), p. 296; H. G. O. Dwight, *Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Dwight* (New York, 1840), pp. 287-88.

¹⁵ E. D. G. Prime (ed.), *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.* (New York, 1876), p. 93; Arthur Judson Brown, *One Hundred Years; a History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (New York, 1936), p. 983.

¹⁶ Prime, *Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell*, p. 129; Perkins, *Eight Years in Persia*, p. 251; Thomas Laurie, *Woman and Her Savior in Persia* (Boston, 1863), pp. 39-40, 45.

By the 1840s and 1850s it seemed desirable to create secondary schools. The avowed purpose of these was to develop native leadership which would eventually staff the elementary schools and native churches. For their time and location the secondary schools were advanced. In Bebek on the outskirts of Constantinople, Cyrus Hamlin founded a boarding school notable for its emphasis on mathematics, physics and chemistry as well as for thorough instruction in English. Hamlin, who at one time had been an apprentice, pioneered a self-help program, establishing a shop in which students made sheet iron stoves and assorted metal products to be offered for sale.¹⁷ In Syria the chief school was the Academy at Abeih. Founded in 1843 by Cornelius Van Dyck, it stressed teacher training. Growth of the school was slow, there being but twenty-four students a decade after its founding.¹⁸

The impact of the educational work was chiefly on the small Protestant community. The influence reached others, though often indirectly. As early as 1832 Commodore Porter commented that the founding of schools among the Turks is "astonishing, perhaps among the greatest benefits which the Empire has derived from its alliance with the United States." Three years later he reported that the Sultan had solicited aid of the missionary educators in establishing two schools, one attended by nearly a thousand young soldiers. Books and instruments for the schools were prepared by William Goodell, a missionary. Porter, after visiting the schools several times, expressed astonishment at the equipment which included globes, a planetarium, and models of spheres, cubes and cones for teaching solid geometry. He was equally amazed at the progress made by the students in reading.¹⁹

That the Christian have access to the Holy Word in his vernacular was an imperative of Protestantism. Thus in its inception the American Board sent a press and printers to the Near East to publish tracts, Testaments and even whole Bibles. It quickly turned to printing textbooks and visual aids that might be employed to spread literacy as well as leisure reading of a quality consistent with the mores which missionaries believed should accompany Christianity.

The problems confronting the mission press were varied, for the Ottoman Empire was a multilingual country.²⁰ At the time the press was

¹⁷ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston, 1893), pp. 209-49, 371; also, American Board, *Annual Report, 1856*, p. 50; *Annual Report, 1862*, p. 83.

¹⁸ Lutfi M. Sa'di, "Al Hakim Cornelius Van Alen Van Dyck (1815-1895)," *Isis*, XXVII (1927), 25; F. J. Bliss (ed.), *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss* (New York, 1920), pp. 111-12.

¹⁹ Porter to Forsyth, July 25, 1832 and April 22, 1835, both in Despatches, Turkey, Vol. 7. An American Long Resident at Constantinople [David Porter], *Constantinople and Its Environs* (2 vols.; New York, 1835), II, 311.

established in the 1820s there was no suitable movable type in Arabic. This problem was solved in the 1830s by two missionary printers, Eli Smith and Holman Hallock, who collected specimens of Arabic script and then designed the necessary punches and matrices to produce "American Arabic," thus providing the Arabic world stretching from Morocco to the Philippines with an aesthetically pleasing and orthographically correct type face. While Smith and Hallock were developing an Arabic press, other missionaries were at work in Constantinople establishing a press publishing in Greek and Armenian, while in 1834 at Urumia, on the Turkish-Persian frontier, a press was established specializing in Syriac.²¹

Much of the output of the presses was avowedly religious material, but the quantity of secular publications was significant. Many missionaries prepared books on spelling, geography, arithmetic and moral science. Some of these texts remained standard until the end of the century, seeing service first in American mission schools. Later, they were used by Armenian, Greek and Turkish schools. It seemed important to provide suitable reading materials for the adults. Moralistic tales were translated from English into the native languages, the most famous being Leigh Richmond's *Dairyman's Daughter*. The mission also published *The Greek Magazine of Useful Knowledge*, a monthly which claimed over 400 subscribers in the 1840s.²²

Closely related to the establishment of the press was the emergence of many missionaries as scholars. Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck became Arab scholars capable of doing original work of merit. Arab classical literature, long in decline, was revived as the mission schools created an expanding audience for it and through the press, the means of reaching a still greater group. Two native collaborators with Smith and Van Dyck became prime movers in kindling the Arab literary renaissance, compiling the Arabic-English dictionary and beginning an Arabic Encyclopedia. Of similar import was the work of Justin Perkins in Syriac literature.²³

²⁰ David Greene, "The Employment of the Press in Promoting the Missionary Work," *American Board, Annual Report, 1840*, p. 50.

²¹ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria* (2 vols.; New York, 1910); p. 55; *American Board, Annual Report, 1836*, pp. 51, 114; *Annual Report, 1837*, p. 64; *Annual Report, 1838*, pp. 64, 65.

²² *American Board, Annual Report, 1839*, p. 74.

²³ George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 40, insists that the American Press opened new horizons to educators and paved the way for "the rehabilitation of the Arabic language as a vehicle of thought." Thomas Laurie, *The Ely Volume; or the Contributions of Our Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well Being* (Boston, 1881), p. 195.

In the field of medicine the missionaries moved uncertainly and with limited success. Because of the primitive living conditions, mission work took the lives of many Americans. The American Board noted that it had "not been easy to keep an efficient force in the field."²⁴ As of 1843 nine of the staff members had died abroad, and four others had returned to the States for reasons of health. Because of the sanitary conditions many mission posts were quarantined three to six months each year. In such circumstances the Board assigned a medical doctor to each mission station to care for mission personnel. Inevitably the doctors were also called upon to serve natives. American medicine at the time was hardly "scientific"; doctors still bled patients for all manner of ailments so that the American doctor had little edge over the native practitioner. An exceptional physician such as Asahel Grant in Urumia gave native doctors samples of medicine and lent instruments that they might try them in their own practice.²⁵ Occasionally a missionary wrote a pamphlet on public health. Americans excelled in setting fractures and removing external tumors and cataracts. But by and large the mission doctors were inhibited by instructions which bade them to regard their medical skill and practice "only as a means of furthering the spiritual objects of the mission."²⁶ Interest in medical work by the Board, never great, declined in the 1840s not to revive until the 1870s.

Missionary zeal meant that the officials of the American Board in the United States were never wholly certain that they should be supporting educational and scientific work. True, even before the first missionaries went to the Near East the Board had established a boarding school at Cornwall, Connecticut, designed to train American Indian youth to become "missionaries, physicians, surgeons, school masters, or interpreters; and to communicate to the heathen nations such knowledge in agriculture and the arts, as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization."²⁷ But oftentimes it had second thoughts about such activities. The American Board had been established primarily for the purpose of "propagating the Gospel in heathen lands."²⁸ Was it necessary and proper to engage in secular philanthropic ventures as well? Fundamentalists on the Board consulted their Bibles and observed: "We do not find . . . that Christ or his Apostles made any inventions or discoveries in the arts and sciences, or sought directly to promote litera-

²⁴ American Board, *Annual Report*, 1843.

²⁵ American Board, *Annual Report*, 1838, p. 78.

²⁶ "Instructions of the Prudential Committee, October 24, 1832, to . . . Doctor Asa Dodge," American Board, *Annual Report*, 1832, p. 156.

²⁷ *First Ten Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with Other Documents of the Board* (Boston, 1834), p. 307.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

ture." The American Board, they concluded, could not be "a society for promoting civilization, or literature, or the arts. . . ." ²⁹ Liberals, on the other hand, took the position that "whatever conduces to human happiness and welfare, or is adapted to elevate men, intellectually or socially as well as morally, is Christian in its character, and deserving the attention of a Christian missionary." The chief spokesman for this viewpoint, the Rev. David Greene, Secretary of the American Board from 1832 to 1848, acknowledged that Christianity did not of itself teach the native to make an alphabet, invent a press or establish a system of schools. It did not teach him to construct a plough, make an axe or weave a garment. Nor could one depend upon intercourse with more cultivated nations to furnish the "unenlightened communities of the earth with all the means which they need for improving their intellectual and social condition." Without the cultural and economic growth of native societies, Christianity would accomplish little. The task of the missionary, then, was to help the native learn to use agricultural utensils, to construct comfortable dwellings, to make decent clothes, to teach literature and science, to promote "all the useful arts and inventions. . . ." ³⁰ In short, as one member of the Turkey mission expressed it, the missionary was to be a Christian philanthropist. ³¹

Generally the missionary and his sponsoring society were trapped in a dilemma. At home they could not overtly campaign for funds to disseminate secular elements of American culture, yet abroad they could not avoid spending part of their funds to raise the level of Levantine life. The effect was to limit the money available for philanthropic work, but at the same time to make the missionary an instrument for breaking down the provincial character of American Protestantism.

By 1860 the American Board had established a solid beachhead of native Protestant churches across the length and breadth of the Ottoman Empire. With them went a supporting establishment of schools, a mission press and a few doctors. The handful of pioneers had scored in ways that were substantial, if not always visible. On the foundation of these schools emerged within the next half century the largest single school system in the Ottoman Empire. One of the magazines of the missionary press by 1914 enjoyed the widest circulation of any journal in the Empire; from the mission personnel came, in the 1860s, the founders of a first-rate engineering school at Constantinople, Robert College, and a first-rate medical college at Beirut, Syrian Protestant College. That their

²⁹ American Board, *Annual Report*, 1856, p. 64.

³⁰ Rev. David Greene, "The Promotion of Intellectual Cultivation and the Arts of Civilized Life in Connection with Christian Missions," *Annual Report*, 1842, pp. 69-75.

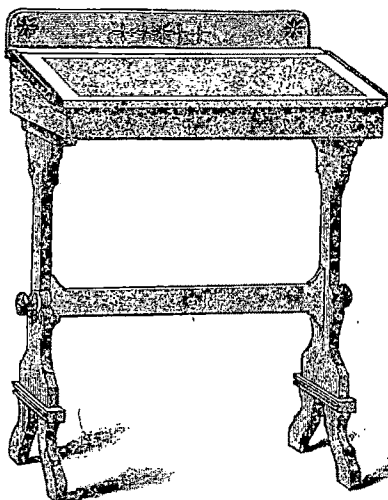
³¹ *Annual Report*, 1834, p. 54.

work had been successful even their rivals were prepared to confess. The Americans, a Greek bishop admitted in 1859, "have done more for the diffusion of useful knowledge and the literary advancement of Syria than has been accomplished by all the others during half a century."³²

At the same time it must be recognized that the American impact affected some segments of Ottoman society and culture more than others. Although the Ottoman government recognized the need for reform, the government had no clearly thought out plan. American technicians operating in Turkey at the behest of the government often found the country unprepared for, even hostile to, reform. The major American effort—that of the missionaries—had a divisive effect on Ottoman society. By 1860 Turkey was less stable than it had been at the beginning of the century. Europeans were desirous of deposing the Sultan for not going far enough with reform; Moslem subjects were humiliated because of the concessions that had been forced on Turkey; Christian subjects reportedly were plotting revolution.³³ While the Americans were not prepared to prevent the disintegration of the Ottoman state, their work helped speed the Westernization of Turkey.

³² Williams to Cass, December 28, 1859, Despatches, Turkey, Vol. 16.

³³ Williams to Cass, September 20, 1859, *ibid.*



JAMES H. CASSEDY
National Institutes of Health

Muckraking and Medicine: Samuel Hopkins Adams

THE MUCKRAKING DECADE OF ABOUT 1902-12 COINCIDED WITH THE MOST vigorous part of a period of transition in American medicine. It is not surprising that one of the crusading journalists of that period, Samuel Hopkins Adams, made his reputation as a reformer by focusing his muckraker's passion for social improvement upon the medical scene. In this early stage of his long, varied and immensely prolific literary career, Adams (1871-1958), though he wrote occasional hard-hitting exposés of such things as workers' housing conditions in Pittsburgh, the advertising industry and the California lemon monopoly, concentrated his writer's spotlight on the conditions of public health in the United States. Although the muckraking "school," so-called, virtually faded out by the outbreak of World War I, Adams maintained his strong interest in medicine and public health for another decade. Long before 1925, however, his medical muckraking changed into a medical journalism more suited to the later age.¹

Adams, whom his reforming colleagues considered "a born muckraker," established himself firmly in this literary genre with his famous 1905-6 series of articles in *Collier's Weekly* on what he called "The Great American Fraud."² This was a startling disclosure of the patent medicine

¹ For general accounts of the muckraking phenomenon, see *The Muckrakers*, eds. Arthur and Lila Weinberg (New York, 1961); Louis Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism* (New York, 1939); *Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers*, ed. Harvey Swados (Cleveland and New York, 1962); and C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill, 1932). Personal accounts by some of the participants are also valuable.

² Will Irwin, quoted in Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, p. 178. See also, Samuel Hopkins Adams (referred to hereafter in the notes as SHA), *The Great American Fraud* (1st ed.; New York, 1906); (5th ed.; Chicago, 1912). Reprinted from *Collier's Weekly*.

industry, its methods, its dramatis personae and its effects. The details of this dramatic exposé and of its place in the pure food and drugs movement have been presented elsewhere and do not need extensive further chronicling.³ It will be useful, however, to look into the outcome of this exposé and to comment upon the extent of Adams' role as a medical muckraker, in his relationship to the medical profession as well as to the general public.

With his series on the patent medicines, Adams played an important part, along with Dr. Harvey Wiley, Congressman James R. Mann of Illinois and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, in stimulating the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906. Adams also helped by drafting certain parts of this bill and by providing ammunition to the bill's legislative sponsors. During the debate leading up to the bill's passage, as well as afterward, he was in great demand to speak before medical societies, social workers and civic organizations. The American Medical Association, in part as a result of Adams' exposé, in 1906 set up its Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry to investigate patent medicines and patent medicine testimonials by physicians. Recognizing the value of Adams' work, the Association eventually designated him, even though he was a layman, as an Associate Member.⁴

Medical circles welcomed Adams' series on "The Great American Fraud" as one of the most worthwhile contributions to professional and popular medical education in the current phase of medical reform. Editors of *The Journal of the American Medical Association* recognized that Adams had created a potent slogan, and for about a decade after his series first appeared the *Journal* kept returning to its own attack on patent medicines with editorials which bore the same title. Stirred by the wide interest in Adams' series, the AMA reproduced the articles in the form of a pamphlet. Demand for this pamphlet turned out to be so great that within a year it had gone through four editions, while the ultimate sale reached nearly five hundred thousand copies.⁵ The Women's Christian Temperance Union took many copies for its own purposes; philanthropists distributed others to medical students. The *Journal* of the AMA reported that "whereas it was anticipated that they [the pamphlets] would

³ Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Golden Age of Quackery* (New York, 1959), provides a detailed resumé of each of Adams' articles, together with some account of their effect. James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires* (Princeton, 1961), chap. xiii, is a competent account. Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism*, puts the Adams exposé firmly in the context of the muckraking movement and covers some of the same ground as Young, though in less detail. Weinberg's anthology, *The Muckrakers*, devotes one section specifically to patent medicine and to a summary of its reform movement.

⁴ See Young, *Toadstool Millionaires*, chap. xiv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

be utilized by physicians only, it transpires that it is aroused laymen, and not physicians, who are making use of them. The far-reaching effect of this enthusiastic lay cooperation in the education of the public regarding this cruel fraud can hardly be underestimated."⁶

The relative lack of interest on the part of physicians pointed up the backwardness of a profession which was just beginning to feel the impact of the scientific discoveries of the Age of Bacteriology. Adams had asked the *Journal* of the AMA to publish lists of the proprietary associations which represented the manufacturers and distributors of patent medicines. He also urged the *Journal* in 1906 to publish lists of those physicians who abetted the patent medicine evil by prescribing patent medicines to their patients. Although the *Journal* never carried out this suggestion, it did pass it on to the profession for what it was worth as a goad, or perhaps a threat.⁷ Adams found it necessary to come back to the question in 1912, when he reported in the *Journal* that medical practitioners in good standing in many parts of the country still could see no harm in prescribing patent medicines and so-called "medicinal whisky" to their patients or maintained a "laissez-faire attitude" toward the nostrum evil. How are laymen to know the truth about medical fraud, he queried, if they "cannot rely on the opinion of regular physicians?"⁸

Adams and other reformers watched with concern as the Pure Food and Drugs Act was administratively undermined and emasculated under the pressures of the patent medicine interests during the few years after 1906. They were appalled as the Referee Board set up by President Roosevelt and his Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, acted in virtual concert with the food industry to undercut the efforts of Dr. Harvey Wiley's Bureau of Chemistry at enforcing the Pure Food and Drugs Act. Several key officials of the Department of Agriculture were, in fact, revealed to be actively obstructive and antagonistic to the act, its purposes and its enforcement. In a 1910 muckraking article, Adams reported that "the statute which required seventeen years of unrelenting effort to place upon the books is, so far as many important forms of adulteration are concerned, practically an inert machine. It is being destroyed by the old allied forces of fraud and poison."⁹ Less than two years later, in 1912,

⁶ "The Layman and the Great American Fraud," editorial in *Journal of the American Medical Association*, L (April 11, 1908), 1196.

⁷ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 17, 1906, p. 832. This is an abstract of an article by SHA, "Medical Support of Nostrums," taken from the *Maryland Medical Journal*, February 1906.

⁸ SHA, letter to editor, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, LIX (November 2, 1912), 1640.

⁹ SHA, "What Has Become of our Pure Food Law?", *Hampton's Magazine*, XXIV (February 1910), 234-42.

Adams reported a conservative Supreme Court interpretation which held that the 1906 act did not actually prohibit misleading labeling of drugs or patent medicines.¹⁰ The lower courts, moreover, sympathetically gave only nominal penalties to manufacturers who had violated the act. Concluding that "no other legislation for many years has suffered such disastrous modifications," Adams called for further aroused public opinion and Congressional action.¹¹

In 1914 Adams published a novel entitled *The Clarion*, a luridly embellished fictional version of the fight on patent medicine evils.¹² This book described pressures on the press by the patent medicine industry and painted a picture of the general frustration of reformers and health officers when confronted by such interests. Although it sold well, *The Clarion* did not have the legislative or social influence that *The Jungle* had had; many people thought that patent medicine reforms had all been made. But the novel did stir up a good deal of attention from newspapers which objected to Adams' account of the prostitution of the press to business interests. Adams, in the face of these attacks, went to the *Journal of the American Medical Association* to present the factual basis of his fiction. There he described the reaction to *The Clarion* in Binghamton, New York, as one example. Houghton Mifflin had sought to place advertising for *The Clarion* in the daily Binghamton newspapers. To the *Press*, Houghton first sent an advertisement "specially designed to arouse the local interest of a city largely devoted to the patent medicine industry," i.e., Swamp Root. Quite understandably, perhaps, because the paper had once belonged to the owners of the Swamp Root business, it rejected this advertisement. It also turned down a later, more general one. Adams' point was emphasized, however, when the other daily, the *Republican-Herald*, also rejected both advertisements "owing to a peculiar agreement existing between the Binghamton newspapers. . . ." Meanwhile, Adams reported, "the local book stores refused to order it, although it was having one of the largest advance sales of the year in other parts of the country. One store made no secret of the fact that fear of the Swamp Root interests kept the novel off their shelves. It was not even obtainable at the local public library."¹³

¹⁰ SHA, "The Fraud Medicines Own Up," *Collier's*, V (January 20, 1912), 11-12 and 26-27; SHA, "The Law, The Label and The Liars," *Collier's*, XLIX (April 13, 1912), 10-11, 36, 38-39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The Shirley Amendment of 1912 attempted to offset the Supreme Court's decision and strengthen the 1906 act, but defective wording again left loopholes for violators.

¹² SHA, *The Clarion* (Boston, 1914).

¹³ SHA to ed., *Journal of the American Medical Association*, LXIII (December 5, 1914), 2062.

Adams' exposés of the patent medicine industry came to an end in 1914, and he never came back to this theme except in an autobiographical way.¹⁴ This is not to say that patent medicine evils had been eradicated; a major revision of the law in 1938 underwent much of the same watering-down process that had happened after the 1906 act. When Adams died in 1958, it was apparent that medical quackery, though no longer using the methods of 1906, still constituted a major public health and social problem.¹⁵

If Adams gained most of his muckraking fame from his articles on patent medicine frauds, he found that the field of medicine and public health in general offered even larger scope for his nonfiction writing, and to some extent for fiction as well. He began writing in this more generalized medical field almost simultaneously with his "Great American Fraud" series. As he went on, he found enough of interest in it to engage his attention more or less continuously up through about 1924, or a full decade after he had ceased to write about patent medicines. Although some of these articles were close to being typical of the literature of social, political or economic exposure, many of them had little similarity to that classical type of muckraking. This part of Adams' output must be accounted for in relation to that partly scientific, partly social reform impulse known as the modern public health movement as well as in relation to traditional muckraking. It was a time when empirical medicine was reeling under the potent impact of the Age of Bacteriology and when health officials were still hesitating in applying the new knowledge in the public behalf.¹⁶

Although the publisher S. S. McClure had passed up the opportunity to sponsor his former staffer's patent medicine exposés, he was glad, at least for a time, to accept Adams' other articles on health matters. The first of these articles, in fact, came out in *McClure's* in January 1905, nine months before "The Great American Fraud" series began in *Collier's*. This was followed fairly regularly by other articles of the same nature, although after 1908 Adams' health articles were distributed among a number of periodicals.

Adams became a superb health educator. In this role he exerted as much influence in American medical and health matters as any nonphysician since Col. George E. Waring Jr., who, in the mid-1870s, wrote popu-

¹⁴ See SHA, "The Invalid's Friend and Hope," *Grandfather Stories* (New York, 1955).

¹⁵ See Young, *Toadstool Millionaires*, pp. 247-62.

¹⁶ For the general medical scene, see Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Medicine* (2d ed.; New York, 1947). For public health developments of the period, see C.-E. A. Winslow, *The Life of Hermann M. Biggs* (Philadelphia, 1929); and James H. Casedy, *Charles V. Chapin and the Public Health Movement* (Cambridge, 1962).

lar articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Scribner's* on home and community sanitation.¹⁷ In the business of exposing the patent medicine evil, Adams was preceded by Edward Bok and Mark Sullivan, and he was joined by such occasional writers on the subject as Earl Mayo, Henry B. Needham and Louise Eberle, but none had such sustained effect as he had. In the writing of general medical and health articles in early twentieth-century America, Irving Fisher was probably Adams' chief lay rival.¹⁸ Together with such other lay writers, Adams did much to make American public opinion receptive to modern science, medicine and public health methods. Their work helped pave the way for subsequent developments such as acceptance of the huge post-World War II expansion of medical research.

Adams' health articles fell generally into a few broad categories. Some were reports on the state of medicine as a science, with their focus upon certain specific diseases or medical disciplines. Others were discussions of the social relations and professional status of medicine and public health administration. Many either discussed or reflected the new importance of health education of the individual, and were themselves significant parts of this process. In retrospect, Adams' articles suffer little because of later accretions of knowledge. For their time they represented a generally accurate distillation of the concepts then accepted by most leaders of the medical and public health professions.

Writing in 1905 about tuberculosis, Adams presented the best facts he could obtain about a disease that was still "the scourge of the world" but one which no longer seemed to offer a mysterious, inevitable fate, since it was "often curable, almost invariably susceptible of alleviation, and always preventable." He described the valuable though limited work being done by small numbers of visiting nurses and deplored the lack of sufficient hospitals or sanatoria. Writing without the benefit of Charles V. Chapin's 1906 demonstration of the futility of terminal fumigation in preventing the spread of certain infectious diseases, Adams stated flatly that such "disinfection is the solution of the problem" of tuberculosis in infected tenements—the so-called "lung blocks" of the large cities.¹⁹ On the other hand, Adams' exposure in this article of the rapacity of land-owners (including the Trinity Church Corporation in New York) and of

¹⁷ See James H. Cassedy, "The Flamboyant Colonel Waring," *Bull. of Hist. of Med.*, XXXVI (March-April 1962), 163-76.

¹⁸ Fisher's best-known publication along these lines was his famous *Report on National Vitality* (Bull. 30 of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health [Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1909]).

¹⁹ SHA, "Tuberculosis: The Real Race Suicide," *McClure's*, XXIV (January 1905), 234-49.

their opposition to tenement reform laws, helped lead other muckrakers to concern themselves with this problem.²⁰

In the same year (1905) Adams characterized typhoid fever as "the simplest and the least excusable" public health problem of the day. Basing his article upon the most widely accepted public health opinion, he stated that "all typhoid is traceable to polluted water"; this was a conclusion that neglected the recent findings of investigators like William T. Sedgwick, Walter Reed and Victor Vaughan that personal contact was often equal to or greater than water as a factor in the spread of the disease. The article revealed, on the other hand, the slowness of municipalities in providing their citizens with the basic sanitary facilities of pure water and adequate sewerage disposal. Citing Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago and St. Louis among the many American cities which did not yet filter their water supplies, Adams wondered at "the unprogressiveness in matters of public health which so strangely contrasts with the forwarding American Spirit."²¹

The outbreak of yellow fever in New Orleans in 1905 provided Adams with an opportunity to contrast the old and the new in disease prevention efforts. This was the first outbreak of the disease on the mainland of the United States since the Reed Commission work in Cuba; Adams used it to show what a difference scientific knowledge could make in dealing with such an epidemic. In contrast to previous attacks in New Orleans, he reported, "this time there was no panic, no mob-rule of terrified thousands, no mad rushing from stunned inertia to wildly impracticable action; but instead the enlistment of the whole city in an army of sanitation," aimed at ruthless eradication of the yellow fever mosquito.²²

Adams went on to write about common colds, digestive troubles and, under the title of "Blue Mondays," about the nervous or emotional strains afflicting increasing numbers of the population under such pressures as routine factory work or the monotony of excess leisure.²³ He wrote on modern surgery and reported in 1905, before much of Harvey Cushing's work, the feeling of American surgeons that "on the side of technique the surgeon of today has almost reached the limit, and that modern surgery is a craft perfected."²⁴ The article conceded that there might be

²⁰ See Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism*. Some other reformers had earlier pointed out the unsavory role of the Trinity Church Corporation.

²¹ SHA, "Typhoid: An Unnecessary Evil," *McClure's*, XXV (June 1905), 145-56.

²² SHA, "Yellow Fever: A Problem Solved," *McClure's*, XXVII (June 1906), 178-92.

²³ SHA, "Only a Cold," *Ladies' Home Journal*, XXXII (February 1915), 4; "What is the Matter with Your Stomach?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, XXX (November 1913), 19, 96-99; "Blue Mondays," *Ladies' Home Journal*, XXX (November 1913), 20, 78-79. Adams also presented the case for regular physical exercises to help prevent the above and other conditions; "My Business Partner—Gym," *Collier's*, LI (May 31, 1913), 19, 28.

²⁴ SHA, "Modern Surgery," *McClure's*, XXIV (March 1905), 482-92.

later advances following further developments in chemistry and bacteriology. In 1913 Adams prepared several articles on cancer, an emerging public health problem which, he observed, had hardly been thought of a generation before. Writing on behalf of the Cancer Campaign of the Clinical Congress of Surgeons of North America, Adams exposed the vicious campaign of the quacks who were exploiting and exciting public fears of surgery. He defended the view of reputable medical men that most cancer is curable *if* discovered early enough and *if* the patient is willing to undergo the necessary surgery.

Around 1907 and 1908 Adams gave attention to the problem of obtaining pure milk supplies. He reported that the work done in Rochester, New York, under Health Officer George Goler was the best milk control program in the United States. That city went into the milk trade itself in order to be able to guarantee what the consumer received. Adams noted that the work of other American cities left a good deal to be desired; the best of them restricted themselves to the licensing of dairies and to bacteriological inspection of milk at the points of distribution. Reflecting a widespread but not long dominant opinion, he referred to pasteurization as "a dangerous makeshift" which, if adopted, would lead to rickets, scurvy or malnutrition. "No eminent authority in the medical world today," he said, "believes that pasteurized milk is as good as pure raw milk."²⁵

After World War I, with pasteurization and prohibition having become facts of life, Adams' attention, like that of many others, shifted from milk to alcohol. Bootlegging was an understandable object of interest. In addition, he wrote about the medical or physiological effects of alcohol, a topic based upon the researches of Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins University. In Pearl's conclusion that moderate use of alcohol does not shorten life (only excesses do), Adams found a convincing challenge to the sweeping claims of the prohibitionists. From what science could then offer to the controversy, it seemed that alcohol was a social evil rather than a physical one, "the destroyer of souls rather than of bodies."²⁶

Drug addiction, in 1924, posed a somewhat different problem. In a final series of health articles for *Collier's*, Adams discussed the physiological basis of addiction, attacked the brutal and outdated laws which treated addiction as a crime rather than as a disease, and revealed the circumstances which encouraged illegal "dope" peddling while preventing legitimate narcotic usage by physicians. He asserted that nearly one hundred thousand American men acquired the drug habit during Army

²⁵ SHA, "Rochester's Pure Milk Campaign," *McClure's*, XXIX (June 1907), 142-49; "The Solving of the Milk Problem," *McClure's*, XXXII, 200-7.

²⁶ SHA, "Science Has its Say About Alcohol," *Collier's*, LXXI (April 7, 1923), 5-6, 25.

service in World War I as a result of medical treatment, while similarly some million additional persons had become addicts in that manner rather than by crime or experimentation.²⁷

Although Adams dealt with a large portion of the "problem" diseases or specific health conditions of his day, for some reason he did not take up to any large extent the immense matter of mental illness. This is a cause for some wonder, since the hospitals for the insane at that time offered such a great potential for medical muckraking, a potential that was realized some four decades later by another journalist, Albert Deutsch. Adams also failed to grapple significantly with venereal disease, another health problem with great possibilities for exposés if one were willing as well to tackle the forces of convention and prudery.

Among the broader health matters which Adams observed and wrote about from time to time was the condition of the public health and medical professions in the United States. Adams was an earnest and able advocate of the preventive ideal of health attention; he liked to call it the "Chinese Plan" of hygiene, by which a man or community paid a physician to keep him well rather than to cure him after getting sick. During the muckraking era, public health administration was just coming into its own in America after a long "medieval" period when the typical health officer, as Adams put it, was a "doctor with a political pull." The muckraker Lincoln Steffens and other reformers commented during this time upon the frequent failure of public officials in American communities to act in removing political corruption—a failure which was stirring up private individuals to act through voluntary councils and organizations. Adams in 1905 reported a comparable situation in medical and health reform, as well as in the movement for patent medicine legislation. He had to conclude that "in general, it is to the public-spirited citizen and not to the public-supported office-holder that we must look for leadership."²⁸

In 1908 Adams saw that much needed to be done. He called for a comprehensive national health organization, although already "in the Marine Hospital Service is the germ of a mighty force for national betterment."²⁹ He noted the deplorable state of what passed for vital statistics in this country, and he named cities such as Buffalo and Chicago which falsified their statistics so that publicists could boast of the cities' healthfulness. Although he singled out Pittsburgh as one of the worst protected of

²⁷ SHA, "The Cruel Tragedy of 'Dope,'" *Collier's*, LXXIII (February 23, 1924), 7-8, 32; "How People Become Drug Addicts," *Collier's*, LXXIII (March 1, 1924), 9; "How to Stop the Dope Peddler," *Collier's*, LXXIII (March 8, 1924), 13, 31.

²⁸ SHA, "Tuberculosis: The Real Race Suicide," *loc. cit.*, p. 235.

²⁹ SHA, "Guardians of the Public Health," *McClure's*, XXXI (July 1908), 242.

American cities, he noted many others with health laws and departments almost as bad.³⁰ But he did report the good work done by such health officers as Hermann Biggs in New York City and Charles Chapin in Providence, as well as by the State Boards of Health of Massachusetts and Indiana. He particularly admired George Goler, the Health Officer of Rochester.

Two things seemed in 1908, both to muckraders like Adams and to conscientious health officers, to stand in the way of improved public health. One was public apathy, which was demonstrated in niggardly appropriations for health departments as well as in widespread flouting of health department regulations. The other was the omnipresent "private influences which work against the public"—such diverse interests as property owners, milk distributors, factories of various kinds.

No theme was more often repeated in Adams' public health writings than that of the problem of secrecy in the face of disease threats to the community. The attack on secrecy was related to the general attack of the muckrakers upon the greed of American business interests of the day. Adams recounted the details of an epidemic of typhoid fever at Cornell University which reached scandalous proportions because businessmen in Ithaca, alarmed that their businesses might be hurt, pressured university officials into suppressing news of the first few cases.³¹ He told about the political and economic pressures which, during the early days of the 1905 yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans, caused a serious delay in organising a coherent community attack upon the epidemic.³² Adams also told the public the even more sordid story of the 1900-1 plague epidemic in San Francisco's Chinatown, where, in the face of urgent warnings by health officials, commercial interests "persuaded" not only the press but the state governor and many other officials to deny the existence of plague.³³ Adams saw this widespread resorting to secrecy as "the national hygienic failing." He felt that commercial interests when involved with hygienic affairs are "always a malign influence, and usually an incredibly stupid one."³⁴ Like a good many other muckrakers, health officers and general reformers of the progressive era, Adams made it clear that "I haven't very much sympathy with the business point of view."³⁵

³⁰ SHA, "Pittsburgh's Foregone Asset, The Public Health," *Charities and the Commons*, XXI (February 6, 1909), 940-50; "Tomfoolery With Public Health," *The Survey*, XXV (December 17, 1910), pp. 453-57.

³¹ SHA, "Typhoid: An Unnecessary Evil," *loc. cit.*

³² SHA, "Yellow Fever: A Problem Solved," *loc. cit.*

³³ SHA, "Guardians of the Public Health," *loc. cit.* See also, Ralph C. Williams, *The United States Public Health Service, 1798-1950* (Washington, D. C., 1951).

³⁴ SHA, "Guardians of the Public Health," *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

³⁵ SHA, *The Health Master* (Boston, 1913), p. 12. Historians of the progressive movement generally fail to point out that some of the most outspoken statements of the

Despite such impediments, Adams in 1908 could see hope of a slowly developing and powerful national public health movement. This was being manifested by a gradual spread of public sanitary facilities; by an increase in power given to health officers; by increased health education of the public; by the proliferation of voluntary organizations devoted to health.³⁶ Fifteen years later, in 1923, Adams reported that these hopes had been largely realized. Public health work by then had come a long way toward becoming a science. The public was being educated in hygiene, while health officers and physicians themselves were becoming more knowledgeable. Whereas the older generation of health officers had had to train themselves, by 1923 academic instruction was available in special institutions in a wide range of public health subjects. He accurately noted that probably the main reason for this great advance was the "intelligent support of the community at large."³⁷

Adams' view of the development of the public health officer between 1905 and 1925 was paralleled by his observations about the medical profession. If, in 1905, large numbers of reputable physicians were either ignorant of or indifferent toward the patent medicine evil, Adams found that with reference to public health matters generally they exhibited out and out "medical lawlessness." This was particularly true in their defiance or ignoring of local laws requiring them to report cases of tuberculosis, typhoid fever or other communicable diseases to the publicly elected health officers.³⁸ The argument was that since they were not paid to make such reports they would refuse to make them. This philosophy helped keep both morbidity and mortality records in the United States both incomplete and inaccurate for many years. Adams found that physicians in New Orleans during the yellow fever epidemic of 1905 actually misreported cases deliberately in order to win patients from their competitors.³⁹ By the middle of the muckraking period, however, Adams reported that a few city administrations were becoming willing to stand back of their courageous health officers in prosecuting physicians for failing to report communicable diseases.⁴⁰

progressive era in favor of public controls or even Socialism came from practical public health administrators working to ensure pure water supplies, to obtain competent garbage collection and disposal, to extend health by medical inspection and care of school children, or to enforce the isolation of infectious diseases. Perhaps because sufficient studies have not yet been made, this body of thought and action of such health officials, essentially unpolitical in motivation but nonetheless potent, so far seems to have been relegated to something of an "underworld" of progressivism.

³⁶ SHA, "Guardians of the Public Health," *loc. cit.*, pp. 241-52.

³⁷ SHA, "Doubling the Guards on Health," *World's Work*, XLVI (May 1923), 97-103.

³⁸ See SHA, "Tuberculosis . . .," *loc. cit.*, and "Typhoid . . .," *loc. cit.*

³⁹ SHA, "Yellow Fever . . .," *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ SHA, "Guardians of the Public Health," *loc. cit.*, p. 246.

In 1923 Adams took another backward look and saw that, like the health officers, physicians in general had been profoundly affected by the developments of the previous two decades. In their case, the "revolution in medical science" had, among other things, presumably increased their appreciation of the need for reporting cases of communicable diseases and had provided them with previously unheard-of abilities to diagnose and deal with diseases. It had also subjected the medical profession to a profound splintering effect as the impact of new knowledge divided it into a score or more of specialties. Public health itself was one of these specialties. In another direction, Adams reported, "aseptic surgery . . . split off half the profession, to make of them a wholly separate division with a special technic and widely diverse professional interests. To ask an experienced operative surgeon of today to care for a complicated case of pneumonia would be like expecting a garage man to repair your watch."⁴¹

One of the principal casualties in the process of specialization was the general practitioner. In 1923 Adams took note of the "vanishing country doctor." He traced the beginning of what had become a critical condition to World War I. The war, he observed, had made not only the new medical graduates but even many of the older practitioners into specialists. It had left the latter discontented with their former imprecise methods and had led many to abandon their country practices. Of those practitioners remaining in rural areas after the war, it seemed as if most were old doctors who were getting older. Meanwhile the average distribution had dropped to an inadequate one physician for 1,020 persons. Young medical graduates, Adams reported, were now virtually impossible to lure to country practice. "They would rather starve in the cities, where scientific and social advantages are available, than make an assured living in the country. And a good many of them do starve, professionally."⁴² Too often the vacuum that was created in rural areas was readily filled either by the midwife or by the ubiquitous patent medicine salesman—and this, seventeen years after passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906.⁴³

Adams observed that the advent of the automobile and improved roads was also contributing to the decline in the number of rural physicians. With these innovations some farmers were coming to rely less on nearby village practitioners and more on specialists in the cities. Conversely, autos were enabling country physicians to cover more territory and to see more

⁴¹ SHA, "The Vanishing Country Doctor," *Ladies' Home Journal*, XL (October 1923), 178.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴³ SHA, "Why the Doctor Left," *Ladies' Home Journal*, XL (November 1923), 26, 218-20.

patients. The big problem came when the roads were muddy or snow-bound. Any extended period of bad weather in the years after World War I tended to leave a large portion of the rural population medically helpless for weeks at a time.

But, whatever the condition of the roads, most farmers simply could not afford to go to medical specialists. The prosperity of the 1920s was illusory enough for American farmers, but when illness struck there often was tragedy simply because of the high cost of medical care. In 1924, over a decade after the establishment of the Children's Bureau and of the United States Public Health Service in its modern form, Adams reported some of the big gaps in health care.

"Why do you spend a fortune on treating sick hogs and cattle?", challenges one farm wife and mother. "How about babies? Our children die for lack of knowledge." And another: "If a farmer's horse or cow is sick he is allowed to call in a specialist free of charge. And if a child gets sick and the family doctor has done all he can, a lot of children die because they are not able to have a specialist." And a lot more, it might be added today, die because they cannot get a good country doctor of the old type.⁴⁴

To alleviate this condition, Adams in 1924 advocated the establishment of "state-supported rural hospitals, widely and wisely located, which shall afford first-class medical service at a low price."⁴⁵ Pressures of the types which Adams reported mounted in the mid-1920s, not only from the farmers but from other population segments which were affected by the situation. As one result, in 1927 the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care was established, supported by foundations and health organizations, and led by Professor C.-E. A. Winslow of Yale. Not many people yet knew or talked about health insurance, but they knew that something was needed badly. Adams helped extend a debate that is still going on today.

Like most of the other muckrakers, Adams wrote fiction for the same journals that published his nonfiction exposés. There is no explanation at hand as to why he did not make a greater use than he did of medical subjects in his fictional writings. Actually, only two novels and three or four stories are built around such themes. *The Clarion*, Adams' novel about patent medicine evils, has already been mentioned. "Substitute," a story of 1905, focused on the outbreak of typhoid fever among American

⁴⁴ SHA, "Medically Helpless," *Ladies' Home Journal*, XLI (February 1924), 150.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Hermann Biggs had several years earlier tried in New York State, though without success, to establish a network of somewhat similar Health Centers.

troops in the Spanish-American War.⁴⁶ "The Medico-Strategist" is a love story involving a young physician in the 1905 epidemic of yellow fever in New Orleans, while "Grimsden House" is a somewhat Poe-like horror tale of death from tuberculosis in an apparently haunted house.⁴⁷

In 1911 and 1912 *The Delineator* published Adams' serial "The Health Master," which was issued in book form the following year. Dedicated to Health Officer George W. Goler of Rochester, this book aimed to present, under a simple fictional structure, the "progressive specialized thought of modern medical science" pertaining to preventive medicine. It pointed out to the general public the emerging concept that the health officer was and should be a scientist, not merely a political hack or a tracker-down of offensive odors.⁴⁸

Adams' medical fiction did not bring him much in the way of literary distinction. His medical writing generally, however, gives him historical standing as a muckraking reformer who made a large and useful contribution to the advancement of medical science and the well-being of society at a time when most journalist reformers were only concerned with political or economic malefactors. Although the field of medicine and public health did not, perhaps, offer quite the same opportunities for dramatic exposures of political, social, economic or civic wrong-doing which were present in other muckraking areas, the need for reform or change in this field was no less than in those areas. Writing about this area and about the changes in it, therefore, became not only a matter of making exposures to bring about political action but a matter of professional and public education. As a popular writer-educator in the field of medicine and public health, Adams did not merely destroy or attack, but to a greater extent than most of his muckraking colleagues he wrote articles which were positive in tone and effect.⁴⁹ He went beyond exposure to present creative solutions and to show, in the light of the best scientific evidence of the day, how they could be achieved. And he urged education upon others as the most hopeful tool for continuing health progress in a complicated modern world.⁵⁰ Adams concluded that

⁴⁶ SHA, "Substitute," *McClure's*, XXVI (November 1905), 60-66.

⁴⁷ SHA, "The Medico-Strategist," *Collier's*, XLII (January 2, 1909), 22-23, 26-27; "Grimsden House," *Everybody's*, XX (May 1909), 694-702.

⁴⁸ SHA, *The Health Master*.

⁴⁹ See Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, pp. xiii-xxv, and Swados, *Years of Conscience*, pp. 9-22.

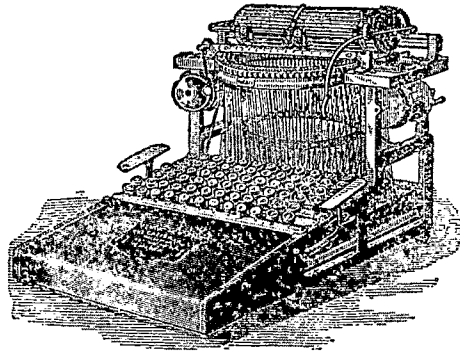
⁵⁰ SHA, "Tuberculosis . . .," *loc. cit.*; SHA, "Public Health and Public Hysteria," editorial in *Jour. of Am. Pub. H. Assoc.*, I (November 1911), 771-74; SHA, "What Can We Do About Cancer?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, XXX (May 1913), 21-22; SHA, "Doubling the Guards on Health," *loc. cit.*, p. 103; Abstract of SHA remarks, in Report of Cancer Campaign Comm., Clinical Cong. of Surgeons of North America, *Jour. of A. M. A.*, LX (December 6, 1913), 2099.

It all resolves itself into a question of education: patient, unremitting instruction of the public, through the press, the platform, the pulpit, and the schools. Nowhere as in hygiene is that public capacity so needed which Bacon has set down as one part of wisdom, the capacity to learn, not from the names of things but from things themselves.⁵¹

Adams' career as a medical writer bridged the span between the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906 and the formation of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, between the reform era of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency and the prosperous 1920s of Coolidge's administration. Adams gave up true muckraking around 1912 or so for much the same reasons other muckrakers did: the muckraking themes or issues were absorbed in the progressive movement or the platforms of political parties; World War I diverted public attention; some of the muckraking magazines folded; the public became hardened and indifferent to exposés.⁵² He gave up medical journalism a dozen years later partly because competent and concerned physicians were beginning to emerge as popular health writers; some, like William H. Evans, S. Josephine Baker, Royal S. Copeland and eventually Morris Fishbein, with their own weekly or monthly columns. The reforms of modern medicine and public health, just gaining momentum in 1912, were in 1925 well advanced. Perhaps the field now needed a different approach from that of the muckraker.

⁵¹ SHA, "Public Health and Public Hysteria," *loc. cit.*, p. 774.

⁵² See Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, pp. xiii-xxv; and Swados, *Years of Conscience*, pp. 9-11.



Notes

A Note on Degler, Riesman and Tocqueville¹

TRADITIONALLY, THE HISTORIAN HAS BEEN UNEASY WITH THE SOCIOLOGICAL search for general laws because he is professionally sensitized to change and diversity. Recently, however, the sociologists, instead of hungering for laws of eternal verity, have been busy pointing up the peculiar features of American society, noting the subtle changes of quality in modern life, or measuring shifts in the national character. There has been a tendency for historians to react by delighting in showing that everything has a precedent, that what looks novel is really of long standing, that somebody years ago said everything worth saying about those contemporary problems that agitate sociological critics. In conversation I have often caught myself and my colleagues speaking in a certain tone of worldly wisdom which suggests the ripe knowledge that, though one generation passeth away and another generation cometh, the sun also rises. It is an ironical reversal of roles which ought to make historians uneasy.

As a historian, I appreciate Mr. Degler's concern for keeping sociological use of the past on documentary ground, but I suspect that his case for continuity is much too likely to win assent from historians for the wrong reasons. His argument fails to take seriously enough the difference in method between the historian and the sociologist, and it tends to blur the limiting conditions of the thesis presented in *The Lonely Crowd*. The authors use what Max Weber called "ideal types," which are not empirical descriptions but instruments of conceptual clarity, designed to point up for analytical purposes certain features of reality that might otherwise be imperceptible. The evidence presented is not intended to be representative in general; it is explicitly restricted to "the metropolitan, American upper middle class." Social character is taken to be only one dimension of personality, that is, the mode of conformity or creativity. Modern "other-direction" is crucially discriminated from conformist behavior in general by an emphasis on the quality of inner experience, rather than on overt behavior or rational opinion, and on the need for emotional rapport with "the good guys" rather than with "the best people." These nuances are the very essence of the case.

¹ See Carl N. Degler, "The Sociologist as Historian: Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*," *American Quarterly*, XV (Winter 1963), 483-97. Because *American Quarterly* publishes comments on articles but discourages formal debates which might include a rejoinder, Professor Degler was not invited to reply.

Tocqueville's concern for "the tyranny of the majority" was quite different from Riesman's analysis of "other-direction." The Frenchman believed that because the majority in America had the right of both making and executing the laws there was no freedom of discussion with respect to religious and political theory. It irritated him that "the ruling power" could not be "made game of," but had always to be made "the subject of encomium." There was a fading out of the old American "manly candor and masculine independence of opinion." What struck him forcibly was the persistence in the United States of "general principles in religion, philosophy, morality, and even politics. . . ." Using his own method of "ideal types," for he confessed that he was looking in America for "the image of democracy itself," Tocqueville concluded that in coming generations the egalitarian society would be marked by a "virtuous materialism" that would end by regarding "every new theory as a peril, every innovation as an irksome toil, every social improvement as a stepping stone to revolution. . . ." (See *Democracy in America*, Phillips Bradley edition, 1946, I, Chaps. XV and II, Chap. XXI.) There is nothing inconsistent in this perceptive analysis with Riesman's thesis about the changing nature of social character in America.

The real point of contact between Tocqueville and Riesman lies in their mutual concern for the threat of what Tocqueville called "general apathy." He saw it as the result of the American's tendency—which he called "individualism" and Riesman called "privatization"—to "draw apart with his family and his friends, so that after he has thus formed a little circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself." (*Democracy in America*, II, 98.) This common concern is emphasized not in *The Lonely Crowd*, but in Riesman's recent writings which stress the need for human solidarity and political commitment on large issues. It is relevant that all three authors of *The Lonely Crowd* are now currently committed to the peace movement.

Any study of discontinuity necessarily slights continuity. But can anything but a cult of continuity prevent us from appreciating the passing of the Newport style of conspicuous consumption, the growth of the corporate organization man, the new sanctions in a psychologically oriented age for the manipulation of personality, the mushrooming of public relations, the cult of consumership, the fact that "the business of America" is also play, or the political exploitation of "sincerity" and "tolerance"? These new features of our world were first seen in perspective by *The Lonely Crowd*, and they are not the *characteristic* features of Victorian America. The book itself was a striking sign of a changed temper. Its concern for the development of individual "autonomy" was couched in a sociological idiom marked by a critical attitude toward

moral indignation and ideological commitment. How strange its categories appear by comparison with the ethical and religious individualism of Emerson and Thoreau, or the Puritanized laissez-faire economic individualism preached by William Graham Sumner, himself an impressive model of the "inner-directed" man!

As a historian, I should think that, instead of minimizing any changes in the social character of Americans, we might find it more profitable and appropriate to look into the 1920s as a seed-bed for those emphases in style which *The Lonely Crowd* has identified so vividly that we can no longer look at our own time without reference to its categories. No doubt the time is not yet for the scholarly lions and lambs to lie down together, but how better for historians could they begin to approach each other than by agreeing that the sun also sets?

CUSHING STROUT, *California Institute of Technology*

Addendum on Eliot and the Bhagavad-Gita

THE TEXT OF ELIOT'S POEM, "TO THE INDIANS WHO DIED IN AFRICA," WHICH was reproduced with my article, "T. S. Eliot and the *Bhagavad-Gita*,"¹ was taken from *Queen Mary's Book for India* published by Messrs. George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1943, but was reprinted with the permission of Messrs. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., and the acknowledgment was in the manner stipulated by them. At that time, T. S. Eliot's *Collected Poems, 1909-1962*, from which the poem is acknowledged as having been taken, was still in the press, and I had no access to the revised text.

In the revised text, Eliot has made some changes. At the head of the poem, there is a note in which he says that the poem "was written at the request of Miss Cornelia Sorabji for *Queen Mary's Book for India*. . . . I dedicate it now to Bonamy Dobree, because he liked it and urged me to preserve it." There are five verbal changes in addition to the deletion of a comma after "warm" in the third line of the second stanza and the insertion of one after "Midlands" in the first line of the last stanza.

The first verbal change is the substitution of the word "playing" for "play" in the first stanza, making the statement more precise. Thus, the man who has survived the battle now sees "his grandson and his neighbour's grandson/"Playing in the dust together." The first two lines of the second stanza reading, "Scarred but secure, he has many narratives/To repeat at the hour of conversation" have been changed to read, "Scarred but secure, he has many *memories/Which return* at the hour of conversation" [*italics mine*] and thus show two changes. Clearly, the emphasis is

¹ *American Quarterly*, XV (Winter 1963), 572-78.

shifted from the outward company to the inward experience of the soldier who has survived the battle. At the time of the conversation, the old soldier recollects his experiences rather than communicates them. The psychological shift adds to the appropriateness of the situation and prepares the reader for the next part of the poem, where the emphasis is on the most inward concern of man—his destiny.

However, two other verbal changes which Eliot has made appear to detract from the emphasis on Indian thought. Both these occur in the last stanza of the poem. Eliot has substituted "graveyard" for "memories" in the second line of the stanza, making the first two lines read, "This was not your land, or ours: but a village in the Midlands,/And one in the Five Rivers, may have the same graveyard." He has also changed "I" into "we" in the lines, "None the less fruitful if neither you nor I/Know, until the judgment after death,/What is the fruit of action." These two changes reduce the appeal to an Indian reader. While the appropriateness of the imagery of a graveyard in a (Christian) village in the Midlands of England is obvious, its association with a (Hindu) village in the Punjab seems to be inconsistent. Although the general meaning of the line is clear—both the English soldier and the Indian soldier meet death on the same battlefield—the imagery of the graveyard has a different connotational effect on an Indian, especially if we remember that Eliot has been drawing on the *Gita* for most of his philosophic thoughts in the poem. The Hindu custom is not to bury the dead but to cremate them except for *sanyāsins* (ascetics) and the young children, the former, because they have voluntarily walked out of the caste system and the latter, because they have not yet been initiated into the religious life formally. The punctuational change setting off the phrase, "And one in the Five Rivers," between commas suggests a parenthetical effect—as though the reference to the Indian village is somewhat in the nature of a postscript.

The most important change seems to be the substitution of "we" for "I," an unhappy one from the Indian point of view. It is well known that the *Bhagavad-Gita* is replete with constant use of the word, "*ātman*," sometimes meaning "the individual soul" and sometimes "I." That a man ought to lose his sense of ego (*ahamkāra*) for the sake of the perfection of his soul (*ātman*) for salvation (*mōksha*) is a familiar Hindu thought. Eliot's change of "I" into "we," while it takes into account the English people as a whole, just as the word "you" represents the Indians together, and achieves a sense of balance in its structural as well as its political overtones, undoubtedly makes it less philosophic in its implications for the Indians to whom, in a broad sense, the poem is addressed.

K. S. NARAYANA RAO, *State University of New York, Albany*

Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

World War One and the Crisis of American Liberty

THE COLD WAR HAS RAISED ANEW FOR AMERICANS THE QUESTION OF LOYALTY. The excesses of the McCarthy era stimulated new efforts to grapple with the issues at stake. Political scientists reassessed the philosophical bases of freedom of speech and press; sociologists probed the nature and meaning of loyalty; and historians surveyed the historical record of civil liberties in the United States. Leonard W. Levy re-examined freedom of speech and press in early American history and found "that the generation which adopted the Constitution and the Bill of Rights did not believe in a broad scope for freedom of expression, particularly in the realm of politics."¹ The Alien and Sedition Acts received not one but two excellent new scholarly treatments.² Harold M. Hyman studied Northern loyalty testing during the Civil War and Reconstruction.³ Assisted by a grant from the Fund for the Republic, Mr. Hyman undertook a full-scale history of loyalty testing in America. Loyalty tests, he concluded, were brought to this continent with the first settlers and were resorted to, time and again, "during wars, rebellions, and periods of fear of subversion."⁴

Of the crises in American history involving assaults upon civil liberties, World War I and its aftermath has provoked the most interest among historians. Its analogy with the present appears most apt: a great war followed by a short-lived Red scare. The starting point for the student of the period remains Zechariah Chaffee Jr.'s *Free Speech in the United States*. Chaffee's classic account is definitive on the constitutional side of

¹ Leonard W. Levy, *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History* (Cambridge, 1960), p. vii. Mr. Levy takes a more detailed—and critical—look at the Jeffersonian record on civil liberties in his new book, *Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side* (Cambridge, 1963).

² John C. Miller, *Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts* (Boston, 1952); James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956).

³ Harold M. Hyman, *Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Philadelphia, 1954).

⁴ Harold M. Hyman, *To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959), p. vii.

the wartime and postwar assault upon civil liberties.⁵ But the opening of hitherto closed records and the revived interest in the question inspired by recent developments have spurred historians to further research. H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite's *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* is a detailed account—based largely upon contemporary newspaper reports—of the repressive actions taken by government agencies and private vigilantism against opponents of the war.⁶ Robert K. Murray has studied in depth the Red scare of 1919-20.⁷ A brief but illuminating summary of the repressive activities of the Wilson Administration is given by Harry N. Scheiber in his prize-winning master's essay, *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921*.⁸

That much remains to be said about civil liberties during the World War I era is shown by the publication last year of three new books on the subject: William Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Harvard University Press, 1963, \$6.75); Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician* (Columbia University Press, 1963, \$7.50); and Donald Johnson, *The Challenge to American Freedoms: World War I and the Rise of the American Civil Liberties Union* (University of Kentucky Press, 1963, \$5.00).

Published under the auspices of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Mr. Preston's book is an invaluable antidote to the tendency to see the Red scare of 1919-20 as a temporary aberration resulting from World War I and the Russian Revolution. The Palmer raids, Mr. Preston demonstrates, can only be understood as the culmination of historical developments long in the making. One was the establishment—with the sanction of the courts—of immigration and deportation

⁵ (Cambridge, 1941). This work was a revision and updating of Chafee's 1920 volume, *Freedom of Speech* (New York, 1920), which was intended as a guide to lawyers in cases involving free speech.

⁶ H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* (Madison, Wis., 1957).

⁷ Robert K. Murray, *The Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1955).

⁸ (Ithaca, N. Y., 1960). A number of articles published in recent years have dealt with one aspect or another of this question. These include: Robert D. Ward, "The Origin and Activities of the National Security League, 1914-1919," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (June 1960), 51-65; Donald Johnson, "Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVIII (February 1962), 46-58; Monroe Billington, "Thomas P. Gore and Oklahoma Public Opinion, 1917-1918," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVII (August 1961), 344-53; Philip Taft, "The Federal Trials of the I.W.W.," *Labor History*, III (Winter 1962), 57-91; James Weinstein, "Anti-War Sentiment and the Socialist Party, 1917-1918," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXIV (June 1959), 215-39; and Robert K. Murray, "Communism and the Great Steel Strike of 1919," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVIII (December 1951), 445-66.

proceedings of a summary and nonjudicial nature that left the alien unprotected by the rights of due process guaranteed citizens by the Constitution. Another was the rising spirit of nativism growing out of the social tensions accompanying the nation's rapid industrialization and urbanization. The third was a deep-seated anxiety about the nation's future. The events of the 1890s left the American middle class with a continuing fear of social upheaval—a fear that did much to inspire the reforms of the progressive era, but which turned to repression amid the crisis of war. Crucial was the identification of alien and radical—a stereotype given wide currency by McKinley's assassination and formalized in the Immigration Act of 1903. The exaggerated nationalism of the war years fixed in the minds of most Americans the equation: alien=radical=disloyalty. The ground was thus laid for what followed.

In a brilliant article published over a decade ago, John M. Blum suggested the link between nativism, antiradicalism and the Red scare.⁹ In his *Strangers in the Land*, John Higham elaborated how nativism and antiradicalism exacerbated by wartime tensions and hostilities culminated in the Palmer raids.¹⁰ Mr. Preston's work, however, provides the fullest account yet published of "the unique convergence" during World War I and its aftermath of "the antialien and antiradical movements" dating from the 1890s. The hardest hit victims of the hysteria were the Wobblies. "The I.W.W.," Mr. Preston shows, "was the decisive influence in the evolution of federal policy." And the bulk of his book is devoted to a study—based upon exhaustive research in the records of the Labor and Justice Departments and the Immigration and Naturalization Service—of the federal government's war against the International Workers of the World. "In eliminating the Wobblies," Mr. Preston concludes, "government officials passed legislation, evolved techniques, and learned lessons that shaped their later course of conduct."

The story makes melancholy reading. "Too often," Mr. Preston finds, "the federal government responded to the demands of class or selfish interest and proceeded against radicals with little regard for due process and the Bill of Rights." First came intervention by the Army in the summer of 1917 to break I.W.W. strikes throughout the northwest. Such illegal and unconstitutional action by the military was but a temporary expedient. A more permanent solution was demanded. The Espionage Act provided a lethal weapon—and in the fall the government brought indictments against the Wobbly leaders. The favorite remedy, however,

⁹ John M. Blum, "Nativism, Anti-Radicalism, and the Foreign Scare, 1917-1920," *Midwest Journal*, III (Winter 1950-51), 46-53.

¹⁰ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1955), esp. 194-233.

was the deportation of alien I.W.W.'s. When this drive hit a snag in the person of Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, Congress adopted in October 1918 a new immigration law, drafted and supported by the Justice Department and Immigration Bureau, to facilitate the deportation of alien radicals. Only a handful of I.W.W.'s were deported. But the deportation frenzy took on renewed life at the war's end when the Red scare swept the country. Congress' refusal to approve a peacetime sedition law meant that "the full fury of federal repression therefore descended down the one remaining channel of deportation." Working in tandem, the Justice Department and Immigration Bureau launched the sweeping dragnet of the Palmer raids.

The wholesale violations of civil liberties accompanying the raids brought a reaction. The Department of Labor had final say on deportations—and Acting Secretary Louis F. Post stepped in to halt the deportation of most of those arrested. As the unsavory details of the government's excesses became public, "deportation as a method of dealing with radicals fell into disrepute, and then disuse." Not that antiradicalism or nativism was dead. Nativism triumphed in the immigration law of 1924. And the tardiness with which the federal government released its wartime political prisoners revealed the continuing strength of anti-radicalism. It was not until December 1923 that President Coolidge unconditionally commuted the sentences of the last thirty Wobblies imprisoned for violating the Espionage Act; it was not until December 1933 that F.D.R. gave a Christmas pardon restoring their civil rights to all those convicted under the Draft and Espionage Acts of World War I. But by mid-1920, the worst of the hysteria was over. The chief victim of the public reaction was the man whose name had become inextricably linked with the Red scare, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

An adequate biography of Palmer has long been a felt need. This gap has now been filled by Stanley Coben's *A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician*. Most of Palmer's papers have disappeared; but making skillful use of the available materials—the papers of friends and foes, government records, official documents and personal interviews—Mr. Coben has written what will undoubtedly stand as the definitive life. Palmer, Mr. Coben writes, "was a paradox: a 'liberal demagogue.'" "How can we reconcile," he asks, "the progressive reformer of pre-World War I years—the champion of the underdog—with the militant Attorney-General who violated civil liberties to an extent unprecedented in American history?" His book succeeds brilliantly in answering this question, and in so doing illuminates the nature and limitations of Wilsonian progressivism.

Mr. Coben traces Palmer's meteoric rise to become head of the revitalized Democratic Party in Pennsylvania, floor leader for Wilson in

the 1912 convention, and one of the inner circle of Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives. He led the fight for the Underwood tariff, supported the graduated income tax, and championed a national child labor law and women's rights. At the same time, Mr. Coben shows "the intellectual narrowness, the class and racial bias, as well as the reform aspirations" of that middle-class America Palmer represented. He was never a radical; his aim—like Wilson's—was chiefly to promote individual economic opportunity. Even at the height of his progressivism, Palmer saw himself as a referee standing above the conflicting interests "doing justice to all." When faced with a militant and aggressive labor movement after the war, Palmer's sympathy—and that of his fellow middle-class Americans—waned. Like so many of his generation, Palmer himself was highly susceptible to the anxieties about the nation's future that spawned nativism and repression—anxieties heightened by the Bolshevik Revolution, soaring prices and the great industrial strikes of 1919.

The demands of ambition worked to the same end. His political career was checked by his defeat in his bid for the Senate in 1914. His private law practice was lucrative, but money-making alone could not satisfy his drive for power and prestige. His political friends obtained for him appointment as Alien Property Custodian in October 1917, and Palmer, his eye on the presidency, strove to make a political comeback. With the patronage at his disposal, he built up a nationwide political machine. To overcome doubts about his own patriotism growing out of his earlier pacificism and stories about his supposed dealings with German agents, he became the vocal champion of the "Americanization" of German assets in this country. In handling the sale of these assets, Palmer exhibited a high-handedness and an impatience with legal barriers that would prove his undoing as Attorney General. For Palmer the end justified the means—and this same philosophy would inspire the wholesale violations of civil liberties of the Palmer raids.

Becoming Attorney General early in 1919, Palmer moved swiftly to fill the power vacuum left first by Wilson's preoccupation with the peace treaty and then by his illness. He engaged in a well-publicized crusade against profiteering and hoarding. Responding to the growing demand that union power be curbed, he came into bitter collision with organized labor. And as the nation's chief law enforcement officer, he became the storm center of the antiradical hysteria that swept the country in 1919-20. Mr. Coben shows that Palmer hesitated at first to comply with the demands of the superpatriots for strong action against the Reds, and even evinced a willingness to free those imprisoned during the war for violating the Espionage Act. But as he became increasingly aware of the public hostility to radicalism, his interest in civil liberties waned. The bombings

and riots of May and June 1919—including the bombing of his own home—convinced him of the dangers of revolution. The storm of criticism that came his way in the fall of 1919 for his failure to strike at the Red menace warned him of the political dangers of continued inaction.

When Palmer finally moved against the Red menace, writes Mr. Coben, "he moved as much because he shared the current fears and hostilities as from an intention to exploit popular feeling." He fanned the public's anxieties "partly because he expected to ride them to the Presidency. . . ." But he was a demagogue who believed his own demagoguery. Convinced that the nation stood on the brink of revolution, he displayed scant regard for constitutional rights in responding to the popular clamor for the deportation of alien subversives. The end of national safety again justified the means. History has judged Palmer harshly; yet, Mr. Coben notes, "his moves were not more drastic than most Americans demanded." "If Palmer was one of the most dangerous men in our history," he concludes, "it was not because he attempted to impose his rule or his policies upon the people, but because he tried to win power by carefully attuning himself to what he felt were the strong desires of most Americans."

By mid-1920, the reaction had set in. Events made apparent the emptiness of the Red menace. The very excesses accompanying the Palmer raids led to a countermovement. Palmer's presidential ambitions became an early casualty of the changed public mood. Spearheading the reaction was an organization that has continued in the forefront of the never-ending struggle for freedom of speech and the press. The federal government's wartime assault upon conscientious objectors and antiwar dissenters had stimulated a militant civil liberties movement led by the American Civil Liberties Union. Donald Johnson's *The Challenge to American Freedoms*, the winner of the 1962 Mississippi Valley Historical Association prize, relates the history of the ACLU from its founding in 1917 amid wartime hysteria to its leadership of the amnesty campaign in the early 1920s.

The ACLU began as an offshoot of the pacifist-inclined American Union Against Militarism. Known first as the "Bureau for Conscientious Objectors" and renamed the Civil Liberties Bureau, the organization had as its primary task to protect conscientious objectors. Objections from supporters of the war on the AUAM board that the Bureau's activities placed the AUAM in the embarrassing position of opposing the government's prosecution of the war led to the separation of the two organizations in October 1917. The moving spirit in the now independent National Civil Liberties Bureau was former St. Louis social worker Roger N. Baldwin. A philosophical anarchist, Baldwin was himself a conscientious objector imprisoned for refusing to comply with the draft law. The

NCLB's efforts in behalf of conscientious objectors were remarkably successful—thanks in large part, Mr. Johnson points out, to the tolerance and liberalism of Secretary of War Newton D. Baker.

Few officials displayed a similar liberality, and increasingly the NCLB took the field against the worsening assaults upon civil liberties. The NCLB protested Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson's high-handed censorship of the mails, decried the prosecutions under the Espionage and Sedition Acts, exposed the illegal activities of the semi-official American Protective League, and came to the defense of the embattled International Workers of the World. Its activities made the NCLB itself the target for attacks. In May 1918, the Post Office barred fourteen of the Bureau's pamphlets from the mails, and the Justice Department launched a full-scale investigation in the hope of finding sufficient evidence for an indictment under the Espionage Act. The armistice brought no halt to the assaults on civil liberties, and the NCLB, reorganized in December 1919 as the American Civil Liberties Union, took the field again to protest the Palmer raids, block adoption of a peacetime sedition law, and spearhead the campaign for release of wartime political prisoners.

None of these works purports to be a complete account of civil liberties under the Wilson Administration. All illuminate hitherto neglected aspects of that story. It is hoped that their appearance will stimulate the further research needed for a definitive synthesis. Until this is done, however, there are some conclusions that can be drawn from the existing scholarly literature.

The first, and most striking, conclusion from the World War I experience is the weakness of constitutional guarantees in a time of hysteria. Long before the war, the courts had left the alien at the mercy of administrative fiat—a plight responsible in large part for the popularity of deportation as the panacea for the nation's ills. But even the citizen found himself unprotected by traditional guarantees. Given the superheated atmosphere, trial by jury proved a delusion and snare. In the I.W.W. trials, Mr. Preston finds, "the juries turned out to be frightened, jingoistic, and vindictive, all in all sympathetic to the government's aims." The shortcomings of the jury system were magnified by the sorry record of the federal judiciary. Instances of bias were not uncommon. But even more lamentable was the failure of the judiciary as a whole, with but a few courageous exceptions, to resist the popular clamor and uphold constitutional liberties. The majority decision of the Supreme Court in the *Abrams Case* reveals the extent to which the courts were willing to go in allowing the government a free hand in suppressing dissent.

With the odds stacked against the defendants, the important question became the willingness or restraint of the government in initiating prosecutions. And here the failure of the officials at the top to impose clear and consistent standards upon their subordinates in the field aggravated the situation. Many of the excesses of the deportation frenzy resulted from the inability of Secretary of Labor Wilson to impose more than intermittently upon the officialdom of the Bureau of Immigration his own more liberal interpretation of the law and devotion to individual rights. Similarly, the decentralized administration of the Justice Department left to the individual federal district attorneys a large area of discretion in deciding upon prosecutions under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. The result was a wide variation from district to district in the number of indictments depending, as Mr. Preston points out, "on business influence, community hysteria, and the eagerness or common-sense restraint of local federal attorneys." Even the worst abuses of the Palmer raids, Mr. Coben shows, arose from the Attorney General's failure to supervise closely the officials—notably Director of the Bureau of Investigation William J. Flynn and General Intelligence Division chief J. Edgar Hoover—in charge of the antiradical campaign.

These administrative shortcomings were aggravated by the failure of leadership at the top. For this failure, Woodrow Wilson must bear a heavy responsibility. The censorship of the mails by Postmaster General Burleson, the prosecutions under the Espionage and Sedition Acts, and even the Palmer raids could not have been carried on without at least his tacit approval. Nor did he speak out with the moral force of his high office against the mob violence that swept the country in the spring of 1918. Instead, Wilson himself fanned the fires of intolerance. His attacks on hyphenism in the 1916 campaign stimulated nativist prejudices. As the war continued, he grew increasingly intolerant of criticism. Radical attacks on the conflict as a Wall Street war struck a tender spot; sensitive about the crusade to make the world safe for democracy, Wilson at times personally initiated repressive action. The armistice brought no peace. The limitations of Wilson's progressive ideology made him susceptible to the antiradical hysteria that followed the war. And the defeat of the League left him an embittered and vindictive man, resisting to the last the pleas for an amnesty.

Wilson's sins of omission and commission notwithstanding, the public itself must bear the heaviest responsibility for the excesses of the time. This raises the question, Why this outburst of hysteria unparalleled in American history? In a brilliantly suggestive essay, Richard Hofstadter linked the outburst of jingoism and imperialism in the 1890s to a "psychic crisis" resulting from the rapid social changes which transformed

post-Civil War America.¹¹ I would suggest that the repercussions of this "psychic crisis" continued into the 1920s. The student of the progressive era is struck by the atmosphere of crisis overhanging the period. What appears from the vantage point of the 1960s to have been exceedingly modest reforms were invested by contemporaries with the aura of a mighty struggle between good and evil.¹² In the circumstances of the war, these anxieties flowed into repression—and that many of the loudest exponents of repression were former progressives should occasion no surprise if the antiradical impulse behind much of turn-of-the-century progressivism is kept in mind. The success of safe and sane Republicanism in 1920 was followed by a relaxation of tension on the civil liberties front. Perhaps Harding's election *did* signify a "return to normalcy."

JOHN BRAEMAN, *Brooklyn College*

D. E. S. MAXWELL, *American Fiction, the Intellectual Background*. 306 pp. Columbia University Press, 1963. \$5.00.

CHESTER E. EISINGER, *Fiction of the Forties*. 392 pp. University of Chicago Press, 1963. \$7.95.

THESE two books, the one by an English and the other by an American critic, have in common their concern for the ideas and values rather than the art or sources of American novelists. They differ in that Mr. Maxwell's survey covers everything from the beginnings to the present on the strength of a minimum and often fortuitous acquaintance with even major novels, whereas Mr. Eisinger has limited his study strictly to the period from 1939 to 1952 and has read all his books, major and minor, with care and discrimination.

Together they provide an effective attack on those critics like Chase, Levin, Lewis and Fiedler who, each in his way, has attempted to define the American tradition in fiction mainly in terms of the dark romanticism of Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Wolfe and Faulkner. A second line—that of the social criticism and moral evaluation of American life—appears in Cooper, runs through Twain, Howells, James and Dreiser, and is equally present in even the most esoteric of the moderns.

Mr. Maxwell's book makes stimulating reading, but Mr. Eisinger's does that and much more. As he suggests, his period is—to put it mildly—one of transition, and he has identified, classified and evaluated both the

¹¹ Richard Hofstadter, "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," in Daniel Aaron (ed.), *America in Crisis: Fourteen Crucial Episodes in American History* (New York, 1952), pp. 173-200.

¹² Richard Hofstadter has made some acute observations in this regard in his *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955).

general intellectual and moral forces at work in the climate of the times and the central purpose and artistic achievement of individual novelists whose reputations are even now still in the making.

One may differ with his judgment of the liberal and conservative imaginations, the triumph of art in the "new fiction," and the appearance of an American brand of existentialism mainly in writers of the West, but one must respect the sound research and philosophical clarity on which such judgments are based. And one would have to go far to find a more definitive appraisal of such novelists as Cozzens, Warren, Morris, Capote, Welty, Stafford and many others.

As an introduction to American literature since World War II, there are few books which speak with greater authority, clarity and persuasion. Its weakness is, of course, that it stops at a comparatively meaningless date—1952—and does not carry the story of the development of these trends down to the present.

ROBERT E. SPILLER, *University of Pennsylvania*

EDWARD G. HOLLEY, *Charles Evans: American Bibliographer*. xii, 343 pp. University of Illinois Press, 1963. \$7.50.

CHARLES EVANS (1850-1935) gave early American Studies its most indispensable tool in his remarkable thirteen-volume *American Bibliography*, collected, evaluated, printed, designed, advertised, even wrapped and mailed almost single-handedly from 1902 to 1934. Dr. Holley, himself a librarian (this is number seven of the "Illinois Contributions to Librarianship"), writes with great appreciation of the character traits—dogged persistence, cocksureness, supreme self-confidence and patience for detail—that made Evans' bibliography a success in the face of skeptical, scoffing scholars; and Holley shows that these same traits doomed Evans' earlier library career to one crushing failure after another. Obstreperous, Evans could not work with others, especially superiors; inevitably dismissed from library positions—the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Indianapolis Public, Newberry, McCormick Theological Seminary and Chicago Historical Society—he nonetheless acquired essential experience as a cataloguer and classifier. It is worth blinking Holley's bathetic style and his melodramatic judgments about Evans' personal life, for his story of the genesis and growth of what Evans called his "Old Bookseller's Bible" is both fascinating and informative, his appraisal of the work appreciatively critical, and his accounts of library problems and politics as librarianism became professional a valuable contribution to social history.

NORMAN S. GRABO, *University of California, Berkeley*

JOHN M. BRADBURY, *Renaissance in the South: A Critical History of the Literature, 1920-1960*. 222 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1963. \$5.00.

LOUIS D. RUBIN, JR., *The Faraway Country: Writers of the Modern South*. xiv, 256 pp. University of Washington Press, 1963. \$4.95.

THERE is no doubt that the Southern Renaissance is, to quote Mr. Bradbury, "a phenomenon unparalleled in American history." But once we list the major figures and give the easy reasons for this phenomenon, we tend to rest. These two books fight our critical relaxation.

Mr. Bradbury informs us that "the causes of a renaissance are subjects for interested speculation rather than for strict determination." He refuses to speculate at length; he merely cites facts, categorizes books (many of them obscure) and runs away. In "The Awakening" Mr. Bradbury discusses the "sense of challenge" which is needed to create important literature. He believes that World War I was a great challenge to the South: it produced, among other things, a new industrial machine; it forced Southern soldiers to see "provincial prejudices" in a new way. But such challenge is, in effect, rather simple because it neatly binds literature to sociology and economics. Mr. Bradbury is too literal-minded to explore the complex genesis of modern Southern literature; thus his book serves as a valuable *documentation*, not *analysis*, of the range of the entire movement, although it occasionally grasps at everyone and everything to serve its purpose as a complete history. Is Karl Shapiro a Southern writer? Is Isa Glenn a more significant writer than Carson McCullers? Such questions are raised by Mr. Bradbury's design.

Mr. Rubin deals with a smaller number of writers—Cable, Wolfe, Faulkner, Warren, Welty, the Agrarian poets and William Styron. He is "vertical" rather than "horizontal," subjective rather than objective, New Critical rather than sociological. But his book is, ironically enough, a *truer* account than Mr. Bradbury's.

Mr. Rubin refuses to make swift equations of "real life" and literature: "literature is a work of the imagination, and therefore . . . any attempt at a literal, one-for-one equation of poetry and fiction with the details of the life from which they grow must inevitably be a distortion of the culture and the literature." He realizes that major Southern writers, like all writers, "have two countries,/the one where they belong and/the one in which they live really." (Gertrude Stein's words) Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha is *not* Mississippi; Wolf's Altamont is *not* Asheville. Because Southern writers flee from the real South to the "faraway country" of the imagination, they are, paradoxically, able to portray that reality more coherently than social historians. Mr. Rubin pursues such paradoxes in

terms of time, exile and community life. His Southern Renaissance is the creation of inevitable alienation and genius—not only of hard fact.

It is striking that Mr. Bradbury and Mr. Rubin neglect to parallel Southern and Jewish-American literature. Both result from the confrontation of everyday existence and archetypal experience; both deal ambivalently with exile, time and family responsibility. Both are created by "minorities" who refashion their cultural images through violent, often grotesque, art.

But let us be satisfied with these new versions of "the South." They complement each other as do reality and literature, fact and imagination.

IRVING MALIN, *City College of New York*

ARNOLD T. SCHWAB, *James Gibbons Huneker. Critic of the Seven Arts.* 384 pp., illus. Stanford University Press, 1963. \$8.25.

JAMES GIBBONS HUNEKER saw the genteel tradition, personified by the academician, as the enemy of the arts and civilized living in the United States. In his impressionistic criticism with its strong infusion of biography he championed art which celebrated art and life and did not, in H. L. Mencken's phrase, "aim to make more and better Presbyterians." As a journalist he heralded European contemporaries like Shaw, Ibsen, Strindberg, Wagner, Richard Strauss, Nietzsche and Cézanne but he could be enthusiastic about Americans too like Samuel Clemens and, most of all, Henry James. He numbered among his disciples Mencken, George Jean Nathan, Benjamin de Casseres and Carl Van Vechten.

Huneker had perceptive things to say in his vast, baroque, eclectic way but ironically, he, like his disciples, would be unknown by the young today if the academy did not take them up from time to time. Arnold T. Schwab's readable biography seeks to separate truth from the legends and he gives us a valuable, carefully prepared and detailed background on the artists, writers, performers and bohemians whom Huneker knew. Schwab deliberately avoided generalizations on Huneker's criticism or the place of the professional critic in America. However, this biography should stir up questions about journalism versus the academy in American criticism and Puritanism versus Bohemianism. To what extent was all this wrapped up in the idea that Continental European taste and mores must be the liberating force in American art and life? To what extent was this a part of a growing urbanism? For any such conjectures Huneker must be studied further which Huneker, apparently, would have considered a most unkind fate.

KENNETH J. LABUDDE, *University of Missouri at Kansas City*

MERRILL FOLSOM, *Great American Mansions and Their Stories*. 310 pp. Illus. Hastings House, 1963. \$10.00.

THIS well illustrated volume is in the American tradition of vicarious visits to the rich; it combines features of the Victorian parlor album with the twentieth-century thrills of the house tour and the gossip column. Mr. Folsom has produced a popular book in punning journalese which also makes a fascinating contribution to the theory of the leisure class.

The author describes over fifty houses, dating from the Lees' Stratford Hall (1725) to the home of the Coca-Cola bottler Bellingrath (1935). He describes the show places of famous tycoons—Rockefeller, Huntington, Du Pont, Mellon, Frick, Hearst, Ford, Deering, Flagler, Ringling, Belmont and assorted Vanderbilts—and of colorful eccentrics, including the actor William Gillette, the gold miner Death Valley Scotty and the Hawaiian King Kalakaua. All the owners had expensive tastes, and some of them even had taste.

The earlier houses are examples of American architectural design and decorative arts. However, between the 1840s and 1920s, wealthy Americans wanted only mansions patterned after an English manor, a French *château*, a Rhineland *Burg*, an Italian *palazzo* or a Spanish *casa grande*; they were filled with European furniture and imported *objets d'art*. Colonial Revival architecture and American antiques became fashionable only in recent decades. Now a book on *American* mansions is a status symbol on the coffee table.

JOHN MAASS, *City of Philadelphia*

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON, *New England Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Representative Biographies from *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*. xxvii, 626 pp. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963. \$10.00.

THIS volume gives an excellent sample of Clifford K. Shipton's collective biography of colonial Harvard men. The project was started by John Langdon Sibley back in 1873, but in three volumes Sibley never got out of the seventeenth century. Shipton has turned out nine volumes containing 1459 biographies, covering the Harvard classes from 1690 through 1750. Sixty of his most interesting biographies are reproduced in this volume. Lack of space has prevented inclusion of Shipton's elaborate treatment of the three most famous Harvard men of the period: Hutchinson, Sam Adams and Otis. The accent here is on politicians of the second or third rank, on eccentric parsons and teachers. Shipton is remarkably

skillful at skimming the cream off his subject. Deftly and economically he gives color and variety to each character, disguising as much as possible his straitjacket biographical formula. He has been accused of being pro-Tory, but it would be more accurate to label him a friend to the simple pattern of pre-industrial New England society. These are shrewd, humorous, but indulgent, old-fashioned sketches. The chief impression to emerge from this volume is not the variety among eighteenth-century Harvard men, but rather the placid conventionality, jarred only by the Great Awakening and by the Revolutionary War.

RICHARD S. DUNN, *University of Pennsylvania*

Spirit of a Free Society: Essays in Honor of Senator Fulbright on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the German Fulbright Program. 391 pp. Heidelberg, Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1962. 32 DM.

IN 1962 the German Fulbright Program celebrated its tenth anniversary. This *Festschrift*, and its twelve essays written by American and German scholars, is published in honor of Senator James W. Fulbright. An Introduction by Howard H. Russell, Chairman of the United States Educational Commission in the Federal Republic of Germany, indicates the two-fold intention of the book: to express the sense of indebtedness for the Senator's vision in creating the Fulbright Exchange Program and to demonstrate how it has operated in promoting American Studies in the Federal Republic.

Now although these essays reflect the variety of studies in the general field of American Studies which have engaged some German and American scholars they do not form a unity within the covers of this book. The first five essays are concerned with American social and political developments and thought. There is a study of Saint-Simon's image of North America and its importance in the development of European sociology (René Koenig), an examination of the movement toward social reform and its reformers for the period 1820-60 (Martin Abbott), an analysis of the self-interpretation of the South through reform, rebellion and reconstruction (William C. Havard Jr.), a view of recent trends in American social thought (John G. Sproat) and a survey of the American ideal of a world republic (Edward McNall Burns). The two following pieces, written by Herbert Wilhelmy, are geographical in emphasis; they deal with the decline of the sardine fishing and canning industry in California and with the rise and fall of gold-rush towns in the same state. The last five essays are concerned with literary themes: the problem of

ambiguity in Hawthorne (H. J. Lang), the poetry and world of Emily Dickinson (Hans Galinsky), symbolic action in the poetry of Robert Frost (Alvan S. Ryan), the Beat Generation (Marvin Spevack) and regionalism in American literature (Cecil B. Williams).

With the exception of Professor Koenig's article on Saint-Simon, the other contributions on social and political themes are by Americans and in English. The American social scientists seem to be aware that they are addressing a German audience and, as a result, their essays tend to deal with trends and to "survey" their chosen topics. The literary essays, for the most part, focus upon specific problems and they utilize various historical and critical approaches with varying degrees of effectiveness in content and style. In "How Ambiguous is Hawthorne?" Professor H. J. Lang, of the University of Tuebingen, has written (in English) an informed, incisive, witty and lucid essay which will, I predict, make itself felt upon future critical studies of Hawthorne.

This book gives a sense of the interest in American Studies as it is practiced in Germany. We shall look forward to the next *Festschrift* in 1972 and the opportunity to gauge the direction and nature of the commitment to American Studies in Germany by using the present collection of essays as the basis for a critical comparison.

JOSEPH J. KWIAT, *University of Minnesota*

A. N. KAUL, *The American Vision: Actual and Ideal Society in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. 340 pp. Yale University Press, 1963. \$7.00.

It is a little unexpected to find that in some cases others see us in much the same terms as we now see ourselves. Not only has Mr. Kaul, of the University of Delhi, provided an intelligent and useful approach to some of the works of Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville and Twain; but his approach is like that of *Virgin Land* or *The American Adam*. Since there is no sense of his being an outsider, this might well be the new orthodoxy in the graduate schools, and I say this in surprise, not censure.

Mr. Kaul knows the English novelists as well as the American, and when he says that the American novel "measures up to the requirements of great art but . . . falls below the level of the good novel," we sense what seems to be condescension—but is not. He assumes, with Lionel Trilling, that a good novel depends on the tension of clear class distinctions which allow social gesture to represent the statement and clash of ideas. Melville and Hawthorne lack this kind of "social solidity" and, as they were each aware, worked toward different ends. From the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, Kaul believes, these ends came to be expressed

as the "separation from an established society in search of a more satisfying community life." The chief theme of American fiction, while it appears to be physical isolation, is really the moral alienation that can be remedied not by some local reform but only by some radical reorientation of society.

In developing this thesis, Kaul shows how the Leatherstocking tales and the Littlepage trilogy present a "juxtaposition of the ideal archetype and historical reality." Similarly, he views *The Scarlet Letter* as an attempt to contrast Puritan actuality and a kind of pagan ideal expressed by Hester's affirmation of emotional and intellectual freedom. Kaul seems in the grip of his thesis in suggesting that Hawthorne's own ideal was identical to Hester's almost Transcendental defense of passionate nonconformity. More certain are the analyses which demonstrate that *Typee* and *Huckleberry Finn* both embody "the dialectical movement between a corrupt civilization and an ideal community."

The American Vision won both literature and history prizes as a Yale dissertation. If it represents a trend, advocates of American Studies ought to be genuinely encouraged.

MARVIN FISHER, *Arizona State University*

HEINZ K. MEIER, *The United States and Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century*. 208 pp. Mouton & Co. 18 Dutch Guilders.

ONE looks hopefully at the title as a comparison which scholars have too long neglected. In the midst of autocratic Europe Swiss democracy was a society like our own and Americans felt especially close to the little mountain republic. A sophisticated analysis of relations could illuminate greatly the knowledge of both countries. Unfortunately Dr. Meier's work adds little to a better understanding of our two cultures.

The work is in fact a narrative of the nations' diplomatic correspondence, despite the claim that "social and economic aspects . . . are not neglected" (p. 8). The author's excursions outside of diplomacy are found wanting. A chapter on Swiss-American migration completely ignores Harry Jerome's "push-pull" causation yet dwells at length (17 pages) on the dispute over the exchange of undesirables. Only briefly does Meier leave foreign office for public opinion (Chap. IV) and he finds American sentiment in *The New York Times*.

The work, based on a rich Bern depository, does excel in characterizing diplomatic personalities and the formulation of the 1850 friendship treaty. But even important political backgrounds are assumed rather than expressed, the nature of Swiss federalism and their civil war, the *Sonderbundskrieg*.

If, as Meier himself states, "American-Swiss relations in the nineteenth century" show "social and economic problems prevailing over political questions" (p. 105), the work comes off poorly. One grants the author's conclusion of the nations' close friendship, but one must await a later study to learn why.

VICTOR R. GREENE, *Kansas State University*

DANIEL CORY, *Santayana: The Later Years, A Portrait with Letters*. 330 pp. George Braziller, 1963. \$7.50.

THIS book consists of letters from Santayana to his secretary-disciple, Daniel Cory, from 1927 to 1952, set in the context of a running commentary on their relationship; it therefore supplements *The Letters of George Santayana*. Among the most interesting letters are those about the writing and odd at times (Cory worries about Santayana's "permission" to get married; and whether or not Charles A. Strong will leave Cory any money in his will), the chief interest lies, of course, in the letters and in the information they contain about Santayana's life, details of which are almost wholly absent from his "spiritual" autobiography, *Persons and Places*.

Many of the letters deal with technical philosophy, attempts to explain knotty points of his own views, which would be of great interest to philosophers. Some deal with personal matters, his friends, habits, tastes. Scattered through them, however, are many interesting observations on current books and writers—T. S. Eliot, Pound, Huxley and many others—and sometimes on American life in general. (Though he lived here for 40 years, Santayana never for a moment considered himself an American.) Among the most interesting letters are those about the writing and publication of *The Last Puritan*, his inexplicably successful novel, which was a choice of the Book of the Month Club in 1936 and sold well over 150,000 copies.

Santayana was a curiously lonely, detached figure, even here where he is being most personal. Though he was happy to see visitors, he resented personal questions, seeing himself chiefly as a "mind." His dying words are significant and typical; asked if he were suffering, he replied, "Yes, my friend. But my anguish is entirely physical."

PAUL C. WERMUTH, *Middlebury College*

The Greeks in the United States

By **THEODORE SALOUTOS**

The first authoritative account in over fifty years of the Greeks in America from the first emigration to the present, with emphasis on why they came, what they found, and what they have accomplished. Based on many previously untapped sources, this absorbing history of the Greek-Americans adds significantly to our understanding of American cultural development. *Coming in April. Illustrated.*

\$9.95

Isaac Hicks

NEW YORK MERCHANT AND QUAKER, 1767-1820

By **ROBERT A. DAVISON**

Making use of a large collection of letters, ledgers, and journals for the first time available, the author relates the story of a successful New York businessman and Quaker during the early National Period of American history. This book throws considerable light on the little known marketing methods of the era, and the reciprocal relations of religion and business. *Harvard Studies in Business History*, 22. *Illustrated.*

\$4.75

America and Europe in the Political Thought of John Adams

By **EDWARD HANDLER**

In this reinterpretation of Adams' political ideas, the author contends that Adams' reaction to the European political experience reflects a persistent American insularity. Fully aware of the basic differences between the old and new worlds, Adams nevertheless applied American norms to Europe and transposed to America a set of fears derived from European experience.

\$5.25

Status and Kinship in the Higher Civil Service

By **SIDNEY H. ARONSON**

Foreword by **OSCAR HANDLIN**

Investigating the administrations of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson, this book considers the role of social class in political appointments. Carefully studying the most important officials appointed by these Presidents, the author finds a relation between each President's ideas about appointments and the social characteristics of his appointees, and as a result revises traditional historical generalizations. *Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America.*

\$5.95

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

from
Bobbs-Merrill's

new

LIBRARY OF
LITERATURE

MOBY DICK

by HERMAN MELVILLE

Edited, with Introduction and Annotation, by

CHARLES FEIDELSON

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE TEXT:

A complete and accurate text of the first American edition, including one passage printed only in the first English edition.

THE INTRODUCTION:

Melville's Life and Writings; The Backgrounds of *Moby Dick*; Interpretations of *Moby Dick*; Bibliographical Note.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS:

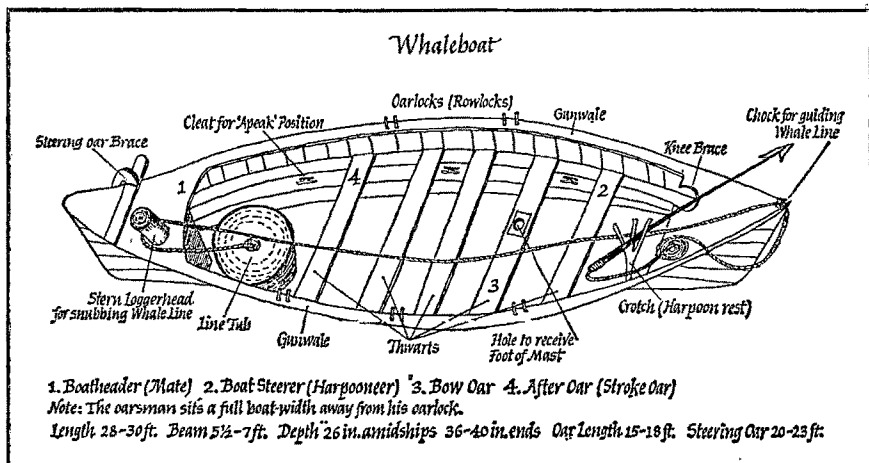
Maps: The World of *Moby Dick*; The Islands of the Pacific; The Whaling Ports. Charts: The Rigging of a Whaler; Deck of a Whaler; Whaleboat; Sails Nomenclature; Sperm Whale and Right Whale.

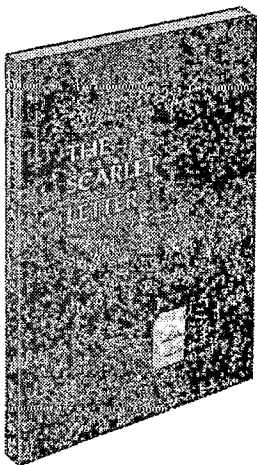
INCLUDED IN THE NOTES:

Explanations of archaic, foreign, and technical terms and of allusions; explication of obscure or difficult passages with the aim of clarification rather than of interpretation; selective cross-reference among related images and ideas; suggestions for emendation where appropriate.

April 1964

\$1.75





THE SCARLET LETTER

by
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

Text of the Centenary Edition with
an Introduction and Annotation by*

LARZER ZIFF

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

1963
288 PAGES

paperback
\$1.25

"Have just received your SCARLET LETTER, which seems to me a real coup; I wonder how you managed it! If word gets around about the first-rate Introduction, plus the authentic Centenary text* and the helpful but unobtrusive annotation, you should corner the market. I'll use it."

—PHILIP YOUNG
*Professor of American Literature
The Pennsylvania State University*

* The text of the Library of Literature edition of
THE SCARLET LETTER is that of the Centenary Edition
published by the Ohio State University Press in 1962.

Also available in Library of Literature editions:

GREAT EXPECTATIONS by *Charles Dickens*

Edited, with an Introduction and notes, by Louis Crompton,
University of Nebraska 1964 576 pages \$1.45

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS by *Jonathan Swift*

Edited, with an Introduction and notes, by Martin Price,
Yale University 1964 368 pages \$1.45

THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE by *Stephen Crane*

Edited, with an Introduction and notes, by Frederick C. Crews,
University of California, Berkeley 1964 \$1.25

ONE HUNDRED MIDDLE ENGLISH LYRICS

Edited, with an Introduction and notes, by Robert D. Stevick,
University of Washington 1964 224 pages \$1.75

John Henry Raleigh & Ian Watt, *General Editors*

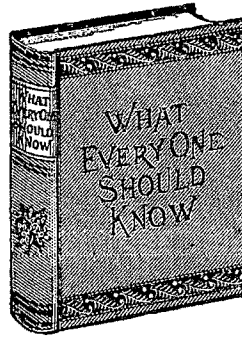
COLLEGE DIVISION



THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY, INC.
SUBSIDIARY OF HOWARD W. SAMS & CO., INC.
4300 WEST 62nd STREET • INDIANAPOLIS 6, INDIANA

American Calendar

Spring



1964

OFFICERS. The Executive Council met in Philadelphia on Dec. 30, and re-elected President Ralph H. Gabriel and Vice-President Russel B. Nye to office. Likewise elected was Arnold Sio, of Colgate University, to the post of member at large (sociology-anthropology) on the Executive Council. Elected to replace Executive Secretary Charles Boewe was Robert F. Lucid, presently of Wesleyan University, who is scheduled to join the University of Pennsylvania in July 1964. The official mailing address of the Executive Secretary office will remain, for the whole year, Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania. . . . The Dec. 30 elections completed the roll of the Executive Council which, earlier in the year, had added the names of three regionally elected members: John Q. Anderson, Texas A. & M. (member for the South), Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University (member for the Great Lakes), and Wilson O.

Clough, University of Wyoming (member for the Far West).

COUNCIL MEETING. Copies of the minutes of the Council have been mailed to all national and chapter officers, and may be had from the national office or, in limited supply, from the regional secretaries, upon request. An ASA newsletter, carrying the reports of Secretary Boewe and *American Quarterly* editor Hennig Cohen has been sent to all ASA members.

JOINT SESSIONS. ASA sponsored a section at the Modern Language Association meeting in Chicago during the Christmas-New Year interim. Papers on the general topic of "The Impact of Determinism on American Thought" were given by Leo Marx, Amherst College ("Technology: Agent of Freedom or Determinism? A 19th-Century Argument"); J. C. Levenson, University of Minnesota ("Thorstein

Veblen's Practical Cats"); and Gay Wilson Allen, New York University ("William James' Determined Free Will"). Program Chairman was Walter B. Rideout, University of Wisconsin. A joint luncheon preceded this meeting, sponsored by ASA and the American Literature Group. James T. Farrell was the featured speaker. The American Literature Group was devoted to the closely allied topic "Determinism in American Literature," and, among others, presented papers by Larzer Ziff, University of California ("*The Bloody Tenet and Common Sense: Self-Determinism, and the Colonial Liberal*"); Sherwood Cummings, Orange State College ("What is Man? The Scientific Sources"); John Lydenberg, Hobart College ("Dos Passos' *USA: The Works of the Hollow Men*"); and Edgar M. Branch, Miami University ("Freedom and Determinism in James T. Farrell's Fiction"). Henry Nash Smith, University of California, was Chairman. . . . During the same period, in Philadelphia, a joint session was held with the American Historical Association. ASA President Ralph H. Gabriel was chairman of the section which featured a paper on American Studies by Roy F. Nichols ("Why So Much Pessimism?"). The paper has been published in pamphlet form by the Wemyss Foundation, and may be obtained upon request of the Executive Secretary's office. . . . The annual ASA joint session with the Mississippi Valley Histor-

ical Association is scheduled for 2:30 p.m., April 30 at the Statler-Hilton in Cleveland. The topic will be "A New Approach to American Studies: Interaction between Asia and the United States."

CHAPTER NEWS. The New England ASA meeting was held at Boston College on Nov. 23, and featured a panel discussion on: "Exporting American Studies—Reflections on the Fulbright Program and on the Problems of Returning 'American Civilization' to Europe." Leo Marx, Amherst College, was moderator. The panelists were Jules Chametzky, University of Massachusetts (discussing Germany); Henry F. May, University of California (discussing Belgium); John H. Randall, Boston College (discussing Belgium); and Daniel Aaron, Smith College (discussing Poland). Jurgen Herbst, Wesleyan University, and Hugh Hawkins, Amherst College, were elected President and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively, for 1964. . . . The Northern California Chapter of ASA met on Dec. 7, 1963 at Stanford University. Papers on the general topic of "Music and Art in the University" were given by Roy Harris, University of the Pacific ("The Composer in the University"); Robert B. Loper, Stanford University ("Some Problems of the Director of Opera"); and Lorenz Eitner, Stanford ("The Visual Arts in American Universities"). Chapter President David Levin, Stan-

ford, was chairman. . . . The Southeastern ASA group held two joint sessions in November. At Asheville, N. C., on Nov. 7, a program entitled "The American Voter" was jointly sponsored by the SEASA and the Southern Historical Association. George B. Tindall, University of North Carolina, was co-chairman of the committee on local arrangements; and Arthur W. Thompson, University of Florida, was on the membership committee. In Atlanta, Georgia, on Nov. 16, ASA staged a program with the South Atlantic Modern Language Association on the topic: "A Century of the American Dynamic." Papers were given by Leah A. Strong, Wesleyan College, Macon ("1863: Emergence of a New American"); Clarence C. Mondale, University of Alabama ("1913: Nativism and World Responsibility"); and George K. Smart, University of Miami ("1963: The Dynamic in Contemporary Literature"). William Randel, Florida State University, was chairman, and read a commentary by SEASA President Carlton W. Tebeau. . . . The ASA of Texas held its eighth annual meeting at Texas A. & M. University on Dec. 7. In a program devoted to the theme of "The American Identity: The Development of Domestic and Foreign Concepts of the American National Character," the principal speaker was Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania ("Attitudes Toward International Cultural Relations"). Papers were given by Eu-

gene W. Jones, Wayland Baptist College ("Confederation to Federalism—and Back"); Cecil B. Williams, Texas Christian University ("Longfellow and the Movement for a Native American Literature"); Anne Whaling, Arlington State College ("Tradition and the Talent of Thoreau"); Henry B. Rule, Lamar State College ("Some Ironies of Fate in the Rise of the American Nation as Reported by Henry Adams"); Jack S. Spratt, Southern Methodist University ("Government Policy in Light of Economic Expectations"); Joe E. Ericson, Stephen F. Austin State College ("Images of the American Nation in the Fifties and Sixties"); James Howard, Del Mar College ("The American Image as Shown in Magazine Advertising"); and Harry P. Kroitor, Texas A. & M. ("The Artist, the Scientist and the 'Perishing Republic'").

WAYNE STATE CONFERENCE.

On April 23-25, as the ASA newsletter sent out in February announced, the International Fulbright-Hays Seminar on American Studies is to be held at Wayne State University. It is an invitational conference, aimed primarily at Fulbright-Hays scholars presently in this country, and is receiving widespread support from both Federal and private agencies. Not since the international American Studies Conference of April 1962, at the University of Pennsylvania, has a conference of compa-

nable character been projected. The ASA Council has expressed great interest in making such meetings regular, if not annual, parts of the American Studies program in this country.

F. R. LEAVIS. A trust fund has been established to pay tribute to the work of F. R. Leavis, who retired last year. The goal is to endow a lectureship at Cambridge bearing his name. Though the Trust has an English committee, it has consultants all over the world, including Seymour Betsky (Montana State University), Reuben A. Brower (Harvard University) and Yvor Winters (Stanford University) in this country. Copies of the leaflet describing in detail the aims of the Trust may be had from the Secretary, F. R. Leavis Lectureship Trust, 28 de Freville Avenue, Cambridge, England. Contributions should be sent to the Secretary. Or leaflets may be obtained from, and contributions sent to: Mr. Andre Schiffrin, Pantheon Books, 22 E. 51st St., New York 22, N. Y.

AWARDS. Twelve fellowships and openings for six non-fellows to attend a Seminar for Historical Administrators June 14—July 24 in Williamsburg, Virginia, have been made available by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The fellowships, for \$450, are for qualified graduate students with one year of graduate training in American history, American studies, American art and architectural

history, and allied fields. The six non-fellow slots are for qualified applicants already at work in the field. They are to be admitted at their own expense. Application blanks and further information may be obtained from the Coordinator, Seminar for Historical Administrators, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 315 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 20006. The deadline is March 16. . . . Eight fellowships, each yielding \$1,200, are available for post-doctoral faculty members who are working on publishable papers in the humanities (literature, art, history, etc.) dealing with religion. The Frank L. Weil Institute, 3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45220, is giving the awards to enable the recipient to forego summer teaching. Further information may be had from the Institute. Deadline is Sept. 1, 1964. . . . Brandeis University is introducing a graduate program in the History of American Civilization next fall, and is offering four three-year NDEA graduate fellowships. Direct inquiries to the Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., 02154.

IN BRIEF. A special number of *The Mississippi Quarterly* (Fall 1963) is being made available free to interested readers. It is on the Mississippi River, and is made up mostly of papers given at the ASA of Lower Mississippi Chapter

meeting of Oct., 1962. Applicants should write directly to the Editor, Robert B. Holland, Box 475, State College, Miss. . . . Luther College, in Decorah, Iowa, will hold a five-week Institute in American Studies from June 29 to Aug. 1. The Institute is designed to meet the needs of Scandinavian secondary and elementary school teachers. Write Professor Knut Gundersen for details. . . . A new quarterly, *Journal of the Alleghenies*, has emerged from Carnegie Institute of Technology (Pittsburgh). It is devoted to scholarly studies in the literature, arts,

history, crafts and folklore of Allegheny tableland. Arthur Ziegler Jr. is the editor. . . . *Education*, the journal for the National Council for the Social Studies, has published a special issue, "American Studies and the Social Studies: a Symposium." It contains articles by Robert J. Cooke, W. Fishwick, John A. F. Donald G. Baker and Thor Powell. By courtesy of the W. Foundation, free copies of the can be obtained upon request from the office of the ASA Executive Secretary. R.



Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction

By ERIC L. MCKITTRICK. Andrew Johnson is shown to have been small-minded, vindictive, and stubborn man, whose rigid determination to have his own way in the face of an overwhelming northern majority thwarted the postwar reunion of North and South. "A contribution of prime importance to the reviving study of the Reconstruction period." *New York Times Book Review*. "It is a major work, carefully researched and deeply thoughtful."—*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*

Phoenix paperback edition, \$2.95, cloth \$9.

through your bookseller

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Chicago and London

VOLUME XVI

SUMMER 1964

NUMBER 2 PART 1

L. F. BOLLER JR. Freedom in the Thought of
William James

BERT OSOFSKY Progressivism and the Negro:
New York, 1900-1915

L. A. VARG The Advent of Nationalism,
1758-1776

OTHER CONTRIBUTORS

David Fitelson

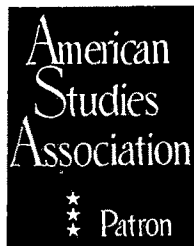
Mody C. Boatright

John Clendenning

Leo B. Levy

Stephen S. Conroy

George R. Taylor




INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS
of the AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
1964

ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
CARLETON COLLEGE
CHICO STATE COLLEGE
COLORADO COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR
WOMEN
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
DUKE UNIVERSITY
EASTERN NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
HEIDELBERG COLLEGE
HIRAM COLLEGE
HOBART & WILLIAM SMITH
COLLEGES
HOLLINS COLLEGE
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
LAWRENCE COLLEGE
MCLEAN HIGH SCHOOL, VA.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
OLD STURBRIDGE VILLAGE
PACE COLLEGE
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE
COLLEGE

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SIMPSON COLLEGE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
GENESEO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY
TULANE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
RIVERSIDE
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING
WAYLAND BAPTIST COLLEGE
WEMYSS FOUNDATION
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM
YALE UNIVERSITY

American Quarterly



Volume XVI Summer 1964 No. 2, Pt. 1

Freedom in the Thought of William James 131
PAUL F. BOLLER, JR.

Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915 153
GILBERT OSOFSKY

The Advent of Nationalism, 1758-1776 169
PAUL A. VARG

Stephen Crane's *Maggie* and Darwinism 182
DAVID FITELSON

The American Rodeo 195
MODY C. BOATRIGHT

Piety and Imagery in Edward Taylor's "The Reflexion" 203
JOHN CLENDENNING

NOTES

Hawthorne's "The Canal Boat": An Experiment in Landscape 211
LEO B. LEVY

Emerson and Phrenology 215
STEPHEN S. CONROY

American Studies Documents in Japan 217
GEORGE ROGERS TAYLOR

ESSAY REVIEW

Studies of Urbanization 219
ARTHUR P. DUDDEN

REVIEWS 223

AMERICAN CALENDAR 235

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; in the United States and Canada; \$7.00 in other countries; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 188 High St., Nutley, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1964, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Studies Association

Ralph H. Gabriel, *President*
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Russel B. Nye, *Vice President*
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

E. McClung Fleming, *Treasurer*
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

Donald N. Koster, *Bibliographer*
ADELPHI COLLEGE

Myron H. Luke, *Acting Bibliographer*
C. W. POST COLLEGE

Robert F. Lucid, *Executive Secretary*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Executive Council

John Q. Anderson
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY

Bernard Bowton
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Edwin H. Cady
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Wilson Clough
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Hennig Cohen
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

John Hope Franklin
BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Norman H. Pearson
YALE UNIVERSITY

David M. Potter
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Arnold Sio
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Robert E. Spiller
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

Hennig Cohen, *Editor*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Robert E. Spiller, *Chairman*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Editorial Board

Arthur Bestor
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Walter Bezanson
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

David B. Davis
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

John Gerber
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John Higham
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

John Kouwenhoven
BARNARD COLLEGE

Bert J. Loewenberg
SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

Leo Marx
AMHERST COLLEGE

William G. McLoughlin
BROWN UNIVERSITY

Henry B. Parkes
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Stow Persons
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John William Ward
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published by the University of Pennsylvania in cooperation with the American Studies Association. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor and be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. No responsibility is taken for injury or loss.

PAUL F. BOLLER JR.
Southern Methodist University

Freedom in the Thought of William James

IN THE HISTORY OF WESTERN THOUGHT, THE IDEA OF FREEDOM HAS HAD THREE major definitions. For many Western philosophers freedom has, in the first place, primarily meant "self-realization." If circumstances are such that an individual is able to act as he pleases, i.e., realize his desires (though his desires are shaped by prior causes), without being obstructed or constrained by external forces, that individual is said to be "free." Jonathan Edwards defined freedom in this sense as "the power, opportunity, or advantage, that anyone has, to do as he pleases" without "hindrance or impediment" and insisted that in common parlance freedom has never meant anything more than this.¹ Other thinkers, however, have identified freedom with "self-perfection" and asserted that only if an individual emancipates himself from his passions and prejudices and brings his will into harmony with reason or moral law can he be described as truly "free." Ralph Waldo Emerson, with his faith in a divinely inspired intuition and his appeal to "a higher law than that of our will" for guidance, was a leading American exponent of this second interpretation of the idea of freedom.² Still other thinkers, finally, have regarded freedom as "self-determination," that is, as a power which the individual possesses innately to initiate acts of will on his own, which are to some extent unshaped by antecedent determining conditions. From this point of view, if an individual has an inherent power of causal initiative, his will (and therefore he) is said to be "free." The perennial debate between libertarians and determinists in the West from St. Augustine onward has invariably focused on this third definition of freedom, on the question, namely, of whether or not man possesses freedom of the will.³

¹ Jonathan Edwards, *Freedom of the Will* (New Haven, 1957), p. 163.

² *Emerson's Works* (14 vols.; Boston and New York, 1883), II, 132.

³ In *The Idea of Freedom* (2 vols.; New York, 1958-61), an immensely useful compendium of definitions and dialectical exchanges, Mortimer Adler adds to the three versions of freedom mentioned above the idea of "collective freedom," a variant of self-perfection, and the idea of "political liberty," a derivative of self-realization.

In his psychological and philosophical writings William James said almost nothing, except by implication, about freedom as self-realization. In point of fact, however, like all Americans who shared his liberal democratic predilections, he took it for granted. As an abolitionist, a Dreyfusard and an anti-imperialist (to mention only three of the social issues about which he felt strongly), James was an implacable enemy of artificial restrictions, imposed by fear or by force, upon human beings and an ardent champion of the individual's right to self-expression. Indeed, at times he marveled that more Americans did not feel as keenly as he did about transgressions against individual rights and he once lamented that "callousness to abstract justice," where the individual is involved, "is *the* sinister and . . . the incomprehensible feature, of our U.S. civilization. . . ." ⁴

But if James accepted the freedom of self-realization as obvious and self-evident and posing no serious philosophical considerations, he had only impatience with freedom in the second sense ("bondage to the highest"), especially in its Hegelian version, which he referred to as "soft determinism." ⁵ The "ridiculous 'freedom to do right,'" he once exclaimed, resolved itself inevitably into the "freedom" to do as Hegel (or any other absolutist philosopher) thought right; and, in James' opinion, Hegel was, in important respects, egregiously wrong. ⁶ For James, the Hegelian system represented a mouse-trap, "in which if you once pass the door you may be lost forever." A man in prison who forgets that "stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage" shows by his grumbling, said James with some irritation, that from the Hegelian standpoint he is "still in the stage of abstraction and of separative thought." ⁷ James of course had high moral and intellectual ideals; and as a moral activist he fought tirelessly on behalf of these ideals. It was, however, an act of moral imperialism, he thought, as well as an abuse of language, for a philosopher to single out one of his own cherished values as paramount and to define freedom as the submission of everyone else to this value.

It was, then, the third conception of freedom—freedom of the will—that interested James the most as a psychologist and a philosopher. The question of the will's causal initiative was one of the liveliest of all issues for him and he made it his earliest and latest concern. "It is in fact," he declared, "the pivotal question of metaphysics, the very hinge on

⁴ To H. G. Wells, Chocorua, September 11, 1906, *Letters of William James* (2 vols.; Boston, 1920), II, 260.

⁵ William James, "The Dilemma of Determinism," *The Will to Believe and Other Essays* (New York, 1956), p. 149.

⁶ James, "On Some Hegelisms," *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

which our picture of the world shall swing from materialism, fatalism, monism, towards spiritualism, freedom, pluralism,—or else the other way.”⁸ Insisting that not all the juice had been squeezed out of the free-will problem, he returned to it time and again. Even when hiking in the Adirondacks he would frequently stretch himself out on the ground on the top of a mountain and say to his friends: “Now bring on the free will question.”⁹ In varying forms, freedom as self-determination formed an integral part of his psychology, his ethics, his social thought and his metaphysics.

The origin of James’ preoccupation with the free-will question was, as he freely acknowledged, deeply personal. Shortly after taking his medical degree at Harvard in June, 1869, when he was twenty-eight, James entered a period of ill health and nervous depression which lasted, on and off, until about 1872. During this period he suffered an acute sense of moral impotence and a waning of the will to live. In the depths of his despair he wondered “how other people could live, how I myself had ever lived, so unconscious of that pit of insecurity beneath the surface of life. . . .”¹⁰ His crisis was intellectual as well as emotional in nature. “I’m swamped in an empirical philosophy,” he wrote a friend in the early stages of his melancholia. “I feel that we are nature through and through, and that we are *wholly* conditioned, and that not a wiggle of our will happens save as the result of physical laws. . . .”¹¹ Desperately he sought for a view of the human situation which would release him from the emotional and intellectual “bind” in which he felt himself imprisoned and which would enable him to overcome the paralysis of action that gripped him. At some point during these years he experienced the severe attack of panic fear which he later described anonymously in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) in the course of a discussion of the “sick soul.”

Whilst in this state of philosophic pessimism and general depression of spirits about my prospects, I went one evening into a dressing-room in the twilight to procure some article that was there; when suddenly there fell upon me without any warning, just as if it came out of the darkness, a horrible fear of my own existence. Simultaneously there arose in my mind the image of an epileptic patient whom I had seen in the asylum, a black-haired youth with greenish skin, entirely idiotic, who

⁸ William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (2 vols.; New York, 1950), I, 448.

⁹ Max C. Otto, Dickinson S. Miller *et al.*, *William James, the Man and the Thinker* (Madison, Wis., 1942), p. 43.

¹⁰ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), p. 158.

¹¹ Ralph Barton Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James* (2 vols.; Boston, 1935), I, 472.

used to sit all day on one of the benches, or rather shelves against the wall, with his knees drawn up against his chin, and the coarse gray undershirt, which was his only garment, drawn over them inclosing his entire figure. He sat there like a sort of sculptured Egyptian cat or Peruvian mummy, moving nothing but his black eyes and looking absolutely non-human. This image and my fear entered into a species of combination with each other. *That shape am I*, I felt, potentially. Nothing that I possess can defend me against that fate, if the hour for it should strike for me as it struck for him. There was such a horror of him, and such a perception of my own merely momentary discrepancy from him, that it was as if something hitherto solid within my breast gave way entirely, and I became a mass of quivering fear. After this the universe was changed for me altogether. I awoke morning after morning with a horrible dread at the pit of my stomach, and with a sense of the insecurity of life that I never knew before, and that I have never felt since. . . .¹²

In his morbid identification of himself with the young patient who was little more than a machine, James was (it is perhaps not fanciful to suggest) confronting the issue of mechanical determinism versus freedom of the will in its most dramatic form.

James emerged from his years of despondency with a deep-seated belief in freedom of the will which no amount of empirical philosophy was ever afterward able to shatter. It was the French philosopher Charles Renouvier who pointed the way for him. "I think that yesterday was a crisis in my life," James wrote in one of his notebooks on April 30, 1870.

I finished the first part of Renouvier's second 'Essais' and see no reason why his definition of free will—"the sustaining of a thought *because I choose to* when I might have other thoughts"—need be the definition of an illusion. At any rate, I will assume . . . that it is no illusion. My first act of free will shall be to believe in free will. . . . Hitherto, when I have felt like taking a free initiative, like daring to act originally, without carefully waiting for the contemplation of the external world to determine all for me, suicide seemed the most manly form to put my daring into; now, I will go a step further with my will, not only act with it, but believe as well; believe in my individual reality and creative power. My belief, to be sure, *can't* be optimistic—but I will posit life (the real, the good) in the self-determining *resistance* of the ego to the world. Life shall [be built in] doing and suffering and creating.¹³

James' father, who had undergone a similar spiritual "vastation"—to use the Swedenborgian term which he himself used—in his own young man-

¹² *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 157.

¹³ *Letters of James*, I, 147-48.

hood, was delighted by the eventual reappearance of his son's normally energetic and buoyant spirit. "I was afraid of interfering with it," he wrote Henry Jr. after an animated visit from William,

or possibly checking it, but I ventured to ask what specially in his opinion had promoted the change. He said several things: the reading of Renouvier (specially his vindication of the freedom of the will) and Wordsworth, whom he has been feeding upon now for a good while; but especially his having given up the notion that all mental disorder required to have a physical basis. This had become perfectly untrue to him. He saw that the mind did act irrespectively of material coercion, and could be dealt with therefore at first-hand, and this was health to his bones. . . .¹⁴

James' mind always creatively transformed whatever it touched; and although Renouvier's view of freedom became the foundation for much of his thinking, the uses he made of it were peculiarly his own.

In his first major work, *Principles of Psychology*, appearing in 1890 (important parts of which had been published as separate articles during the preceding decade and more), James devoted several sections to the specific subject of free will. The entire book, however, emphasizes the causal efficacy of the human consciousness and represents a sharp break with the traditional British empiricist view of the mind as a *tabula rasa* passively receiving simple and discrete sense impressions from the external environment and combining them into complex ideas by the mechanical laws of association. For James, nourished in Darwinian evolutionism, the mind was an active, interested and selective agency of human adaptation and survival. It was teleological in character, that is, it pursued ends—practical, moral, aesthetic and theoretic—and chose means for the achievement of these ends. James by no means slighted the organic basis of human mentality; he devoted long introductory sections of both *Principles* and *Psychology: Briefer Course* (1892) to physiological data. Mental phenomena, he acknowledged, are indeed conditioned by bodily processes. On the other hand, mental states themselves effect bodily changes; and James laid it down as a general rule that no mental modification ever occurs which isn't accompanied or followed by a bodily change.

Before launching into an extended analysis of the nature and functions of human consciousness, James felt obliged to dispose of the "automaton theory" of man, then being put forward by Thomas Huxley and other naturalistically-inclined writers. According to this theory, man was a "conscious automaton," that is, a mere bundle of nervous reflexes whose mental acts were explicable in purely physiological terms. Hence:

¹⁴ Perry, *Thought and Character of James*, I, 339-40.

If we knew thoroughly the nervous system of Shakespeare, and as thoroughly all his environing conditions, we should be able to show why at a certain period of his life his hand came to trace on certain sheets of paper those crabbed little black marks which we for shortness' sake call the manuscript of Hamlet. We should understand the rationale of every erasure and alteration therein, and we should understand all this without in the slightest degree acknowledging the existence of thoughts in Shakespeare's mind.¹⁵

To James such a notion seemed "utterly irrational." "It is to my mind," he declared, "quite inconceivable that consciousness should have *nothing to do* with a business which it so faithfully attends."¹⁶ The distribution of consciousness among living organisms, he argued, points to its utility and efficaciousness. The higher we rise in the animal kingdom, the more complex and intense the consciousness; that of man obviously exceeds that of the oyster.

From this point of view it seems an organ, superadded to the other organs which maintain the animal in the struggle for existence; and the presumption of course is that it helps him in some way in the struggle, just as they do. But it cannot help him without being in some way efficacious and influencing the course of his bodily history. If now it could be shown in what way consciousness *might* help him, and if, moreover, the defects of his other organs (where consciousness is most developed)¹⁷ are such as to make them need just the kind of help that consciousness would bring provided it *were* efficacious; why, then the plausible inference would be that it came just *because* of its efficacy—in other words, its efficacy would be inductively proved.¹⁸

The efficacy of consciousness James found in the fact that consciousness is at all times primarily a *selecting* agency:

Whether we take it in the lowest sphere of sense, or in the highest of intellection, we find it always doing one thing, choosing one out of several of the materials so presented to its notice, emphasizing and accentuating that and suppressing as far as possible all the rest. The item emphasized is always in close connection with some *interest* felt by consciousness to be paramount at the time.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Principles of Psychology*, I, 132.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 136.

¹⁷ I.e., in animals in which consciousness is most developed. James' point is that the higher the consciousness, the more instable it is and the more sensitive to alterations in the environing circumstances. "A low brain does few things, and in doing them perfectly forfeits all other use. The performances of a high brain are like dice thrown forever on a table. Unless they be loaded, what chance is there that the highest number will turn up oftener than the lowest?" James thought they were loaded, i.e., had casual efficacy. (*Principles of Psychology*, I, 140.)

¹⁸ *Principles of Psychology*, I, 138-39.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 139.

The insistence that consciousness selects for special attention, in accordance with its varied interests, certain items from its experience and ignores or suppresses all the rest forms the major theme of James' psychology. Whether he is discussing sensation, perception, conception and memory, or, indeed, ethics, aesthetics, science and philosophy, James never fails to remark on the selective industry of the human mind. From the lowest to the highest levels of intellection, the mind attends to some features of its experience which seize its interest to the exclusion of all the rest.²⁰ The mind, thus,

is at every stage a theatre of simultaneous possibilities. Consciousness consists in the comparison of these with each other, the selection of some, and the suppression of the rest by the reinforcing and inhibiting agency of attention. The highest and most elaborated mental products are filtered from the data chosen by the faculty next beneath, out of the mass offered by the faculty below that, which mass in turn was sifted from a still larger amount of yet simpler material, and so on. The mind, in short, works on the data it receives very much as a sculptor works on his block of stone. In a sense the statue stood there from eternity. But there were a thousand different ones beside it, and the sculptor alone is to thank for having extricated this one from the rest. Just so the world of each of us, howsoever different our several views of it may be, all lay embedded in the primordial chaos of sensations, which gave the mere *matter* to the thought of all of us indifferently. We may, if we like, by our reasonings unwind things back to that black and white jointless continuity of space and moving clouds of swarming atoms which science calls the only real world. But all the while the world *we* feel and live in will be that which our ancestors and we, by slowly cumulative strokes of choice, have extricated out of this, like sculptors, by simply rejecting certain portions of the given stuff. Other sculptors, other statues from the same stone! Other minds, other worlds from the same monotonous and inexpressive chaos! My world is but one in a million alike embedded, alike real to those who may abstract them. How different must be the worlds in the consciousness of ant, cuttle-fish, or crab! ²¹

None of this, of course, argues directly for freedom of the human will, though it clearly parts company with the crasser forms of scientific determinism. James accepted without question the Darwinian view that hu-

²⁰ James' impatience with the dogmatic temper of certain philosophic rationalists and scientific materialists grew out of the failure of the latter to realize that they were singling out for special emphasis certain aspects of reality and neglecting all the rest. But reality overflows our conceptual bounds and "ever not quite" was James' admonition to anyone generalizing about human experience.

²¹ *Principles of Psychology*, I, 288-89.

man consciousness, with all its rich proliferation of interests and activities, was a product of countless spontaneous variations, selected by natural forces for their survival value in the long course of evolutionary development. It should be emphasized, moreover, that James' primary objective was to help make of psychology a natural science; and this meant attempting to formulate, on the basis of empirical data, a series of regular, uniform laws which would illuminate human behavior. His careful attention, throughout, to organic processes and their interrelation with purely physiological processes (especially in his theory of the emotions) makes him sound, at times, in a curious reversal of roles, like a rank materialist in comparison with Freud; and it should be no matter for surprise that he is sometimes regarded as the father of both behaviorist and experimental psychology in the United States.

Yet for all of his emphasis on physiological and experimental data, James was ever ready to tackle broad ethical and philosophical problems where he thought it appropriate. These, after all, were also surely relevant to an understanding of human nature. If, in part, *Principles* was unmistakably behavioristic, it was also, in part, profoundly moral. (Portions of the chapter on "Habit" might even be regarded as moralistic.) In his chapter on "Attention," James confronts, for the first time, the question of free will directly. "*My experience,*" he declared at the outset, "*is what I agree to attend to.*"²² Attention, whether sensorial or intellectual, is for James in large measure passive and automatic; it is reflex, effortless, the product of habit. Comes a stimulus, in the form of a sensory object or an ideal representation, and our reaction is immediate and involuntary. But attention is also in part active and voluntary; it involves deliberate effort on our part. The question of free will, in James' opinion, hinged on the question of whether the effort which we exert in cases of voluntary attention is only a resultant of the sensory or mental stimulus presented to our consciousness or whether it is an active and spiritual force, spontaneous and unpredictable in advance, which we ourselves in some fashion contribute to the existing situation. We experience a feeling of effort particularly when there is a conflict of interests in our minds and when we succeed in focusing our attention on (and thus acting upon) the more difficult of the two ideas. We think, for example, of a cigarette for the thirtieth time in the day (Idea A) and we simultaneously recall what we have read about lung cancer in the *Reader's Digest* (Idea B). Nicotine addicts that we are, it is only with an effort approaching the heroic that we concentrate our attention on Idea B, drop Idea A out of our consciousness, and end by abstaining. James admitted frankly that

²² *Ibid.*, I, 402.

even in such cases the expenditure of effort which we feel may be a mere "inert accompaniment" of the deliberative process and "not the active element which it seems."²³ Our abstention may be explicable in purely mechanical terms: Idea B triumphed because the associative processes which it called up in our minds were stronger than those evoked by Idea A. But the effort to attend, James suggests, may, in fact, be an "original, psychic force." If this were so:

It would deepen and prolong the stay in consciousness of innumerable ideas which else would fade more quickly away. The delay thus gained might not be more than a second in duration—but that second might be *critical*; for in the constant rising and falling of considerations in the mind, where two associated systems of them are nearly in equilibrium it is often a matter of but a second more or less of attention at the outset, whether one system shall gain force to occupy the field and develop itself, and exclude the other, or be excluded itself by the other. When developed, it may make us act; and that act may seal our doom . . . the whole drama of the voluntary life hinges on the amount of attention, slightly more or slightly less, which rival motor ideas may receive. But the whole feeling of reality, the whole sting and excitement of our voluntary life, depends on our sense that in it things are *really being decided* from one moment to another, and that it is not the dull rattling off of a chain that was forged innumerable ages ago. This appearance, which makes life and history tingle with such a tragic zest, *may* not be an illusion. As we grant to the advocate of the mechanical theory that it may be one, so he must grant to us that it may *not*. . . .²⁴

In his long chapter on the will, toward the end of *Principles*, James resumed his analysis of the free-will problem, elaborating on the points which he had made in his discussion of attention, and concentrating more directly on moral decisions. Effort of attention, he insisted, was the "*essential phenomenon of will*."²⁵ Accordingly:

*The essential achievement of the will, in short, when it is most 'voluntary,' is to ATTEND to a difficult object and hold it fast before the mind. The so-doing is the fiat; and it is a mere physiological incident that when the object is thus attended to, immediate motor consequences should ensue.*²⁶

Whenever we are faced with a struggle between our moral ideals and our instinctive or habitual propensities, our decision for the former is invariably accompanied by effort.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 452.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 453-54.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 562.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 561.

Now our spontaneous way of conceiving the effort, under all these circumstances, is as an active force, adding its strength to that of the motives which ultimately prevail. When outer forces impinge upon a body, we say that the resultant motion is in the line of least resistance, or of greatest traction. But it is a curious fact that our spontaneous language never speaks of volition with effort in this way. Of course if we proceed *a priori* and define the line of least resistance as the line which is followed, the physical law must also hold good in the mental sphere. But we *feel*, in all hard cases of volition, as if the line taken, when the rarer and more ideal motives prevail, were the line of greater resistance, and as if the line of coarser motivation were the more pervious and easy one, even at the very moment when we refused to follow it.²⁷

The relation between propensity (P), ideal impulse (I) and effort (E) James reduced to the following equation:

$$I \text{ per se} < P$$

$$I + E > P$$

The question of fact in the free-will controversy thus resolves itself into the question of whether E forms an integral part of I or whether its duration and intensity are adventitious and indeterminate in advance. Having reached this point in his analysis, James concluded that the question could not be solved by empirical psychology. After a certain amount of effort has been given to an idea, it is impossible, by any methods or measurements available to science, to determine whether more or less effort might have been put forth in any given case. James ended by accepting the causal initiative of human consciousness (in the sense in which he had defined it) as a reality, but he did so for ethical reasons. Since objective proof was lacking (and probably always would be) in the dispute between determinism and free will, it was possible, he said, to decide between the two only by an act of voluntary choice. Freedom for James, then, was a moral postulate, the postulate that "*what ought to be can be and that bad acts cannot be fated, but that good ones must be possible in their place.*" And if the will is in fact undetermined, he added, it was only appropriate that belief in its freedom should be voluntarily chosen as an alternative to the deterministic postulate.

Freedom's first deed should be to affirm itself. We ought never to hope for any other method of getting at the truth if indeterminism be a fact. Doubt of this particular truth will therefore probably be open to us to the end of time, and the utmost that a believer in free-will can ever do will be to show that the deterministic arguments are not coer-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 548.

cive. That they are seductive, I am the last to deny; nor do I deny that effort may be needed to keep the faith in freedom, when they press upon it, upright in the mind.²⁸

James' most sustained argument for free will is contained in an essay entitled "The Dilemma of Determinism" (1884) to which he referred readers of *Principles* for a more complete exposition of his views. The argument in "Dilemma" was partly metaphysical and partly ethical in nature and it centered primarily around the problem of evil. James began by insisting that both determinism and indeterminism were postulates about the universe and that neither rests on any incontrovertible evidence of an external sort. Both satisfy, in divergent ways, the human need "to cast the world into a more rational shape in our minds than the shape into which it is thrown there by the crude order of our experience."²⁹ Determinism is monistic in its conception of things. It

professes that those parts of the universe already laid down absolutely appoint and decree what the other parts shall be. The future has no ambiguous possibilities hidden in its womb; the part we call the present is compatible with only one totality. Any other future complement than the one fixed from eternity is impossible. The whole is in each and every part, and welds it with the rest into an absolute unity, an iron block, in which there can be no equivocation or shadow of turning.

Indeterminism, by contrast, is a pluralistic hypothesis. It

says that the parts have a certain amount of loose play on one another, so that the laying down of one of them does not necessarily determine what the others shall be. It admits that possibilities may be in excess of actualities, and that things not yet revealed to our knowledge may really in themselves be ambiguous. Of two alternative futures which we can conceive, both may now be really possible; and the one becomes impossible only at the very moment when the other excludes it by becoming real itself. Indeterminism thus denies the world to be one unbending unit of fact. It says there is a certain ultimate pluralism in it; and, so saying it corroborates our ordinary unsophisticated view of things. To that view, actualities seem to float in a wider sea of possibilities, from out of which they are chosen; and, *somewhere*, indeterminism says, such possibilities exist, and form a part of truth.³⁰

The point at issue between the two, then, relates to the existence of possibilities in the universe. When a volition has occurred, the determinist says that no other volition could possibly have occurred in its place. The indeterminist, however, says that another volition might have

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 573-74.

²⁹ "The Dilemma of Determinism," *Will to Believe*, p. 147.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

occurred in its place; and, insisting on the reality of alternative possibilities in the past, he also believes in the ambiguity of future human volitions. James boldly adopted the word "chance" (partly, perhaps, to needle the determinists) rather than "freedom" to describe the loose play of alternative possibilities which he saw at work in his pluralistic universe, but it is important to remember (since he is not always explicit on the point) that he is at all times talking about chance occurrences in human volitions, not in physical nature.

Having drawn the battle lines in this fashion, James next proceeded to launch into a lengthy analytical dissection of the deterministic position (unusual for him, since he seems ordinarily to have believed that, where ultimate issues are concerned, logic can only clarify, never coerce) in an endeavor to impale it on the horns of a dilemma. A brutal murder, let's say, occurs in our neighborhood and our instinctive reaction is to express a "judgment of regret" over its occurrence. According to determinism, however, the murder was a necessary part of the structure of things; it couldn't *not* have happened. But what kind of a universe is it, James asks, in which such appalling events as this murder (and, let us add, Hitler's gas chambers) are necessitated to happen? Surely, says James, we must descend, as we contemplate the nature of things, into a profound pessimism. The only deterministic escape from pessimism (and James admits candidly that he has nothing to say to those satisfied with a Schopenhauerian pessimism) is to abandon judgments of regret and make the assumption that a certain amount of evil is a necessary condition of the higher good. If we could view things from the broadest of all perspectives, in other words, we would realize that this is, despite all its shortcomings, the "best of all possible worlds." But the transformation of deterministic pessimism into deterministic optimism, James points out, lands us in a logical predicament. If our judgments of regret are wrong because they are pessimistic in implying that what ought to be was impossible, then presumably they should be replaced by judgments of approval for whatever happens. But from the deterministic point of view, our judgments of regret are themselves necessitated and nothing else can possibly be in their place. Thus we reach a kind of logical seesaw: evil can't be regarded as in some sense good without our regrets being wrong; and our regrets are not justifiable unless evil is regarded as bad. But both regrets (whether justifiable or not) and evils (whether regretted or assimilated into a larger good) are foredoomed, in any case, and the monistic determinist, for all his eagerness to see the totality of things as coherent and rational, ends with a universe at least as fundamentally irrational as that of the pluralistic indeterminist.

There is, however, one way, James suggests, for the deterministic optimist to extricate himself from his logical difficulties and to proclaim both the evils and the regrets "*all good together.*"³¹ It is the way of gnosticism or subjectivism. The necessitated evils which we erroneously regret may be good and our error in regretting them may also be good if we regard the universe primarily "as a contrivance for deepening our theoretic consciousness of what goodness and evil in their intrinsic natures are."³² Taken this way, the universe exists not to challenge us to do battle for good and against evil but to enlighten, entertain, even thrill us as spectators by its dramatic richness and diversity. Subjectivism, in short, "makes the goose-flesh the murder excites in me a sufficient reason for the perpetration of the crime" and transforms life from a "tragic reality" into "an insincere melodramatic exhibition" with subjective illumination as its primary purpose.³³ James cites Zola and Renan as typical representatives of the subjectivistic philosophy:

Both are athirst for the facts of life, and both think the facts of human sensibility to be of all facts the most worthy of attention. Both agree, moreover, that sensibility seems to be there for no higher purpose,—certainly not, as the Philistines say, for the sake of bringing mere outward rights to pass and frustrating outward wrongs. One dwells on the sensibilities for their energy, the other for their sweetness; one speaks with a voice of bronze, the other with that of an Aeolian harp; one ruggedly ignores the distinction of good and evil, the other plays the coquette between the craven unmanliness of his *Philosophic Dialogues* and the butterfly optimism of his *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*.³⁴

James the moralist has obviously stepped in at this point. It was impossible for him to take seriously a universe in which the moral struggle was not meaningful. Conduct, not sensibility, was the "ultimate fact for our recognition."³⁵ James proposed what he elsewhere called "meliorism" as an alternative to the optimistic or pessimistic ways of conceiving the world. There were real objective goods to be championed and real evils to be resisted in the universe. The fight for the better must perpetually go on, even though we frequently meet defeat and even though the ultimate outcome of things remains ever uncertain. But, in James' view, there is point to the moral effort only if we can believe that how we act is not mechanically predetermined but grows out of free choices made by us from alternative possibilities.

What interest, zest, or excitement can there be in achieving the right way, unless we are enabled to feel that the wrong way is also a possible

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

and natural way,—nay, more, a menacing and an imminent way? And what sense can there be in condemning ourselves for taking the wrong way, unless we need have done nothing of the sort, unless the right way was open to us as well? I cannot understand the willingness to act, no matter how we feel, without the belief that acts are really good and bad. I cannot understand the belief that an act is bad, without regret at its happening. I cannot understand regret without the admission of real, genuine possibilities in the universe. Only *then* is it other than a mockery to feel, after we have failed to do our best, that an irreparable opportunity is gone from the universe, the loss of which it must forever after mourn.³⁶

In defending free will in this way on moral grounds, James took pains to make it clear that he was not suggesting that “absolute accidents,” completely irrelevant to the rest of the world, ever take place. Human behavior, he insisted, was no more capricious and chaotic for the indeterminist than for the determinist. The futures presenting themselves to our choice “spring equally from the soil of the past” and once our choice is made it “interdigitates” with phenomena already there “in the completest and most continuous manner.”³⁷ The indeterminist, in short, simply contends that “of the alternatives that really *tempt* our will, more than one is really possible.”³⁸ James thus carefully circumscribed the area of volitional freedom; at the same time he believed that the uses to which it was put were crucial both in the development of individual character and in the shaping of society.

Societies, like individuals, according to James, also have ambiguous possibilities of development. Social evolution, he maintained, was not directed by inevitable laws of history; it was the product of “the accumulated influences of individuals, of their examples, their initiatives, and their decisions.”³⁹ But these influences are largely matters of chance; thus indeterminism is to be found in history and the future is always partly open and in some measure unpredictable. James was thinking particularly

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157. The psychologist, said James, quite properly neglects free will in his search for behavioral laws, for although an act of free choice “might be *morally and historically momentous*, yet, if considered *dynamically*, it would be an operation amongst those physiological infinitesimals which calculation must forever neglect.” Thus: “Psychology will be Psychology, and Science Science, as much as ever (as much and no more) in this world, whether free-will be true in it or not.” But science “must be constantly reminded that her purposes are not the only purposes, and that the order of uniform causation which she has use for, and is therefore right in postulating, may be enveloped in a wider order, on which she has no claims at all.” (*Principles of Psychology*, II, 576-77.)

³⁸ *Will to Believe*, p. 157 n.

³⁹ “Great Men and Their Environment,” *Will to Believe*, p. 218.

of the impact of exceptional individuals on the course of history and in "Great Men and Their Environment" (1880) he vigorously defended the Great Man theory of history. His chief target was Herbert Spencer who announced that the great man

must be classed with all other phenomena in the society that gave him birth as a product of its antecedents. Along with the whole generation of which he forms a minute part, along with its institutions, language, knowledge, manners, and its multitudinous arts and appliances, he is a *resultant* . . . the genesis of the great man depends on the long series of complex influences which has produced the race in which he appears, and the social state into which that race has slowly grown. . . . Before he can remake his society, his society must make him. All those changes of which he is the proximate initiator have their chief causes in the generations he descended from. If there is to be anything like a real explanation of those changes, it must be sought in that aggregate of conditions out of which both he and they have arisen.⁴⁰

But, for James to say that the changes wrought by Voltaire, for example, in French thought were the resultant of "that aggregate of conditions" out of which both Voltaire and French society had emerged was no more enlightening than to say that I slipped on the ice in front of my house today because the earth detached itself from the sun ages ago. In the largest sense, to be sure, the birth of the earth (and everything that happened since) was a necessary condition of my existing at all. But it was certainly not a sufficient condition of my fall on the ice. And if, in my preoccupation with "aggregate conditions" (the origin of life, the discovery of America, World War I, the cold war, etc., etc.), I neglect to sprinkle sand on the sidewalk, thus risking further falls, even Spencer would scarcely judge my behavior as rational. To explain great men and their influences in terms of "aggregate conditions" was like explaining them in terms of Fate or Hegel's Absolute. It contained the "enormous emptiness" of abstract propositions which explain everything in general but nothing in particular.⁴¹ James was determined that the individual not be swallowed up in the vague and impersonal generalizations of Spencerian sociology.

James' major argument for the decisive role of individuals in history, however, rested on a view of social evolution deriving from Darwin. In accounting for evolutionary development, Darwin saw that there were two different cycles of operation in nature: tendencies toward spontaneous variations in living organisms (physiological cycle) and natural selection acting to preserve or destroy these variations (environmental cycle). Each

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

cycle proceeds independently of the other according to its own fixed laws; the interaction between the two is a matter of accidental "timing" and what results, therefore, is a matter of chance. James regarded the great man as a "spontaneous variation"; society may accept or reject his offerings, but if it accepts them, then his genius will have a fermentative effect, modifying the environment in "entirely original and peculiar ways."⁴² Shakespeare, for instance, was not the product of sociological pressures. He was a unique human variant (the product, to be sure, of physiological forces) who chanced to appear at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1564. If he had died in infancy, James asks facetiously, does Spencer think that social forces would have brought forth a substitute at Stratford-atte-Bowe? Similarly with other geniuses in art, literature, science, religion and politics. Their appearance, from society's point of view, was a matter of accident, entirely unpredictable in advance. But their impact on history was far-reaching. "Would England," asks James,

have to-day the imperial ideal which she now has, if a certain boy named Bob Clive had shot himself, as he tried to do, at Madras? Would she be the drifting raft she is now in European affairs, if a Frederick the Great had inherited her throne instead of a Victoria, and if Messrs. Bentham, Mill, Cobden, and Bright had all been born in Prussia? . . . Had Bismarck died in his cradle, the Germans would still be satisfied with appearing to themselves as a race of spectacled *Gelehrten* and political herbivora, and to the French as *ces bons*, or *ces naifs*, *Allemands*. Bismarck's will showed them, to their own great astonishment, that they could play a far livelier game. . . . The lesson will not be forgotten. . . .⁴³

The most a social analyst can ever predict, said James, is that "if a genius of a certain sort show the way, society will be sure to follow."⁴⁴

James acknowledged that the indeterminism he was expounding was not complete. The genius of exceptional persons must be adapted to the "receptivities of the moment."⁴⁵ A man may be born at the wrong time. Peter the Hermit would be committed to a mental institution in the twentieth century. John Stuart Mill would have lived in obscurity in the tenth century. Cromwell and Napoleon needed their revolutions and Grant his civil war. Even here, though, James declared that what makes a certain genius incompatible with his society "is usually the fact that some previous genius of a different strain has warped the community away from the sphere of his possible effectiveness."⁴⁶ After Newton, no Ptolemy; after Voltaire, no Peter the Hermit. James did recognize that the

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

social environment, by its educative influences, "remodels" the great man and directs his interests and activities "to some degree."⁴⁷ But he clung firmly to his main point: human genius cannot be created by society; it always appears unexpectedly and if the timing is right, social evolution will move in new directions.

In the last part of his essay James examines the function of the environment in mental progress and, for the first time, he makes certain concessions to the environmental point of view. A "vast part of our mental furniture," he admits, does derive from the order of "outer relations" which we experience.⁴⁸ Our memories, habits, conceptions, interests, even the reasons why our consciousness attends to one thing rather than another, are indubitably shaped by external surroundings. Nevertheless, James contends that environmental influences are paramount only in "the lower strata of the mind . . . the sphere of its least evolved functions." When we come to "those mental departments which are highest" in man, we see that

the new conceptions, emotions, and active tendencies which evolve are originally produced in the shape of random images, fancies, accidental out-births of spontaneous variation in the functional activity of the excessively instable human brain, which the outer environment simply confirms or refutes, adopts or rejects, preserves or destroys. . . .

This is especially true of superior minds:

Instead of thoughts of concrete things patiently following one another in a beaten track of habitual suggestion, we have the most abrupt cross-cuts and transitions from one idea to another, the most rarefied abstractions and discriminations, the most unheard-of combinations of elements, the subtlest associations of analogy; in a word, we seem suddenly introduced into a seething caldron of ideas, where everything is fizzling and bobbing about in a state of bewildering activity, where partnerships can be joined or loosened in an instant, treadmill routine is unknown, and the unexpected seems the only law. According to the idiosyncrasy of the individual, the scintillations will have one character or another. They will be sallies of wit and humor; they will be flashes of poetry and eloquence; they will be constructions of dramatic fiction or of mechanical device, logical or philosophic abstractions, business projects, or scientific hypotheses, with trains of experimental consequences based thereon; they will be musical sounds, or images of plastic beauty or picturesqueness, or visions of moral harmony. But, whatever their differences may be, they will all agree in this,—that their genesis is sudden and, as it were, spontaneous. . . .⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 226 n.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

In responding to criticisms of his Great Man theory, James broadened his thesis to some extent, in passing, to take account of the contributions of all individuals to social change. "There is little difference between one man and another," he declared; "but what little there is, *is very important.*"⁵⁰ Each individual is in some respects unique and he may add his bit, however small, to social change. And by recognizing the significance of unusually gifted individuals in history, "each one of us," he concluded, "may best fortify and inspire what creative energy may lie in his own soul."⁵¹ Here, as elsewhere, the instinctive democrat in James modified the aristocratic elements in his thinking.

Even to those willing to accept James' individualistic thesis in a qualified form (and one does not have to be an economic determinist to recognize that James overstated his case), it is clear that the kind of indeterminism which he locates in history is quite different from the kind of indeterminism which he is talking about when discussing human volitions. His social indeterminism, that is to say, has no direct bearing on the question of free will. There is no connection, apparently, in James' thought, between the individual's choice between moral alternatives (which involves causal initiative) and the individual's creative thinking (which results from "spontaneous variations in the functional activity of the excessively instable human brain"). The one involves freely willed effort; the other is an "accidental out-birth" from the stream of consciousness. Both, however, introduce novel elements into the universe; and the universe for James is "in so far forth" (to use a characteristic expression of his) undetermined and unpredictable.

In the last decade of his life, James became absorbed in highly technical epistemological and metaphysical problems. He was eager to clarify and expand on several themes that had been implicit in his thinking from the very beginning of his career: pragmatism (which defined truth as a verification-process leading satisfactorily from abstract ideas to concrete particulars); radical empiricism (which held that relations between things, conjunctive as well as disjunctive, were as much a part of our direct particular experiences as the things themselves); and pluralism (which regarded the universe as loosely connected, "strung-along" and unfinished, rather than as a consolidated unit). One of his chief concerns in all of this, however, was to make a systematic criticism of monistic determinism (whether of the idealistic or materialistic variety) and to present an alternative vision of the universe in which human freedom was at least a possibility. During this period, his tendency was to speak generally of "novelty" rather than of free will or chance. "Free-will prag-

⁵⁰ "The Importance of Individuals," *Will to Believe*, pp. 256-57.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

matically," he explained, "means *novelties in the world*, the right to expect that in its deepest elements as well as in its surface phenomena, the future may not identically repeat and imitate the past."⁵²

James was not, it should be noted, contending for novelty in nature. He recognized, it is true, that the laws of nature developed in the physical sciences were approximations, not absolute transcripts of reality, and that such concepts as matter, mass inertia and force were mental instruments or "artifacts" enabling scientists to deal fruitfully with nature. But his view of scientific laws as a man-made conceptual shorthand, "true so far as they are useful, but no farther," did not lead him to posit indeterminism in the natural world.⁵³ He accepted some form of determinism as a necessary presupposition of all scientific endeavor. "So far as physical nature goes," he said,

few of us experience any temptation to postulate real novelty. The notion of eternal elements [atoms, for example] and their mixture serves us in so many ways, that we adopt unhesitatingly the theory that primordial being is unalterable in its attributes as well as in its quantity, and that the laws by which we describe its habits are uniform in the strictest mathematical sense.

It is "when we come to human lives," he added, "that our point of view changes."⁵⁴ It was novelty in human experiences, not in nature, that James sought to defend. In our direct, immediate perceptual experiences, as contrasted with our conceptual afterthoughts about them, we do, James argued, encounter real novelty. Concepts, he declared, are

thin extracts from perception, are always insufficient representatives thereof; and, although they yield wider information, must never be treated after the rationalistic fashion, as if they gave a deeper quality of truth. The deeper features of reality are found only in perceptual experience.⁵⁵

Concepts are static extractions from experience (indispensable, of course, for human thought) from which change and novelty are, by definition, ruled out. But within our perceptual experiences, "phenomena come and go. There are novelties; there are losses. The world seems, on the concrete and proximate level at least, really to grow."⁵⁶ Conceptually, we do not see how Achilles can overtake the tortoise since there is an infinity of points for him to traverse. Perceptually, we see that Achilles does in fact overtake and pass the tortoise.

⁵² "Some Metaphysical Problems Pragmatically Considered," *Pragmatism and Four Essays from the Meaning of Truth* (New York, 1955), p. 84.

⁵³ *The Meaning of Truth* (New York, 1909), p. 58.

⁵⁴ *Some Problems of Philosophy* (London, 1911), pp. 150-51.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

In speaking of novelty on the perceptual level of human experience, James seems to have had two factors in mind. First, it was his thesis (originally put forward in *Principles*) that human consciousness is a continuously flowing, ever-changing stream whose elements never repeat themselves identically from moment to moment. Even if, for example, we recite the Gettysburg Address for the tenth time, our recitatory experience will be to some extent different from our nine previous experiences with the address. Our memory of earlier renditions, our physical and emotional state on the tenth occasion and the new enviroing conditions themselves will make our latest recitation in some degree a unique experience which had never occurred before and will never recur. And this is true of all of our concrete perceptual experiences: "the same returns not, save to bring the different."

Time keeps budding into new moments, every one of which presents a content which in its individuality never was before and will never be again. Of no concrete bit of experience was an exact duplicate ever framed.⁵⁷

Conceptual thinking minimizes these concrete novelties or regards them as "predetermined and necessary outgrowths of the being already there";⁵⁸ but radical empiricism, which insists on taking experience at face value, believes that what occurs in the perceptual flux suggests that "real novelties may be leaking into our universe all the time."⁵⁹ We may thus suppose

that some things at least are decided here and now, that the passing moment may contain some novelty, be an original starting-point of events, and not merely transmit a push from elsewhere. We imagine that in some respects at least the future may not be co-implicated with the past, but may be really addable to it, and indeed addable in one shape or another, so that the next turn of events can at any given moment genuinely be ambiguous, i.e., possibly this, but also possibly that.⁶⁰

To the question of *how* our concrete experiences come into being from moment to moment, James' response was:

Who can tell off-hand? The question of being is the darkest in all philosophy. All of us are beggars here, and no school can speak disdainfully of another or give itself superior airs. For all of us alike, Fact forms a datum, a gift, a *Vorgefundenes*, which we cannot burrow under, explain or get behind. It makes itself somehow, and our business is far more with its What than with its Whence or Why.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

And part of the What consists of the perceptual novelties which we experience all the time.

But James had something else in mind when he spoke of "novelty" in our perceptual experience. It was the "experience of activity" (as he called it) with which all of us are familiar when we are striving inwardly to achieve a goal. The activity-experience in consciousness was the second factor which James wished to emphasize when speaking of novelty in the universe. Novelty in this sense had to do with the feeling of active effort which we experience when a desire, sense of direction, or thought of purpose is present in our consciousness. If causal initiative on the part of the human will truly exists, it is to be found in this feeling of activity accompanying the idea of a result present in the consciousness. "As a matter of plain history," James declared, "the only 'free will' I have ever thought of defending is the character of novelty in fresh activity-situations."⁶² By this time, however, James had enlarged his earlier conception of free will—focusing on one idea rather than another and choosing between moral alternatives—to include all mental effort. As a typical example of a "fresh activity-situation," he proposed the following:

I am now eagerly striving . . . to get this truth which I seem half to perceive, into words which shall make it show more clearly. If the words come, it will seem as if the striving itself had drawn or pulled them into actuality out from the state of mere possible being in which they were. How is this feat performed? How does the pulling *pull*? How do I get my hold on words not yet existent, and when they come by what means have I *made* them come? Really it is the problem of creation; for in the end the question is: How do I make them to *be*?⁶³

In personal activity-situations like the above we seem to experience "creation in its first intention . . . causality at work."⁶⁴ The doctrine of free will holds that the feeling of activity which we experience in such cases involves causal initiative on our part and that, consequently, "we ourselves may be authors of genuine novelty."⁶⁵

With his usual candor James admitted that what appears to be genuine novelty to the experiencer of an "activity-series" may be nothing of the kind. The feeling of activity may not represent causal initiative; it may be "the consequence of older being," an effect, not an original cause.⁶⁶ James' final word on the subject was what it had always been: it was open to each person to decide for himself whether free will was an actuality

⁶² *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (New York, 1922), p. 185.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁶⁵ *Some Problems of Philosophy*, p. 145.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

or an illusion. Temperamentally—and James believed that personal temperament is decisive in issues of this kind—he of course preferred the free-will hypothesis to determinism. He found closed systems of thought—what he called “block universes”—personally distasteful. “I think it would have depressed him,” George Santayana once remarked,

if he had had to confess that any important question was finally settled. He would still have hoped that something might turn up on the other side, and that just as the scientific hangman was about to dispatch the poor convicted prisoner, an unexpected witness would ride up in hot haste, and prove him innocent.⁶⁷

Where determinism was concerned, James was forever hoping to turn up something on the other side.

Santayana regarded James' treatment of the free-will question as “vague,” but this is surely unfair.⁶⁸ It is true that James did not produce a systematic treatise on the subject and that he deliberately chose to ignore most of the classical arguments in the freedom-determinism debate (e.g., the problem of accountability) as either inconclusive or irrelevant to what he considered the vital issues at stake. It is also true, as we have seen, that he was continually rethinking the problem, that his point of departure varied with his prime concern of the moment, and that what he said on one occasion sometimes seems only loosely related to what he said on another. Yet James sought to illuminate, not pontificate; and if he offered no final answer to the question of freedom this was because there were no final answers in his loose-jointed, imperfectly unified metaphysical universe. In summing up his “last word” as a philosopher shortly before his death in 1910, he quoted his friend Benjamin Paul Blood with hearty approval: “There is no conclusion. What has concluded, that we might conclude in regard to it?”⁶⁹ But James had of course come to some tentative conclusions of his own. Rejecting the optimistic determinism of Hegel and the pessimistic determinism of Schopenhauer, he offered melioristic pluralism as a possible third way of conceiving the universe: “The world, it thinks, may be saved, on condition that its parts shall do their best. But shipwreck in detail, or even on the whole, is among the open possibilities.”⁷⁰ James personally could do his best only in a universe in which the future was to some extent uncertain, ambiguous, challenging, even potentially hazardous. But he needed freedom as an indispensable postulate for his moral and intellectual endeavors.

⁶⁷ George Santayana, *Character and Opinion in the United States* (London, 1921), p. 82.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶⁹ “A Pluralistic Mystic,” *Memories and Studies* (New York, 1912), p. 411.

⁷⁰ *Some Problems of Philosophy*, p. 142.

GILBERT OSOFSKY
University of Illinois, Chicago

Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915

FROM THE 1890s THROUGH THE FIRST WORLD WAR THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT migration of southern Negroes to northern cities. It was the migration of Negroes in these years, in fact, which laid the foundations for the development of large, segregated Negro communities in New York City, Chicago and Philadelphia. As the Negro populations of these areas increased rapidly, the dominant reaction of the majority of white Northerners was one of heightened racial hostility. There was an overall hardening in patterns of social and residential segregation, and occasional outbreaks of racial violence, in every city to which Negroes came in large numbers. "One of the striking developments of very recent years," wrote one northern commentator in 1906, "is the recrudescence of prejudice against people of African descent. . . ." ¹

The emergence of racial violence and antagonism, and the increasing number of varied social problems brought on by Negro migration, created a need for reform in the North in the early twentieth century. The movement for social and economic reform in northern cities, a vital part of the national Progressive movement, was deeply concerned with the welfare of the Negro people.² In the years preceding World War I there was a revi-

¹ Linton Satterthwait, "The Color-Line in New Jersey," *The Arena*, XXV (April 1906), 394. For details see my "Race Riot, 1900: A Study of Ethnic Violence," *The Journal of Negro Education*, XXXII (Winter 1963), 16-24; and "Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto," *Freedomways: A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement*, III (Summer 1963), 266-75.

² Historians have too often analyzed Progressivism primarily as a political movement. I define Progressivism as a national, broad-based movement for reform that was evident in all major areas of American life—social, economic, industrial, medical, religious, political and so on. The most enduring accomplishments of the Progressive movement have been its social, industrial and economic reforms, and these were most evident on the local, municipal and state levels. As any national reform movement in a democratic society would, it necessarily created issues which became influential in national political life. If one analyzes Progressivism only in its national political phase, however, it was

talization of interest in Negro life among Progressives in every major northern city. These reformers, were, in the words of a Negro businessman, the "doers" not the "talkers" of American society.³

The white people involved in this movement were primarily social workers and urban reformers who had established settlement houses or tried in other ways to improve living conditions in the industrial and tenement-house areas of northern cities. They also established settlement houses for Negroes in the North—many of them branches of parent organizations founded for immigrants in the 1890s. In the first decade of the twentieth century Progressives organized the Frederick Douglass Center in Chicago, the Robert Gould Shaw House in Boston, the Eighth Ward Settlement in Philadelphia, the Stillman House and two Lincoln Settlements in New York. Frances Bartholomew, Carl Kelsey and R. R. Wright Jr., in Philadelphia; Isabel Eaton in Boston; Celia Parker Woolley, Sophinisba Breckinridge and Louise DeKoven Bowen in Chicago; Mary White Ovington, Victoria Earle Matthews and William Lewis Bulkley in New York City were all actively engaged in social work among Negroes. Perceptive studies of Negro society were undertaken as well in these years. In typical Progressive fashion, volumes of facts and statistics were gathered in order to learn how best to improve living conditions. "We must not forget," wrote W. E. B. DuBois in 1903, "that most Americans answer all queries regarding the Negro *a priori*, and that the least that human courtesy can do is to listen to evidence."⁴ Between 1899 and 1915 such works as DuBois' *Philadelphia Negro* (1899), Ray Stannard Baker's *Following the Color Line* (1908), R. R. Wright Jr.'s *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (1908), Mary White Ovington's *Half A Man: The Status of the Negro in New York* (1911), George Edmund Haynes' *The Negro at Work in New York City* (1912), Louise DeKoven Bowen's *The Colored People*

largely anti-Negro. The basic reason for this was that the political power of the Negro in these years was limited and could therefore be overlooked by national political leaders who were seeking white southern support. In the South most Negroes had been disfranchised; in the North Negro communities were comparatively small and in a state of disruption. Theodore Roosevelt refused to seat southern Negro representatives at the 1912 Progressive convention in spite of protests by Jane Addams, Joel Spingarn and others. The segregationist and anti-Negro policies instituted during the Woodrow Wilson administrations are well known. Progressivism as a political movement did therefore (as historians have pointed out) bypass the Negro. If, however, one includes urban social workers and industrial and municipal reformers in his definition of Progressivism, there was a serious, positive and hopeful interest expressed in Negro welfare by the Progressive movement. See Arthur S. Link, "The Negro as a Factor in the Campaign of 1912," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXII (January 1947), 81-99; Kathleen L. Wolgemuth, "Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation," *ibid.*, XLIV (January 1959), 158-73; Henry Blumenthal, "Woodrow Wilson and the Race Question," *ibid.*, XLVIII (January 1963), 1-21.

³ *New York Age*, November 3, 1910.

⁴ W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (New York, 1953), p. 99.

of Chicago (1913), Frank U. Quillin's *The Color Line in Ohio* (1913), William A. Crossland's *Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in St. Louis* (1914), John Daniel's *In Freedom's Birthplace: A History of the Boston Negro* (1914) and Frances Blascoer's *Colored School Children in New York* (1915) were published. Numerous articles on Negro life also appeared in contemporary periodicals. In 1909-11 the first national Negro defense and improvement societies were founded—the NAACP and the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. Both were founded in New York City. The general movement to improve the status of the Negro in the North in the first decade of the twentieth century was led by persons, Negro and white, who responded in a positive manner to the same problems that produced increased alienation among the majority of Northerners.

Concern for the welfare of Negroes among the white people of New York City had traditionally been associated with religious groups, and more particularly with the Society of Friends. Quakers were leading abolitionists in New York and played an important part in founding free schools for Negro children. After the Civil War, the only white organization that continued its works among the city's Negroes was the New York Colored Mission. There were a few Negro churches in these years, however, that gave some assistance "to needy persons who find themselves in the great city without a home for a few days."⁵

The "Friends' Mission," as some contemporaries called it (more vituperative observers named it the "Nigger school"),⁶ was founded primarily as a religious institution which did missionary work among Negroes and offered them "Christian Fellowship."⁷ It distributed religious tracts, temperance literature and Bibles by the thousands to New York's Negro population.⁸ Prior to its incorporation in 1871, the society had been called the "African Sabbath School Association." When it was incorporated it conceived of its task basically as a religious one: "To conduct in the City of New York a Sabbath School for Religious Instruction," and hold "Social, Religious Meetings."⁹ Whatever practical assistance the organization would give Negroes was to be secondary to its religious obligation. The City Mission and Tract Society contributed enough money

⁵ *New York Freeman*, May 23, June 6, 1885; January 9, February 13, April 3, 1886.

⁶ Augustus Taber, "New York Colored Mission: The Beginning of Its Work," appended to *The New York Colored Mission, Twentieth Annual Report, 1885* (New York, 1886), p. 23.

⁷ *Report of the New York Colored Mission, 1904* (New York, 1905), p. 7.

⁸ *Report of the New York Colored Mission, 1880* (New York, 1881), p. 8.

⁹ "Certificate of Incorporation of The New York Colored Mission," August 3, 1871. New York City Hall of Records.

to the Colored Mission to permit it to purchase a building of its own in the Tenderloin, the midtown area of Manhattan in which the majority of the city's Negroes then lived. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me,"¹⁰ was the motto of the organization.

In reality, however, as the Negro population of Manhattan increased, slightly in the 1870s and 1880s, more rapidly in the 1890s, the Colored Mission was slowly transformed into a social service agency. It conducted an employment bureau, provided temporary housing and inexpensive meals for migrants (a "Sunday bowl of soup and slice of bread"), opened a small "infant school" which cared for and fed Negro children for five cents a day, and bought glasses for Negroes who wanted to learn how to read (most wished to read the Bible). Destitution was so widespread in the depression winter of 1893-94 that the Colored Mission distributed tons of coal and barrels of food to Negro families—flour, corn meal, oatmeal, hominy, rice, bread, beans, pork, milk. "The records of those months are so sad that one shrinks from recurring to them," wrote the society's missionary. "No fire, no food, dispossession impending, illness, death . . . confronted us."¹¹ Between the Civil War and the 1890s, with this one modest exception, there were no organizations in New York City concerned with the welfare of Negroes. By 1915 there were more than a dozen.

Increasing interest in Negro life emerged in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century among white and Negro reformers. The movement was widespread and involved some people who disagreed with one another on the overall methods of improving the position of the Negro in American society. Some were avid supporters of the gradualism of Booker T. Washington, others were followers of W. E. B. DuBois. Whatever theoretic differences may have existed among them, there was basic agreement on the need for solid, practical reforms which would immediately improve the generally harsh lives of Negroes in the city. Reformers were primarily concerned with finding jobs and decent homes for Negro migrants, opening playgrounds for Negro children, breaking down the color barrier in employment opportunities, improving health and sanitary conditions in the Tenderloin, San Juan Hill and Harlem (two other areas of Negro concentration), protecting Negro domestics from the exploitation of employment agents.

¹⁰ *Report of the New York Colored Mission, 1871* (New York, 1872), p. 3; and *Report, 1881* (New York, 1882), p. 8.

¹¹ "Some were found actually dying of want." *Report of the New York Colored Mission, 1893* (New York, 1894), pp. 13-15.

The first organization that this new spirit of social welfare produced was the White Rose Industrial Association. The "White Rose Working Girls' Home" (as the sign which hung over its door read) was founded in 1897. Its organizer was a Negro, Mrs. Victoria Earle Matthews.¹²

Mrs. Matthews was the youngest daughter of a Georgia slave. She was born into slavery herself just one month after the Civil War began, but came to New York with her mother and family in the 1870s. When she arrived in the city Victoria was young enough to attend the Negro public schools, and after graduation she became a writer. Her stories and articles were published in white and Negro journals. She thought of herself as an emancipated woman, founded a Negro protest and women's rights society in the city (the "Women's Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn"), and delivered lectures on "The Awakening of the Afro-American Woman." When she learned of the "unscrupulous employment agents who deceive the unsuspecting girls desiring to come North," Mrs. Matthews decided to "check the evil."¹³ She established a home which provided lodgings and meals for women until they were able to find work. The society kept agents at piers in Norfolk as well as New York City to answer questions, escort women to their places of employment or, instead, to the White Rose Home. Aside from this, its major function, Mrs. Matthews and her fellow workers extended their activity to the general Negro population of New York City. The White Rose Home became a settlement house as well as a temporary lodging place for migrants. The classes that were presented there in domestic training and "race history," the library of books on Negro life, and the facilities for recreation were all open to the public as well as to residents of the home. The Home continued its work among Negroes even after Mrs. Matthews' death in 1907, and finally moved to larger quarters in Harlem in 1918.¹⁴

The same fear of exploitation of Negro women by "intelligence agents" that motivated Victoria Earle Matthews led to the founding of an organization which attempted to do on a national scale what the White Rose Home did for Negro migrants who came to New York City. The initiator of this movement was the white reformer Frances A. Kellor. She also spent a good part of her early crusading career attacking the corruptions of private employment bureaus. In 1903, sponsored by the Woman's

¹² *New York Evening Post* as cited in *New York Age*, July 6, 1905.

¹³ White Rose Industrial Association, *Annual Report for . . . 1911* (New York, 1912), p. 6.

¹⁴ See obituary in *New York Age*, March 14, 1907; *The Crisis*, III (December 1911), 51; Lassalle Best, "History of the White Rose Mission and Industrial Association" (WPA research paper, Schomburg Collection); Victoria Earle Matthews to Booker T. Washington, March 23, 1902. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Box 1; Mary L. Lewis, "The White Rose Industrial Association," *Messenger*, VII (April, 1925), 158.

Municipal League of New York, she was given the responsibility of collecting as much data on the problem as a thorough investigation could produce.¹⁵ She gathered information from 732 private employment agencies, published her findings in 1904 in *Out of Work: A Study of Employment Agencies* and bombarded municipal officials with the information she had uncovered. Her criticisms and prodding resulted in the creation of the Office of Commissioner of Licenses in New York City, and were also influential in establishing the first state-controlled employment bureau in New York in 1911.¹⁶

The underlying concern that seemed to motivate Frances A. Kellor and other municipal reformers in this area was not only that many employment agents were dishonest and treated their clients in a shoddy manner, but that many agencies were used as guises which subtly tried to draw women into the arms of "the alluring procuresses of the city."¹⁷ Some Negro women were given jobs as maids and cooks in what Miss Kellor called "sporting houses." "They are often threatened until they accept positions in questionable places and are frequently sent out without knowing the character of their destination," she wrote in *Out of Work*.¹⁸ The recruiting of women for "immoral purposes" by "intelligence agents" was the first point the Commissioner of Licenses listed in a memorandum which explained why the office had been created.¹⁹ "The southern states, especially Virginia and Georgia, are honey-combed with the slick agents of these employment bureaus," Miss Kellor said in 1905. ". . . good wages, easy work . . . and good times, are promised. . . . To them, going to Philadelphia or to New York seems like going to Heaven, where the streets will be paved with gold, all will be music and flowers!"²⁰

The disparity between image and reality led Miss Kellor to establish a society for the protection of Negro women—the National League for the Protection of Colored Women. The League had offices in New York City and Philadelphia and agents in many southern port cities. It distributed literature to southern Negro pastors and schools urging them to "educate

¹⁵ Frances A. Kellor, *Out of Work: A Study of Employment Agencies*. . . . (New York, 1904), p. vi; Kellor, "The Criminal Negro: A Sociological Study," *Arena*, XXV (January-November 1910), *passim*.

¹⁶ For a detailed reply to Miss Kellor's charges see John N. Bogart to Mayor George B. McClellan, November 22, 1906. McClellan Papers, Municipal Archives; and *Reports of the Commissioner of Licenses and Bureau of Industries and Immigration*.

¹⁷ *New York Freeman*, May 16, 1885.

¹⁸ Agents "corral girls from the country districts." Kellor, *Out of Work*, pp. 73-74, 83, 97.

¹⁹ "Conditions Existing in the City of New York Prior to May 1st, 1904, Which Led to the Creation of this Office" (1909). Municipal Archives.

²⁰ Frances A. Kellor, "Assisted Emigration from the South: The Women," *Charities*, XV (October 7, 1905), 12-13.

the women on these conditions.”²¹ Like the White Rose Home, and sometimes in conjunction with it, the League stationed its workers at the major depots within the city and offered general fellowship and advice to country strangers who came to town for the first time: “It is the aim of the League to furnish helpful information to colored girls who are intending to come North, to protect them during the journey . . . and to find work or friends or homes for them” when they arrive.²² The National League for the Protection of Colored Women continued this work until 1911 when it became one of three Negro reform agencies which consolidated into the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes.

Victoria Earle Matthews and Frances A. Kellor were reformers who concentrated primarily on a single problem—the exploitation of Negro domestic workers. The first prominent New Yorker to fully devote her energy to improving all aspects of Negro life in New York City, and eventually in the entire nation, was Mary White Ovington.

Miss Ovington’s background was similar to that of many other urban reformers of her generation. She grew up in comfort and gentility, the daughter of a well-to-do New York merchant. Her home in an exclusive section of Brooklyn was geographically not too distant from the working-class districts, but it was as separate from them in spirit as two distinct worlds could have been: “In my youth,” she recalled in an autobiographical sketch, “no place was more remote than the section of the city in which persons of different caste lived.”²³

The patrician’s daughter had the typical education of a young woman of refinement. As a child she studied exclusively in private schools, and when she was ready for college, Miss Ovington was sent to Radcliffe. After her graduation the family expected her to take her proper place in society—“what we called ‘going into society,’” she said. But the quiet, secure and stable world into which Miss Ovington was born seemed too remote in the America of the 1880s and 1890s. Industrialization had created major social problems on a scale unequalled in the previous history of the nation. It had created slums, and the immigrants who lived in them often experienced poverty, distress, illness and a sense of hope-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²² E. M. Rhodes, “The Protection of Girls Who Travel: A National Movement,” *The Colored American Magazine*, XIII (August 1907), p. 114-15.

²³ From September 1932 to February 1933, in twenty-four installments, Miss Ovington published her “Reminiscences” in the *Afro-American* of Baltimore. Most of the information for the following biographical sketch comes from there. *Afro-American*, September 24, 1932.

lessness which was difficult to overlook: "I found out about conditions in my own city of which I was utterly ignorant," she remembered.²⁴

Miss Ovington's reaction to these new conditions, similar to the responses of other Progressives, was positive and optimistic. Involvement in a movement for social reform also gave added meaning and fulfillment to her own life. There was, she recalled, a "fervor for settlement work in the nineties, for learning working-class conditions by living among the workers and sharing to some small extent in their lives. . . . The desire for such knowledge was in the air—hope was in the air." In 1896 Miss Ovington opened a settlement house "among white working-class people" in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. Her five-room home grew into a forty-room settlement in the seven years she remained there. "That I should later work for the Negro never entered my mind," she wrote.²⁵

Her first awareness of the seriousness of Negro conditions in the city came at a lecture given by Booker T. Washington. The "Social Reform Club," of which she was a member, invited Washington to speak before it. He apparently described in detail many of the restrictions on Negro equality in New York City and Miss Ovington was shocked to hear about them: "To my amazement I learned that there was a Negro problem in my city. I had honestly never thought of it before." She decided at that time to find out more about these conditions and, from 1904 till her death in 1951, devoted her life to trying to improve them.²⁶

Although Washington's descriptions may have appeared new and shocking to her as an adult, Mary White Ovington had heard similar stories as a child. The Ovington family had originally come from New England. William Lloyd Garrison had been a friend of her grandmother's. Miss Ovington was born in 1865 and grew up when memories of the Great Rebellion were very much alive. She listened attentively to her grandmother's tales of abolitionism, the Underground Railroad, anti-abolitionist rioting in Boston, and the preaching of Garrison's close friend and follower, the Rev. Samuel J. May. She was taught to despise Daniel Webster and Henry Clay for compromising on the slavery issue. When Frederick Douglass came to speak at Plymouth Congregational Church, Miss Ovington went to see one of her idols. "I was," she wrote, "a sympathetic listener." Garrison "was my childhood's greatest hero."²⁷

Mary White Ovington's parents were abolitionists too. Her father told her that he severed connections with Plymouth Congregational Church because Henry Ward Beecher dealt with a missionary association which

²⁴ *Ibid.*, September 17, 1932.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, September 24, 1932.

²⁶ *Idem.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, September 17, 1932; Mary White Ovington, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York, 1947), chap. i.

had contact with a slaveholder. He joined a Unitarian congregation (and his daughter continued in this religion) led by an abolitionist "of the strictest brand." "Ours was an abolition family," she recalled.

The Ovington family, similar to other supporters of abolitionism, lost contact with Negro life after the Civil War. Slavery had been the great evil and it was destroyed. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were passed and Negroes were legally made equal American citizens. It seemed to them that there was nothing left to be done: "Slavery was ended," she said. "That was the great point."

Booker T. Washington reawakened Miss Ovington's interest in the Negro people. She decided to open a settlement house for Negroes in New York City and asked Mary Kingsbury Simkovitch of Greenwich House for advice. They both decided that the first thing to be done was to gather as much specific information as possible on Negroes in New York City. Miss Ovington was made a Fellow of Greenwich House in 1904 and began the studies which led to the publication of *Half A Man* seven years later.²⁸

The difficulties Negroes faced in finding decent and inexpensive living accommodations impressed her as a most important problem. Henry Phipps, steel magnate and philanthropist, had previously constructed model tenement houses for immigrants in the city.²⁹ The City and Suburban Homes Company managed them and Phipps accepted the modest profit of 4 per cent on his investment. Miss Ovington and Phipps had a mutual friend, John E. Milholland,³⁰ whom she went to see. Milholland was convinced of the need for the project and he, in turn, persuaded Phipps to construct a model tenement for the Negroes of San Juan Hill. When the Tuskegee Apartments were completed on West 63rd Street in 1907 they seemed an incongruity in the neighborhood. This fireproof, steam-heated, roof-gardened, six-story house stood out against the older rundown tenements on the West Side. (The Phipps apartment houses have survived a half-century of construction and can still be seen today.) Miss Ovington also hoped that Phipps would support a settlement house

²⁸ *Afro-American*, October 1, 1932; Mary White Ovington, *Half A Man: The Status of the Negro in New York* (New York, 1911), p. ix.

²⁹ On Phipps as philanthropist see Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 109; "Reminiscences of William H. Allen" (Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 1950), pp. 57-58; *Real Estate Record and Builder's Guide*, LXXV (March 4, 1905), 460; "Model Tenements," *Outlook*, LXXIX (February 11, 1905), 364-65.

³⁰ Milholland was an active defender of Negro rights and founded an early Negro defense society, the Constitution League, in New York City in 1904. The League tried to breathe some life into the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. He later became a supporter of the NAACP.

for Negroes in the building and decided to live there herself: "I hoped by quietly renting on my own account, to persuade him to add social work."³¹

She moved into the Tuskegee Apartments, the only white person in the entire house, in January 1908. There she gathered information for her book, became a close friend of the Rev. Dr. George H. Sims of Union Baptist Church on the block, attended his services occasionally, and read "Peter Rabbit" and other stories to the Negro youngsters who knocked at her door. (She later published stories for Negro children.) Miss Ovington lived on West 63rd Street for eight months, but was unable to get the philanthropist to support a Negro settlement house there. In September 1908, as is well known, she read an article in *The Independent* which diverted her attention to broader Negro problems and changed the course of her life. William English Walling's "The Race War in the North" attacked the growing racial antipathy and apathy that were developing in the North and called for a revival of "the spirit of the abolitionists. . . ." ³² Miss Ovington responded to this appeal and called a small meeting of her friends to discuss what could be done to counteract this burgeoning racism. A National Negro Conference met in 1909 at the Henry Street Settlement House. The NAACP was born of the National Negro Committee that was established at this conference, and Mary White Ovington spent the rest of her career working within this organization.³³

Although her main energies were channeled into the NAACP (she was called "Mother of the New Emancipation"), Miss Ovington continued to be active in social work among New York Negroes. She was an executive of the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York City, chairman of its "Neighborhood Work" subcommittee, president and main fund-raiser of the Lincoln Settlement which she helped found for Negroes in Brooklyn, and organizer of the West End Workers' Association which was active among the Negroes of

³¹ "I feel as though now that the tenement is promised us things are going pretty well for a settlement in it. Mr. Phipps, I know, is interested." Mary White Ovington to Fred R. Moore, February 23, 1905. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Box 29. *Afro-American*, October 15, 1932; *Half A Man*, pp. 41-42; *Walls Came Tumbling Down*, pp. 33-34.

³² William English Walling, "The Race War in the North," *Independent*, LXV (September 3, 1908), 529-34; Mary White Ovington, *How the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Began* (New York, 1914); Walling, "The Founding of the NAACP," *The Crisis*, XXXVI (July 1929), 228.

³³ *Afro-American*, November 26, December 10, 1932; *Then and Now: NAACP, 1909-1959* (New York, 1959).

San Juan Hill.³⁴ The Negro woman who was her private secretary from 1905 till her death remembers Miss Ovington as a person who was totally dedicated to the struggle for Negro rights and honestly devoid of any racial prejudice.³⁵ "No white woman's life in America has been colored more by the clash of color and race," editorialized a Negro newspaper.³⁶ "That the sincerity of my friendship has never been doubted," wrote Miss Ovington when she resigned as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, "has been my greatest joy."³⁷

The reforming zeal that was evident in Mary White Ovington reached a high point in 1906 when the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York (CIICN) was founded. The primary motivation that led to the organization of the CIICN was the desire to broaden employment opportunities for the city's Negroes. Its members, supporters, directors and subcommittee chairmen were the most important reformers in New York City in the Progressive era. Many of them were later active in the NAACP and other areas of municipal reform. The CIICN was interracial in structure and was composed of social workers, philanthropists, educators, clergymen, writers, publishers, physicians, supporters of Hampton and Tuskegee, businessmen.³⁸ The founder of the CIICN was a Negro principal in the New York City school system, Dr. William Lewis Bulkley. Bulkley was motivated to organize this Committee, he said in 1906, after seeing Negro students leaving his school "to open doors, run bells or hustle hash for the rest" of their lives.³⁹

Dr. Bulkley was the leading Negro educator in New York City in the early twentieth century. He was a bright, idealistic and ambitious man who had risen from the slavery into which he was born in South Carolina in 1861 to earn a doctorate in ancient languages and literature from Syracuse University. As a boy he attended the local log cabin school and finally graduated from Claflin University, in his home state, in 1882. He came north to continue his studies at Wesleyan University in Connecticut and at Syracuse. In 1893, after completing his master's degree, he earned the Ph.D.⁴⁰

³⁴ *Crisis*, V (February 1913), 163-64.

³⁵ Interview with Mrs. Richetta G. Wallace, November 3, 1961; Richetta G. Wallace to author, November 7, 1961.

³⁶ *Afro-American*, September 10, 1932.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, February 25, 1933.

³⁸ For a list of the membership of the CIICN see "Committee on the Industrial Improvement of the Negro in New York," a small booklet in the Stokes Manuscripts, Columbia University, Box 18; *New York Age*, May 17, July 12, 1906.

³⁹ *New York Age*, July 12, 1906.

⁴⁰ J. Wayne Wrightstone, Director of the New York City Board of Educational Research, to author, February 7, 1962; *Crisis*, II (October 1911), 236; Booker T. Washington

For a time, Dr. Bulkley was a professor of Latin and Greek at Claflin University. During his student days, however, he had taken a variety of odd jobs to support himself. At different times he worked as a janitor, a steward, a cook and a salesman. To save the little money he did earn in this way he scrimped wherever he could. His meals often consisted of oatmeal and water; he washed and darned his own clothing, and pressed his socks and handkerchiefs between the pages of his books or under the mattresses on which he slept. William Lewis Bulkley, in the language of his day, achieved "Success Under Difficulties." The "Slave Boy Now a Professor" was "A Noble Example of the Triumph of Perseverance."⁴¹

Bulkley thought of himself as a Southerner who had been driven from his home by racism: "There is not one of us who would not gladly go back home if we did not know that every right dear to any full man has been ruthlessly torn from our grasp," he said in 1909. He longed to share the "soul-refreshings that only a [southern] Negro revival can give."⁴² Dr. Bulkley came to New York City in the 1890s and was appointed seventh grade teacher in a lower Manhattan public school. In 1899 he became principal of P. S. 80 on West 41st Street in the Tenderloin.⁴³ This school, in the heart of the Negro district, had formerly been an all-Negro institution which was made a ward school as a result of the city's integration policy which went into effect in 1884. In 1909, despite protest meetings and petitions of the teachers in P. S. 125, Bulkley was appointed the first Negro principal of a predominantly white school in city history.⁴⁴

William Lewis Bulkley insisted that Negroes be given full equality in American society immediately. He supported the demands made by W.E.B. DuBois along these lines, and became a founder of the NAACP.⁴⁵ During his summer vacations he was a temporary expatriate who lived in Switzerland and France with his wife and children. His family sometimes remained there when he returned to resume his duties in the fall.

commented on the "craze for Greek and Latin learning" as a symbol of the highest education among Negroes in the late nineteenth century. Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (New York, 1959), pp. 56-57.

⁴¹ "A Slave Boy, Now a Professor," *Success*, April 8, 1899. I would like to thank Henry S. Coshburn, of the Board of Education, for supplying me with this article.

⁴² William Lewis Bulkley, "Race Prejudice as Viewed from an Economic Standpoint," *Proceedings of the National Negro Conference* (New York, 1909?), pp. 92-93.

⁴³ Interview with Henry S. Coshburn, February 23, 1962.

⁴⁴ *New York Age*, July 22, 1909.

⁴⁵ "I wish very much that you could see your way clear to attend the meetings of the Commission for Improving the Industrial Condition of the colored people in Greater New York. I am very much afraid that unless you do attend that Bulkley and his crowd will get hold of this important organization. . . . it is hard to carry out plans if our friends are in the minority. . . ." Booker T. Washington to Charles W. Anderson, October 1, 1907. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Box 37.

On retiring from the New York City school system in 1923 he left the country and established a private school in Nice. He died there in 1934.⁴⁶ That a supporter of DuBois should have founded an organization that tried to find practical, industrial employment for the Negroes of the city seemed the height of inconsistency to Booker T. Washington's supporters. "You will see that this opponent of industrial education is not practicing what he preaches," wrote one of them. "This is inconsistency with a vengeance."⁴⁷ White social workers, like Mary White Ovington, Jane Addams and Julia Richman, on the other hand, thought highly of Bulkley's work.⁴⁸

Bulkley was a pragmatist who met conditions in the city as he saw them and tried to improve them as best he could. One of the first things he did after becoming principal of P. S. 80, for example, was to open a kindergarten class to relieve the working mothers of the neighborhood.⁴⁹ In 1903 Bulkley established an evening school in the building which specialized in classes offering industrial and commercial training to its students. Some of the most diligent students in the school were elderly Negro men and women, some in their seventies and eighties, who had no opportunity for education as young people, and now wanted to learn to read and write.⁵⁰ Bulkley invited friends and associates to visit the school.⁵¹ On one occasion, when members of the Board of Education made an inspection tour, they stated "that it was the most successful evening school that ever was established in New York. . . ." ⁵²

The idea for a permanent industrial organization to assist Negroes in New York City had apparently originated with William H. Baldwin. Baldwin, president of the Long Island Railroad and philanthropist, was one of Booker T. Washington's key financial supporters. It was Dr. Bulkley, however, who initiated the movement which led to the creation of the CIICN.

Since 1902 Bulkley had agitated for the need of an organization to do

⁴⁶ Ralph Ellison, "William Lewis Bulkley" (WPA research paper, Schomberg Collection).

⁴⁷ Charles W. Anderson to Booker T. Washington, April 3, 1909. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Box 43.

⁴⁸ *New York Age*, April 6, 1905.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, November 5, 1914.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1907. "The great ambition of the older people was to try to learn to read the Bible before they died." Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 21. "A 'Square Deal' for New York Negroes," *Outlook*, LXXXIII (June 23, 1906), 398-99.

⁵¹ William Lewis Bulkley to J. G. Phelps Stokes, November 14, 1906, November 18, 1906. Stokes Manuscripts, Columbia University, Boxes 18 and 77.

⁵² Charles W. Anderson to Booker T. Washington, March 23, 1906. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Box 2; William Lewis Bulkley, "The Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York City," *The Annals*, XXVII (May 1906), 595.

on a broad scale what he had attempted to do as an individual at his school: "With an Afro-American population in New York increasing yearly at a very great, I had almost said alarming rate," he said in one speech, "it behooves every thoughtful man and woman in this city to stop long enough to think what it may mean to us and to them." ⁵³

Early in 1906 the Negro educator initiated a series of local meetings to discuss the subject. He, Mary White Ovington and others lectured these gatherings on the harsh facts of life that each Negro in New York City was forced to experience. Finally, in May 1906, at a meeting of some sixty Negro and white New Yorkers, Bulkley's hope became reality. The CIICN was founded and issued a public statement on its goals. "Here at home," the report maintained, "conditions are piling up which must be met . . . at once." The Committee would endeavor to provide equal "economic opportunities" for all citizens: "A square deal in the matter of getting a livelihood is held to be fundamental." ⁵⁴ William Jay Schieffelin, philanthropist, urban reformer, heir to the Jay family abolitionist tradition, and president of the Board of Trustees of the Armstrong Association, was appointed chairman. Schieffelin immediately began to contact his friends to mobilize support for the new organization. With "seventy thousand Negroes in New York," he wrote in one letter, "we ought to feel a responsibility concerning them." ⁵⁵

The CIICN was divided into subcommittees, each headed by an eminent specialist in a particular area of work—"Employment," "Neighborhood Work," "Craftsmen," "Publication," "Trade Schools," "Social Centers," "Legal Affairs," "Public Meetings." Negro streets in the city were canvassed to gather information on social problems which seemed most pressing. Regular public meetings were held in Negro churches to stimulate interest in the Committee's work and provide a sounding board for local discontent. An employment bureau was established to locate and help create jobs for Negroes. The names of skilled Negro workers were collected and these craftsmen were organized into small trade units. Such associations were created for dressmakers, printers, mechanics, waiters, carpenters. A slight dent was made in the policies of racial restriction normally adhered to by unions when, under prodding from the CIICN, the Grand United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of

⁵³ *New York Age*, May 17, 1906.

⁵⁴ "CIICN," Stokes Manuscripts; "Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes in New York," *The Colored American Magazine*, XII (June 1907), 459-64; *New York Age*, April 26, 1906.

⁵⁵ William Jay Schieffelin to J. G. Phelps Stokes, May 24, 1906. Stokes Manuscripts, Columbia University, Box 18. On Schieffelin see "The Reminiscences of William Jay Schieffelin" (Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 1950).

America issued a charter to a Negro local in the city. Jobs were found for plumbers, construction workers, painters, bricklayers, masons, decorators. Subway companies were contacted and asked to hire Negro motormen. The subcommittee on Trade Schools, headed by a New York City school superintendent, collected a thousand names on a petition for new night schools in the Negro districts. Two more evening schools were created primarily for Negroes in these years. The City and Suburban Homes Company was encouraged to build additional model tenements for Negroes.⁵⁶

The CIICN also cooperated with the other Negro reform agencies in the city. In 1908, for example, it began to send people to the docks to assist Frances A. Kellor's organization with the always increasing numbers of migrants who came to town. When the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes was established in New York in 1910, the CIICN sent spokesmen to the new organization to map out lines of cooperation with it. The problems which emerged from Negro migration grew more complex each year. It was obviously wasteful to have a number of separate bodies which defined their spheres as particular aspects of what was one broad and interrelated problem. In 1911 a general agreement for consolidation was reached among the CIICN, the National League for the Protection of Colored Women and the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. All three organizations merged into a new and stronger society which is still operating today, the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (National Urban League).⁵⁷

The founding of the two most prominent national Negro organizations, the NAACP and the National Urban League was, therefore, a culmination and fulfillment of individual local reforming efforts that had begun in the North in the first decade of the twentieth century. The serious revitalization of concern in the Negro people that this demonstrated was evident in New York City in a variety of other ways as well. Spontaneously, each year brought to life some new Negro welfare institution. Two settlement houses, one of which was a branch of the Henry Street Settlement, were founded for Negroes in 1904 and in 1907. In 1911 they consolidated into one large unit, the Lincoln Settlement House. Lillian D. Wald sent Negro nurses into the Tenderloin, San Juan Hill and Harlem to help these communities with their medical problems. A Negro Music School Settlement, numerous free nurseries and kindergartens,

⁵⁶ The *New York Age* from 1906 to 1911 regularly printed articles on the CIICN and this information is largely derived from them.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1911; *The Crisis*, VIII (September 1914), 243-46; *The Urban League: Its Story* (New York, 1939).

homes for delinquent girls and two new Negro Y's were established. The NAACP opened an office in Harlem to provide help for Negroes who were discriminated against in any way. The National Urban League organized a housing bureau which tried to clean up the streets of Negro areas and locate clean, respectable and inexpensive homes for Negro families. Tuberculosis was an ever-present disease among Negroes and the New York City Board of Health conducted special evening classes for colored people on its prevention.⁵⁸ Some migrants, fresh from the country, were given rudimentary lessons in the use of modern sanitary and plumbing devices.⁵⁹ Playgrounds and summer camps were opened for Negro children. A Negro Fresh Air Committee was established in 1905.

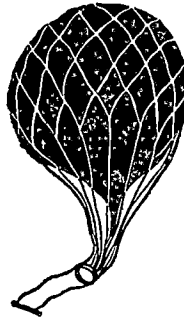
When the new century began the prevailing attitude toward the Negro in New York City was one of hostility and increasing alienation. As far as the majority of the population was concerned, this continued to be the dominant reaction of the city to the Negro people. The racial antagonism of the majority made necessary the creation of segregated communities like Harlem. A sense of renewed promise and hopefulness among Negroes, however, was born of the important reform movements that were established to cope with the problems which resulted from the settlement of southern Negroes in New York City. In 1900 Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois would have agreed that the Progressive movement seemed to overlook the Negro. Ten years later, both recognized a new "awakening" of interest in Negro life.⁶⁰ This general reform movement was, in the words of a Negro New Yorker, "a veritable godsend to the colored people."⁶¹

⁵⁸ *New York Age*, June 22, 1905.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1913; *Colored American Magazine*, XIII (September 1907), 211

⁶⁰ *Horizon: A Journal of the Color Line*, V (November 1909), 1-2.

⁶¹ *New York Age*, July 22, 1908.



PAUL A. VARG

Michigan State University

The Advent of Nationalism, 1758-1776

IN A SERMON PREACHED AT GLOUCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, ON NOVEMBER 29, 1759, Samuel Chandler spoke of "British America," of "the People of this Land," of "This America."¹ In another sermon of thanksgiving for recent victories over the French, Samuel Cooper focused his attention on His Majesty's "American Dominions."²

The term "America," seldom used until this time, found frequent employment and a new meaning during the public festivities in the autumn of 1759. In the closing years of the Seven Years War George Fisher, preparing the twelfth edition of his book, gave it the title *The American Instructor* and in the preface explained that "many Things of little or no Use in these Parts of the World" had been omitted and "in their Room many other Matters inserted, more immediately useful to us Americans." In October 1760 William Adams, of New London, wrote:

The years *seventeen hundred fifty nine and sixty*, will shine with distinguish'd lustre, in the *British* and *American* annals, for the numerous and surprising victories and conquests gained therein, and which have exceeded, even our most sanguine hopes and expectations.³

Prior to 1759 British settlers in North America took the name of their province or simply referred to themselves as "British colonists." The term "American colonies" was used by Englishmen at home, but it carried no

¹ Samuel Chandler, *A Sermon Preached at Gloucester, Thursday, Nov. 29, 1759. Being the Day of the Provincial Anniversary Thanksgiving* (Boston, 1759).

² Samuel Cooper, *A Sermon Preached before His Excellency Thomas Pownall; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, Oct. 16, 1759* (Boston, 1759).

³ William Adams, *A Discourse Delivered at New London October 23d. A.D. 1760. On the Thanksgiving For the Success of the British Arms, in the reduction of Montreal, and the conquest of all Canada* (New London, Conn., 1760).

more than a geographical meaning. In the fall of 1759, during the celebrations of the conquest of Quebec, the name "Americans" became something more than a geographical expression. The use of the term suggests the development of nascent nationalism.

We are prone to seek in the developments of the quarter-century preceding the break with the mother country the causes of the separation. It is not the purpose of this article to establish any causal connection between the development of nationalism and the revolution; the only aim is to examine the process by which this nationalism came into being. Probably because nationalism connotes a bit more than what had developed, historians have usually steered clear of using that term. They refer vaguely to the quality but refuse to name it, but Edmund Cody Burnett, editor of the letters of the members of the Continental Congress, called it "nationalism in a stage of gestation."⁴ However, it is more fruitful not to quibble about the term. In this case we may define it as no more than a self-conscious awareness of unity and separateness growing out of a common historical background and ideology. Our task is no more than to indicate the beginnings of this awareness and its various expressions. Nor is it our purpose to show its chronological development; that must wait for a fuller treatment covering a larger span of time. In the brief period of 1758 to 1776 the awareness was only in the first stage of becoming; it had no clearly defined character and therefore the new dimensions which it did assume are of less importance than the fact of its presence.

British nationalism preceded the American variety and endowed it with some of its major characteristics. During the Seven Years War the Americans bore the name of Briton with pride. Celebrations of victory rang with praise of the mother country.⁵ Identification of themselves as Englishmen owed much to the French encirclement of the colonies. To the normal fear of a rival imperialist power was added the highly charged prejudice against France as the citadel of Roman Catholicism and mon-

⁴ Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York, 1941), p. 3. Burnett went no further than to say that the elements of national beginnings were present and he was of the opinion that a genuine national spirit did not come into being until long after the establishment of the new government in 1789. Max Savelle, in *Seeds of Liberty The Genesis of the American Mind*, frankly uses the term nationalism and presents a most able discussion of its bases.

⁵ A great many public addresses can be cited in support of this statement. Aaron Burr, President of the College of New Jersey, called on his hearers, "'Tis high Time to awake, to call up all the Briton in us, every Spark of English Valour; cheerfully to offer our Purses, our Arms, and our Lives, to the Defence of our Country, our holy Religion, our excellent Constitution, and invaluable Liberties." See Aaron Burr, *A Discourse Delivered at New-Ark, in New Jersey*, January 1, 1755. See also the resolution passed by the Congregational clergy in New Hampshire, *Provincial Papers Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New Hampshire from 1749 to 1763* (Manchester, 1872), VI, 783-84.

archical absolutism. The Americans, overwhelmingly Protestant, interpreted history in terms of a never ending struggle between freedom and absolutism, enlightenment and superstition, light and darkness. Catholicism was, of course, identified with persecution, reactionary rule and superstition. The Reverend Jonathan Mayhew expressed a common view when he said: "It were next to madness to imagine that the nation could ever be safe and happy under a Roman Catholic prince." Hundreds of sermons expressed the same feelings.

Dread of the French, however, was only one factor in the ardent British feelings of the colonists.⁶ The almost daily allusions to "glorious British liberties" symbolized the fact that Englishmen at home and Englishmen in the colonies shared a common political ideology. Absolutism had triumphed on the continent during the seventeenth century while the British bled and died to curb the Stuart kings and to establish rule by "King, Lords, and Commons." The colonists, in many cases refugees from the Stuart reigns, naturally took delight in the Glorious Revolution. The political principles established by the revolution became the alpha and omega of their political theory. It gave to the colonists a sense of oneness with Englishmen at home.

But the lusty growth of British nationalism in the new world was not simply a matter of common political principles. As the Americans understood those principles, they meant that Englishmen on both sides of the ocean enjoyed government by consent and agreement. The cohesive element provided by this political system constituted the basis of nationalism both in the mother country and in the colonies. Herein, in very large part, lies the explanation of praise of the mother country. A few years after the Glorious Revolution Cotton Mather declared: "It is no Little Blessing of God, that we are a part of the *English Nation*." "There is no *English man*," said Mather, "but what has for his *Birthright* those *Liberties*, which are a rich *Inheritance*: When all the Nations of *North-ern Europe* of late years foolishly Lost their *Liberties*, the brave English

⁶ Some may question how loyal the colonists really were in view of the frequent charges that they engaged in trading with the enemy and failed to contribute both men and money in the degree expected of them by the Crown. The present writer would question this conclusion. Certainly there was considerable trading with the enemy by many American and British merchants, but one may question whether this is an accurate measure of loyalty. Secondly, the debates over appropriations in several of the legislative assemblies suggest that the delays were due in considerable part to questions concerning how troops were to be employed and related questions rather than to lack of conviction that the war was necessary or to any hostility toward the mother country. It should also be kept in mind that in an agrarian community the sending of fathers and sons to war imposed special difficulties. Those who criticize the effort of the colonists usually cite British complaints. These should be compared with deeply held convictions among the colonists that they had made a most creditable showing.

(tho' with struggle enough, against the *Unnatural Conspiracies* of the *Late Reigns*) have still preserved Theirs. . . ." ⁷

In a notable exposition of political theory the Reverend John Barnard, in 1734, affirmed "that form of Civil Government is best for us, which we are under, I mean the *British Constitution*." He did not know "of a single true *New England Man*, in the whole Province, but what readily subscribes to these Sentiments, and hopes we shall continue to be the genuine Members of that glorious Constitution, thro'out all Ages." ⁸

British liberties continued to win the praise of the colonists down to the very eve of the Declaration of Independence. In an election day sermon in 1758, Benjamin Throop admonished his listeners that "the World knows not a more just and happy Constitution, or a more mild and faithful Administration than ours is." ⁹ Jonathan Mayhew wrote: "The British government and laws, by which the subject's life and liberty, his property and religion, are so well secured to him, are blessings, very extensive in their nature, and will ever be accounted invaluable, by all who have a just conception of what the happiness of civil society consists in; . . ." ¹⁰

The constant appeal to the British Constitution and to the charters in all colonial disputes was based on the faith that they offered firm guarantees of personal liberties. The interests of the colonies were similarly secure because of the balance of power within the British government. The colonists referred to this check and balance system as rule by "King, Lords, and Commons." John Barnard spelled it out as rule by the blending of monarchy, nobility and democracy. Only under such a system could the passions of individuals and groups be controlled. Americans held no illusions concerning the seething ambitions that tended to tear society apart or to erect themselves into arbitrary domination of other interests under the banners of justice or concern for the public welfare.

And because all groups were represented and could defend their interests, the British government ruled by consent and agreement. No group, including the colonists, need fear "Encroachments of Sovereignty" by any

⁷ Cotton Mather, *A Pillar of Gratitude* (Boston, 1700).

⁸ John Barnard, *The Throne Established By Righteousness. A Sermon Preach'd Before His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq.; His Majesty's Council, and the Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, May 29, 1734, Being the Day for the Electing His Majesty's Council There* (Boston, 1734).

⁹ Benjamin Throop, *Religion and Loyalty, The Duty And Glory Of A People; Illustrated In A Sermon. From 1, Peter 2, 17. Preached Before The General Assembly Of The Colony of Connecticut at Hartford, On The Day Of the Anniversary Election, May 11th, 1758* (New London, Conn., 1758).

¹⁰ Jonathan Mayhew, *Dr. Mayhew's Two Thanksgiving Discourses November 23rd, 1758* (Boston, 1758).

other group if each exercised a zealous regard for its own interests and an unceasing vigilance in checking the ambitions of others. This feature of British government, duplicated in the colonial governments, assured the colonists that even they were important members of the political order, that they "belonged." And because they counted in the scheme of things, they looked upon England as *their* country.

The prevailing religious thought reinforced the ideal of a government of checks and balances. Few sermons failed to stress the sinful nature of man. The individual was by nature jealous, vengeful, self-seeking, full of pride and vanity, and not to be trusted with the liberty of others. Man must by his very nature view all matters in terms of his own interests and could never rise to a position of impartiality when these were involved. This view of human nature gave rise to a querulous state of mind that put every man on guard against exploitation.

Liberty was, in fact, only to be preserved where different parts of the body politic maintained a jealous watch over each other. Government, said the Reverend Andrew Eliot in an election sermon in May 1765, originated in the imperfect state of human nature. The facts of human behavior, facts that "originated with him who is the author of nature," made unlimited freedom unbearable. The jungle of cross purposes had made it necessary to give up absolute freedom. Men had surrendered this freedom for the common good. But only as each individual and each interest jealously kept an eye on the government to assure that it served the common welfare, could government be kept to its original function.¹¹

The Pennsylvania farmer, John Dickinson, expressed the same basic faith when he condemned apathy and praised an almost peevish questioning. A good disposition toward the rulers is amiable, he warned, but it could only be indulged at great danger. Dickinson, like the clergy, laid it down as a first principle that "all men are subject to the frailties of nature; and therefore whatever regard we entertain for the *persons* of those who govern us, we should always remember that their conduct, as *rulers*, may be influenced by human infirmities."

This was the nature of British nationalism. At its core was the theory of government by consent and agreement. Rule by force in the shape of standing armies was so horrendous a thought to Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic that the aversion to a standing army became a political first principle. So pathetic in strength of numbers was the British army during the eighteenth century that there was a considerable reliance on the use of foreign mercenaries.

¹¹Andrew Eliot, *A Sermon Preached Before His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq.; Governor, The Honorable His Majesty's Council and The Honorable House of Representatives, Of The Province of The Massachusetts-Bay In New England, May 29th, 1765.*

Implicit for the Americans in this whole body of thought was a position of equality within the empire. It was an illusion they could easily entertain although the idea that colonies were to be governed wholly by consent and agreement entered the minds of few Englishmen at home. The authorities in London were too busy with civil strife in the seventeenth century to give much thought to the colonies, but the policy of salutary neglect was not based on any idea that the colonies were not subordinate.

This discussion of the roots of British nationalism is necessary if we are to understand the beginnings of American nationalism. Once the Americans discovered that a common political theory did not mean that the authorities in London meant to apply it to the British plantations, that colonies were not in the category of equals, that government by consent and agreement was to be limited to minor local matters, loyalty to the mother country increasingly gave way to a sense of separateness. The colonists now assumed the role of defenders of what they had assumed to be the meaning of the British constitution, and their interpretation of it became the warp and woof of a new nationalism.

This American nationalism would not have come into being so easily had not the colonists already developed strong convictions of their own importance in the world. They did not fail to note that both Frenchmen and Englishmen said that whoever controlled the colonies would control Europe. Colonists quickly seized and expanded upon this flattering estimate of their own importance.¹² As early as 1754 William Clarke maintained that British trade, wealth and naval power depended upon the colonies. The loss of the colonies to France, he warned, would reduce Great Britain "to an absolute Subjection to the *French Crown* and she would be nothing more than a *Province of France*."¹³ William Livingston gave a similar assessment of the "inexhaustible magazine of wealth" in the colonies and held that without them "Great Britain must not only lose her former lustre, but, dreadful even in thought! cease to be any longer an independent power."¹⁴ When Samuel Cooper addressed the Massachusetts assembly in the autumn of 1759, he gave thanks to

¹² Gerald Stourzh, *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy* (Chicago, 1954), p. 113.

¹³ William Clarke, *Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French, with Regard to their Encroachments upon the British Colonies in North America. Together With Remarks on the Importance of these Colonies to Great Britain* (Boston, 1755).

¹⁴ William Livingston, *A Review of the Military Operations in North America from the Commencement of the French Hostilities on the Frontier of Virginia in 1753, to the Surrender of Oswego, on the 14th of August, 1756. Interspersed With Various Observations, Characters, and Anecdotes; Necessary To Give Light into The Conduct of American Transactions in General; And More Especially Into The Political Management of Affairs In New York. In A Letter to A. Nobleman* (London, 1758).

the King who had manifested "a peculiar Concern for His American Dominions," and then added: "with the safety of which, the Dignity of his Crown, and the Power and Commerce of *Great-Britain* are so closely connected."¹⁵ Benjamin Franklin wrote to Lord Kames, the British philosopher: "I have long been of opinion, that the *foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America*; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little seen, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure human wisdom ever yet erected."¹⁶ Both Franklin and John Adams believed it highly probable that the seat of the empire would some day be moved to the new world because it was there that the nation's future greatness lay.

The colonists' boasting, so characteristic of national movements in their early stages, had a considerable basis in fact. In his book *Cities in Revolt* Carl Bridenbaugh has documented in detail the phenomenal growth that took place between 1743 and 1776. The five leading cities increased in population from 72,881 in 1760 to 104,000 by 1775, an increase of 33 per cent in fifteen years.¹⁷ Only London among English cities surpassed Philadelphia in size at the eve of the Revolution. The foreign commerce of the colonies reached impressive proportions. In 1774 Philadelphia alone exported commodities valued at £720,135 sterling.¹⁸ All these cities had groups of merchants whose sumptuous houses, dress and manners impressed European visitors as superior. Cultural life was nourished by libraries, schools, great numbers of bookstores, and concerts. America had developed an urban life that compared favorably with that of Europe.

A survey of the members at the opening of the second Continental Congress reveals the great wealth, the growth of the professions and the rise of a highly successful merchant class. Of the 55 delegates, 28 were lawyers, 12 were merchants and almost all had held public office. Others were successful planters. Henry Middleton, at one time president of the Congress, owned nearly 20 plantations with a total of 50,000 acres and about 800 slaves.

The gathering of the revolutionaries in Philadelphia was one of prosperous lawyers, merchants and planters who lived in style. John Adams has left a picture of the social life of the Congress, of elaborate dinners, of sumptuous homes and gay entertainment.

Nationalism as a self-conscious phenomenon was stimulated by the British challenge of the colonists' illusion of equal status and their con-

¹⁵ Samuel Cooper, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Gerald Stourzh, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York, 1955), p. 216.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

fidence in their future role. It expressed itself in resentment at the British habit of referring to the colonists as subjects, in the political argument and in a new emphasis on the history of the colonies.

What really injured the Americans was the British assumption of superiority. Pocketbooks were undoubtedly touched by the new taxes and the restraints of trade, but it was the self assurance, the sense of great achievement, the sense of equality within the empire that explains the querulous spirit of the colonists. Feelings involving pride and status suffered greater injury than did financial interests. These feelings did not add up to a full-blown nationalism in 1763 but they were sufficiently strong so that when offended they matured into full-scale intercolonial cooperation, bleached the formerly virile British nationalism until it was ready for a new shading, and brought into sharper focus the fact that the American environment had transformed British political institutions so that the differences between the mother country and America encouraged a sense of uniqueness among the Americans who had previously so easily identified themselves with Englishmen at home.

America had made England great. England would need America more than America would need England, warned Franklin. Scotland and Ireland must depend upon England, he wrote, "But America, an immense territory, favored by nature with all advantages of climate, soils, great navigable rivers, lakes, etc., must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed upon her, and perhaps place them on the imposers."¹⁹ Oxenbridge Thacher, of Boston, expressed the set of mind in 1764 when he said:

Great Britain, at this day, is arrived to an height of glory and wealth, which no European nation hath ever reached, since the decline of the Roman empire. Everybody knows, that it is not indebted to itself alone, for this envied power: That it's colonies, placed in a distant quarter of the earth, have had their share of efficiency, in it's late successes; as indeed they have also contributed to the advancing and increasing its grandeur from their very first beginnings.

In the forming and settling therefore the internal polity of the kingdom; these have reason to expect, that *their* interest should be considered and attended to; that *their* rights, if they have any, should be preserved to them: and that *they* should have no reason to complain, that they have been lavish of their blood and treasure in the late war, only to bind the shackles of slavery on themselves and their children.²⁰

¹⁹ *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. John Bigelow (New York, 1904), IV, 286.

²⁰ Oxenbridge Thacher, *The Sentiments of a British American* (Boston, 1764).

The cocksureness of the colonists found repeated expression in the controversy with Great Britain, and the controversy itself nurtured their self confidence. Nicholas Ray, a former resident of New York who moved to London, outlined what the new relationship must be. The colonies, wrote Ray, were more important than many of the kingdoms of Europe and the Americans felt their strength. Therefore, he said, America could only be bound to Great Britain by friendship and discretion.²¹ It appeared to the Americans that Parliament was intent on enacting legislation that served no good purpose other than pinning on them the badge of parliamentary supremacy. And such an assertion now appeared unreasonable. A Boston town meeting in 1772 passed a resolution which asked: "Can it be said with any Colour of Truth and Justice, that this Continent of three Thousand Miles in Length, and of a Breadth as yet unexplored, in which however, it is supposed, there are five Millions of People, has the least Voice, Vote, or Influence in the Decisions of the British Parliament?" And, said the resolution, by the nature of the situation, the colonists could not be represented and therefore must legislate for themselves. The Bostonians undoubtedly felt exactly as their resolution indicated.

The Inhabitants of this Country, in all Probability, in a few Years, will be more numerous than those of Great Britain and Ireland together. Yet it is absurdly expected, by the Promoters of the present Measures, that these, with their Posterity to all Generations, should be easy, while their Property shall be disposed of by a House of Commons at Three Thousand Miles distance from them. . . .²²

The more impulsive spirits among the Sons of Liberty spoke more bluntly of what was involved. At the dedication of the Tree of Liberty at Providence in 1768, the speaker complained that a "new system of politics hath been adopted in Great Britain and the common people there claim a sovereignty over us although they be only fellow subjects." The weight of his argument against the mother country, if it can be called an argument, was against the inference of an inferior status. In dedicating the Tree of Liberty he said little about liberty but much about the causes for resentment. What was really galling was the language "of every paltry scribler, even of those who pretend friendship for us in some things. . . ." These Britishers wrote in "this lordly stile, *our colonies—our western dominions—our plantations—our islands—our subjects in America—our authority—our government* with many more of the like *imperious expres-*

²¹ Nicholas Ray, *The Importance of the Colonies* (New York, 1766).

²² Boston *The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants October 28, 1772* (Boston, 1772).

sions." "Strange doctrine," he thought, "that we should be the subjects of subjects, and liable to be controuled at their will!"²³

The question, said William Hicks in his pamphlet *The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power*, was that of subordination. Parliament was, he said, determined to put the colonies in their place, and to make clearer the motive of the ministry, he cited how New York had in fact met the overall requirements of the Quartering Act. To remind the New Yorkers of their subordinate role the ministry had suspended the legislature simply because it had not adhered to the most minor of specifications as to exactly what food and drink should be provided.²⁴ Actually the New York legislature met all specifications of the act immediately before Parliament suspended it, and the issue had little practical importance. Other writers pointed to the Declaratory Act as evidence of the British intent to bring about a subordination. The Stamp tax had been rescinded due to a prudent concern over trade, but Parliament had maintained the principle. When the Townshend duties on paint, paper and glass were repealed, the duty on tea was retained simply because the right to tax had to be maintained. The theory employed by the colonists in support of their rights need not concern us here, but the constant inference that their own importance made subordination unreasonable testifies that their self awareness was nourished by the exhilarating controversy.

Benjamin Franklin showed how in his own pride in America he resented what he termed British haughtiness. He wrote to the British press:

Give me leave, Master John Bull, to remind you, that you are related to all mankind; and therefore it less becomes you than anybody to affront and abuse other nations. But you have mixed with your many virtues a pride, a haughtiness, and an insolent contempt for all but yourself, that, I am afraid, will, if not abated, procure you one day or other a handsome drubbing.²⁵

In the years down to 1776 the nationalism of the colonists exhibited a dual nature, loyalty to the mother country and an increasing awareness of their separateness and importance. The former nationalism that had focused on the British constitution was undergoing a subtle shift whereby a high degree of autonomy for themselves was becoming the center of their attention.

²³ *Discourse, Delivered in Providence, in the Colony of Rhode-Island, upon the 25th Day of July, 1768 at The Dedication of the Tree of Liberty, From the Summer House in the Tree by a Son of Liberty* (Providence, 1768).

²⁴ William Hicks, *The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power* (Philadelphia, 1768).

²⁵ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York, 1907), IV, 398.

Among all the able political disquisitions of the time, perhaps none surpassed in perspicuity Daniel Dulany's *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue, by an Act of Parliament*. Dulany, very significantly, wrote in terms of the interests of all the colonies. He used the term "American" repeatedly, the first pamphleteer to do so with any frequency, and he connoted by this the existence of an intercolonial interest that surpassed all local interests. Finally he delineated with clarity an American interest as opposed to an English interest.

Dulany repeated what was at the very heart of the emerging American self awareness, the importance of the colonies to England. The mother country had fought the Seven Years War, not out of a spirit of generosity to the Americans, but because the war involved her own interests and was "necessary to the *Defence of Great Britain* herself." Great Britain, he contended, "could not long subsist as an independent Kingdom after the loss of the Colonies."²⁶

The broader issue of taxation provided the opportunity for the colonists to express the idea that they constituted a separate entity. At the Stamp Act Congress Americans discovered that all held one principle in common: namely, that the power of the purse must reside with the people. Allegiance to this principle provided the unfolding nationalism with a cardinal political dogma. The British probably did not see in whole but they did see in part that the colonists had developed a sense of separate identity which made the controversy over taxes a path to independence. Ingersoll, who met with Grenville and many members of the House of Commons during the debate over the bill to levy a stamp tax, noted that the best friends of America were all agreed on the necessity of upholding that power for "if they have not that Power over America, they have none, and then America is at once a Kingdom of itself."²⁷

Important though it was, nationalism was developing a base that was broader than the common sharing of one political principle. In the summer of 1775 Congress debated a proposal for reconciliation made by Lord North the preceding February. The British ministry proposed to substitute for the system of taxes an agreement whereby the colonies would vote annual gifts and these would be subject to the approval of Parliament. A committee headed by Thomas Jefferson drew up a report that made clear for all to see the issue behind the long debate over taxes. The report charged that Lord North's latest proposition "seems to have been held up

²⁶ Daniel Dulany, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, For the Purpose of raising a Revenue, by Act of Parliament* (Annapolis, 1765), p. 17.

²⁷ Mr. Ingersoll's *Letters Relating to the Stamp Act* (New Haven, 1766).

to the world, to deceive it into a belief that there was nothing in dispute between us but the mode of levying taxes. . . ." ²⁸ Behind the question of taxes lay the demand for a recognition of the colonial view that while they were loyal Britishers, they were entitled to equal and separate treatment.

The rise of nationalism is also evident in the appeal to history that found its way into so much of the American writing of the period. There were fewer references now to the glories of the struggle against the Stuarts and many more to the founding fathers, who left England when that country fell into ways of oppression. They had endured all sorts of miseries, starvation, the hard work of carving a home in the wilderness, battles with the treacherous Indians. Without any assistance from the government at home, they had built colonies that from the first brought both glory and wealth to the mother country. The first settlers had come in the hope that they would be able to enjoy the blessings of freedom. They had lived and labored in the expectation that the blessings of freedom would be the inheritance of their posterity. Now the heritage of the forefathers was being threatened.

The clergy invoked the lessons of history and reminded their listeners of their obligations to the freedom-loving and pious generation of pioneers. Often they went further and likened the Americans to the Israelites, the chosen people of God. Charles Chauncy, after tracing the great hardships endured by the forefathers, concluded:

In a word, our fathers, as they trusted in God, were favored with many deliverances from great dangers, and heavily pressing difficulties; and in manner, sometimes, peculiarly striking and surprising. Perhaps it cannot be said of any deliverance, wrought out for people, those excepted which God wrought out for his Israel of old, that they were more signally great and glorious than those, in which he made his arm bare for the salvation of our fathers in this land.²⁹

Chauncy went on to portray the decline that had taken place in England and the trials facing the Americans. "The restraints we are under as to the exercise of some of our rights and privileges are grievous"; he said, "and the more so, as they were the purchase of our fathers at the risque of every thing near and dear to them, their lives not excepted." ³⁰

The analogy of the Israelites was a popular one. The Reverend Judah Champion, of Litchfield, Connecticut, used as his text for two sermons the final words of Moses reminding his people "of the wonderful things

²⁸ Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, p. 96.

²⁹ Charles Chauncy, *Trust in God* (Boston, 1770), p. 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

God had done for them." Just as God had extended his compassionate regards and tokens of distinguishing respect to the offspring of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, so He had guided the founding fathers. "God took Abraham from his father's house, from his kindred and country;—sent him to set up God's true worship in a strange land." In the same manner, said the Litchfield clergyman, "the Almighty took our fathers from their native land, when the nation was in confusion, and they groaned under spiritual tyranny, being extremely harrass'd, some cast into prisons, others beset in their houses for worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, which was then prohibited."³¹

The sense that Americans were the chosen people of God, that he had guided them through the wilderness and made of them a great people was indeed an intoxicating idea, but it is an idea not uncommon in the history of nationalism.

There was something that can appropriately be called nationalism in the period prior to the Revolution. The attachment to the colony and, after the War for Independence, attachment to the state remained strong, but in the face of the challenge from London, the union of the colonies was nothing short of remarkable. Once the War for Independence had been won this intercolonial unity appeared to dissolve. The apparent absence of any concern for the Union in the immediate postwar years and even a willingness to see it disappear from history raises questions about the genuineness of the prewar article we have called nationalism.

That it should have flowered so luxuriantly under the stimulus of a foreign challenge and then wilted is only an indication that nationalism involves the innermost feelings and loyalties and is therefore subject to setbacks when the immediate stimulus is withdrawn. It is not achieved in a short span of years. The plant that seemed on the point of withering away after peace had been negotiated soon took on new life once the foreign challenge reappeared. Neither is the presence of a strong localism or the strife between vested interests inconsistent with the existence at the same time of national feeling. Few would deny that there is an American nationalism today simply because local, sectional or economic interests exhibit an undiminished vitality. It should also be noted that an essential ingredient of American nationalism was the idea of greater freedom for the individual. The absence of restraints encouraged both sectional and economic interests to flex their muscles.

³¹ Judah Champion, *A Brief View of the Distresses, Hardships, and Dangers Our Ancestors Encounter'd, In Settling New England—The Privileges We Enjoy, And Our Obligations Thence Arising; With Moral Reflections Thereupon* (Hartford, Conn., 1770).

DAVID FITELSON
Columbia University

Stephen Crane's *Maggie* and Darwinism

POSSIBLY THE MOST ARRESTING CRITICAL PROBLEM POSED BY STEPHEN CRANE'S first novel is that of the disposition of mind that lies behind and shapes it—the ideology, so to speak, that it communicates. The problem is especially arresting because this ideology has never been closely defined, although it is often alluded to as comprising Crane's early Naturalism. Of his ideological intentions in the novel, Crane himself has been gnomic. He observed on one occasion that "I had no other purpose in writing 'Maggie' than to show people to people as they seem to me,"¹ and on another that "[the purpose was] to show that environment is a tremendous thing in this world, and often shapes lives regardlessly."² The statements, I should think, are contradictory. Taken together, they are scarcely helpful.

The fact is that *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* has inserted itself in the American tradition in a peculiar fashion: it appears to have little connection with any native fiction that preceded it, and such influence as it may have had on works that came afterward is neither certain nor, in any case, very direct. The result over the years has been a sort of critical uneasiness about its being here at all: a great many more efforts have been made to attribute it—to explain it away—than actually to examine it, a development which can scarcely be blamed on the novel itself, since it is by no means a difficult piece of writing nor does it defy fruitful analysis.³

¹ Quoted in Thomas Beer, *Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters* (New York, 1923), pp. 140-41.

² Quoted in *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus*, ed. Robert Wooster Stallman (New York, 1952), p. xxxviii.

³ The abundance of irony in the novel might conceivably constitute a source of difficulty for some readers. V. L. Parrington (*Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. III: *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America* [New York, 1930], p. 328) called *Maggie* "the first ironical novel ever written by an American."

More than anything else, the failure of criticism to particularize stems from a reluctance to come to grips with the novel on its own terms. When it was first published, in 1893, its sordid materials and impersonal style led most reviewers to see it as little more than a fictionalized sociological study of the slums,⁴ and those critics who took note of the edition of 1896 were only slightly less unwilling to regard it as a novel.⁵ The characteristic early response was one of discomfort verging on shock, and in such circumstances the novel could hardly have been expected to receive systematic analysis.⁶

In the years that followed the publication of *Maggie*, *The Red Badge of Courage* grew to be an American classic. In the resulting waves of admiration for Crane as an Impressionist⁷ and a student of "the moral problem of conduct,"⁸ the relatively primitive attitudes of his first novel were lost from view—it was scarcely necessary to define the ideology of *Maggie* to recognize that, whatever it was, Crane had advanced a good way beyond it. Currently, although attention is again being directed to Crane's Naturalism (he is now generally considered to have been both an Impressionist and a Naturalist), it is more often the sources than the motives or content of that Naturalism that are examined.⁹

⁴ Thus Hamlin Garland in the *Arena* (VIII, June 1893, xi): "It is the voice of the slums . . . the most truthful and unhackneyed study I have yet read, fragment though it is." And William Dean Howells in the *New York Press* (April 15, 1894, p. xxxvii): "There is so much realism of a certain kind in it that unfits it for general reading, but once in a while it will do to tell the truth as completely as *Maggie* does."

⁵ The *Literary Digest* (XIII, August 8, 1896, 459) found it "more impressionistic than real" (Such a review may have been influenced by prior experience of an impressionistic Crane—possibly via *The Red Badge of Courage*, which had appeared in the *Philadelphia Press* in 1894 and in book form in 1895, and *Black Riders*, published in 1895.) but the *Nation* (LXIII, July 2, 1896, 15) was concerned that Crane's "types are mainly human beings of the order which makes us regret the power of literature to portray them," and in London, where *The Red Badge of Courage* had already made a considerable splash, the *Bookman* (II, October 1896, 19) was favorably disposed toward what was taken to be Crane's honesty: "Mr. Crane impresses us with the conviction that he tells the truth as he knows it."

⁶ It was not only his subject matter that led critics to confuse Crane's fiction with sociology and journalism, nor was it merely the "realism" of his style. *The Red Badge of Courage* is much less "clinical" than *Maggie*, yet for years after it appeared Crane was assumed by many to be a combat veteran.

⁷ See, for example, Willa Cather's introduction to *The Work of Stephen Crane*, ed. Wilson Follett, Vol. IX: *Wounds in the Rain* (New York, 1926), pp. ix-xiv. See also D. C. Aaron, "Stephen Crane," *Hudson Review*, IV (1951), 471-74, and Joseph Kwiat, "Stephen Crane and Painting," *American Quarterly*, IV (1952), 331-38.

⁸ See Joseph Conrad's introduction to Beer, p. 3.

⁹ In the case of *Maggie*, source-seeking has been focused almost exclusively on Zola's *L'Assomoir*. See Stallman, p. 6; John Berryman *Stephen Crane* (New York, 1951), p. 62; Lars Ahnebrink, in *The Beginnings of Naturalism in American Fiction* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 249-64; and Marcus Cunliffe, "Stephen Crane and the American Background of *Maggie*," *American Quarterly*, VII (1955), 31-44.

Luckily, *Maggie*, unlike most of the critical commentary engendered in its wake, provides considerable specific and reliable information about its ideology. In reading the novel, one discovers that Crane is presenting characters whose lives are rigidly circumscribed by what appear to be inexorable laws. These are unenchanted lives. Their fundamental condition is violence, and this fact seems to be neither haphazard nor peculiar, but reasonable and inevitable—a condition which must necessarily prevail because the world is *governed* by violence.

A world so governed provides certain clear guidelines for the way life is to be lived within it. To the degree that a character is aware of the nature of the world, and more particularly, to the degree that he conducts his life in accordance with that nature—to that degree will he be a survivor of violence and free from frustration. Moreover, since there are no meaningful alternatives to a life of violence, conventional notions of morality are without application. The world of the novel provides no distinction between right and wrong action—except insofar as right action is that which insures survival. Survival is, in effect, the way of morality, and therefore the plight of the heroine, Maggie herself, who is less violent than the others and unable to compete successfully for survival, is no occasion for sympathy. It is merely an instance of self-destruction and failure.¹⁰

Clearly, if all this is so, the world of this novel resembles nothing so much as the world of the jungle, and the pattern described by the lives of its characters is that of a primordial struggle for existence. Clearly, too, the law which chiefly governs this world is the law of the survival of the fittest. Now to recite, in this fashion, some of the more shopworn and tiresome rallying cries of “evolutionism” is to come substantially within reach of a definition of the novel’s ideology, for that ideology clearly corresponds to some form of evolutionary doctrine. But what is not yet clear, and what the balance of this paper will attempt to demonstrate, is that the disposition of mind that shapes the novel is closely allied with certain distinctive features of the Darwinian Idea.

That the evolutionism of *Maggie* is Darwinian rather than pre-Darwinian or non-Darwinian is not at all self-evident. The words “eat or be eaten” were spoken (and surely not for the first time) by Darwin’s

¹⁰ A radically opposed view of the novel’s moral structure is submitted by Max Westbrook, “Stephen Crane’s Social Ethic,” *American Quarterly*, XIV (1962), 587-96. Although seeming to share my conclusions about the world of the novel, Mr. Westbrook insists that the characters are not thereby deprived of ethical responsibility. The argument is interesting but it cannot be maintained without invoking narrative attitudes of “censure” and “implicit castigation,” which I do not think are really there.

grandfather.¹¹ Diderot, in his "Thoughts for Interpreting Nature," written in 1754, had propounded the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, and the actual phrase was introduced into literature by Herbert Spencer some ten years prior to the publication of *The Origin of Species*. Darwin himself credits Malthus' *Essay on Population* with first bringing to his attention the idea of life as a struggle.¹² Nevertheless, it was unmistakably Darwin who contributed the dramatically organized idea of evolution which functions in *Maggie*. Where Malthus had attributed the discrepancy between the increase in population and that in food production to beneficent Providence, the Darwinian notion of *Natural Selection* rendered all questions of life immediately susceptible of amoral interpretation—and it is the amorality of the life struggle that is most visibly characteristic of *Maggie*.

Even so, to identify the novel's ideology as Darwinian is not yet to be very precise. Darwinism is at best an enormously complicated idea, in its most inclusive sense comprised as much of various institutionalized responses to Darwin's theory as it is of the particulars of the theory itself—and the instability of those particulars, incidentally, is a matter of record.¹³ The species of Darwinism to which the world of *Maggie* conforms is, first of all, less "scientific" than it is popular, less investigative than it is speculative.¹⁴ (That this is so ought to remove the burden of having to establish that Crane really understood, or for that matter even read, Darwin.) Secondly, and more important, it is less—a lot less—optimistic than it is pessimistic. It is clearly not the same Darwinism that James J. Hill and John D. Rockefeller had in mind when they attributed the fortunes of large businesses to the survival of the fittest (although the forms are probably not as variant as Hill and Rockefeller would no

¹¹ Cited in Jacques Barzun, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner*, 2nd rev. ed. (Garden City, N. Y., 1958), p. 58.

¹² Cited in Barzun, p. 28.

¹³ Jacques Barzun (pp. 61-68), who considers Darwin's writings hesitant, ambiguous, obscure and self-contradictory, also notes that the precise nature of his theory varied significantly in the many revisions that were made of *The Origin of Species*. The point may be made with equal justice about *The Descent of Man*, in the final revision of which (2nd ed. revised and augmented [New York, 1898], p. 61) Darwin confesses to an increasing indecision about the factors causing evolution.

¹⁴ The distinction is neither idiosyncratic nor particularly modern. In 1873, twenty years before the appearance of *Maggie*, Louis Agassiz, the *éminence grise* of the American scientific resistance to evolution, was able to write that "'Natural selection,' 'struggle for existence,' 'survival of the fittest,' are equally familiar to those who do and those who do not understand them" ("Evolution and Permanence of Types," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXIII [1874], 95). In the same essay (p. 101) Agassiz found occasion to regret "that the young and ardent spirits of the day give themselves to speculation rather than to close and accurate investigation." From Agassiz's point of view, the writer of *Maggie* would, of course, have to be called a young and ardent spirit.

doubt have insisted). And it is less closely related still to the Darwinism which, ten years before the publication of *Maggie*, provided evidence to the *New Englander*, a conservative forum of clerical opinion, of scientific authority for the claims of theology.¹⁵ In clear distinction from these species, the Darwinism of *Maggie* harps insistently upon the odious comparison implied by the specter of man's ancestor as "a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in habits." It is a Darwinism dominated by what we are now generally inclined to regard—despite occasional demurrers from the Bible Belt—as an obsolete emphasis. That Darwin himself and, somewhat more emphatically, Huxley sought to make a distinction between the social creature, man, and the baser animals, whereby the "moral sense" of the former triumphed over his dedication to the struggle for existence, is irrelevant to the species of Darwinism to which the world of *Maggie* conforms. For in that world man is neither a "social" creature nor is he endowed with more than the least suspicion of a "moral sense." In the novel, as I shall attempt to show, Crane is not so much extending Darwin's notions of animal behavior to human society as he is reducing the conduct of human beings to the level of animal behavior.

As a novelist, Crane displays many of the techniques of a dramatist. In *Maggie* he is fundamentally an unfolders and manipulator of action. As an unfolders, he is rather conventionally the dramatist. The novel's organization is consistently scenic. Nothing that happens to the characters is unknown to the reader, who, positioned, as it were, across the footlights, has the entire breadth of the proscenium opening for a "fine central intelligence." It is as a manipulator that Crane is unique, and as a manipulator his principal technique is irony.

The unfolding of the drama, by means of description, statement and action, successfully conveys the novel's meaning—gets the point across. But it is the additional element of irony which gets it across in the particular manner that gives it its special force and which makes the reader constantly aware that a point is being made. The tale is told objectively. Crane is always an unfolders and a manipulator simultaneously, and it is this unity of method that finally insures that *Maggie* is a novel and not a thinly disguised Darwinistic tract.

To be specific, it is self-evident within the novel that violence is the predominant form of human communication. *Maggie* wounds her baby

¹⁵ "A fresh source of conviction is opened to our anticipations of immortality. It is the flattest inconsistency for an evolutionist to deny the probability of a higher future life." Cited in Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 14-15.

brother; her elder brother, Jimmie, wounds Maggie; Jimmie is wounded by their mother and father, who wound Maggie and battle with each other. Jimmie kicks his father, pummels his mother, fights with Maggie's seducer, Pete, who of course fights back. In the intervals of nonviolence nearly all of the major characters either boast of past battles or threaten new ones. As revealed dramatically this situation vividly conveys that here indeed is a jungle-like world. What informs the reader, however, that he is observing behavior not at all to be looked upon as exceptional—and on that account not at all to be condemned—is irony. If we look at the example of fighting, we see, as various characters from time to time point out, that this is not always a desirable activity. But why not? Certainly not for any "moral" reason. On one occasion Maggie complains, "Youse allus fightin', Jimmie, an' yeh knows it puts mudder out when yehs come home half dead, an' its like we'll all get a poundin'." ¹⁶ Another time, the father remonstrates with the mother: "When I come home nights I can't get no rest 'cause yer allus poundin' a kid" (p. 48). Later, the mother expresses herself to the father: "Why deh blazes don' cher try teh keep Jim from fightin'?" The father barks back: "Ah w'at's bitin' yeh. . . ." And the mother replies: "Because he tears 'is clothes yeh fool!" (p. 52). In each instance the reader is informed by means of irony that fighting is undesirable because it is inappropriate in some way to the demands of the speaker's survival.

Irony is employed in similar fashion and with particular effectiveness as a means of commenting on the relationship between Maggie and her mother, a relationship which displays Crane's concern to reduce human conduct to the animal level. Specifically, it is evident from the action that the monstrous harridan, Mary, is the sort of mother whose counterpart in the animal world eats her young: but once more irony is introduced to point out that her behavior is perfectly acceptable and entirely consistent with established "morality." Upon learning that Maggie has "gone teh d' devil," her mother, who has driven her into the streets, whispers to Jimmie: "Ah, who would t'ink such a bad girl could grow up in our fambly. . . . An' after all her bringin'-up an' what I tol her and talked wid her. . . ." (p. 77). And on Maggie's death we are confronted with the profound irony of the novel's final words, as this same mother screams in saintly judgment: "Oh, yes, I'll fergive her! I'll fergive her!" (p. 109).

In addition to such passages as these, in which the irony is woven into the fabric of the unfolding drama, there are numerous occasions on which

¹⁶ Stephen Crane, *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*, in Stallman, p. 47. All page references are to this text.

Crane injects isolated statements, images and actions which serve to reinforce one's conviction that the unseemly events being narrated are actually quite in keeping with the "morality" of the novel. An example may be found in the relentlessly objective turn taken by the narrative in treating of death and the continuity of the life surrounding it. In such passages as the two following there is almost the quality of natural history:

The babe, Tommie, died. He went away in an insignificant coffin, his small waxen hand clutching a flower that the girl, Maggie, had stolen from an Italian.

She and Jimmie lived (p. 54).

* * * * *

So, eventually he [Jimmie] felt obliged to work. His father died, and his mother's years were divided into periods of thirty days.

He became a truck-driver. (p. 55)

Another example is found in the rather loose pattern of animal associations which Crane uses to relate the world of *Maggie* to the lower levels of the struggle for existence. A few specific instances: Jimmie, when first encountered, is described as "fighting in the modes of four thousand years ago" (p. 46—depending, of course, on geography, this need not necessarily be construed as an animal association). The young Maggie "ate like a small pursued tigress" (p. 50). The neighbors comment on the battle between father and mother: "Ol' Johnson's playin' horse agin'" (p. 53). Pete admires a particularly belligerent monkey in a menagerie: "Ever after Pete knew that monkey by sight, and winked at him . . ." (p. 70). There is also a possible botanical association: "The girl, Maggie, blossomed in a mud-puddle. She grew to be a most rare and wonderful production of a tenement district, a pretty girl" (p. 58). While this last may appear promising for Maggie, her situation is somewhat analogous to that of a plant on the edge of a desert, for whom, as Darwin among others has suggested, survival is problematic at best.¹⁷ Finally, it scarcely need be emphasized that the persistent, reciprocal warfare among members of the family is more evocative of life in the animal kingdom than it is of the world of civilized man.

The degree to which life in the novel conforms to a pattern of violence which upholds survival as the only absolute value is astonishing. In *The Origin of Species*, Darwin, generalizing on the entire animal kingdom, writes: "as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with individuals of distinct species, or

¹⁷ *The Origin of Species*, Mentor ed. (New York, 1958), p. 75.

with the physical conditions of life."¹⁸ This proposition, in each of its particulars, is attested to by the lives of the characters in *Maggie*. The baby, Tommie, is a completely helpless creature, quite unable even to begin the struggle. He is weeded out in infancy. Of the phenomenon illustrated by his death, Darwin writes: "heavy destruction inevitably falls either on the young or old, during each generation or at recurrent intervals,"¹⁹ and: "Eggs or very young animals seem generally to suffer most."²⁰ The death of Maggie's father is the palpable result of his defeat in a most particular struggle with a member of his own species, his wife: "In the quarrel between husband and wife the woman was victor" (p. 49). It is the result also of a more generalized struggle (in which all of the characters participate, as residents of "a tenement district") with the physical conditions of life.

The life of Maggie's mother is the perpetual struggle of a middle-class jungle denizen, an animal not to be ranked among the fittest, but capable of swallowing many others before being swallowed itself, and with a nerve-racking ability to stay just out of reach of the fitter beasts. She survives in part by virtue of what Darwin has helpfully called "diversity," the ability to adopt "variations" which "from whatever cause proceeding, if they be in any degree profitable to the individuals of a species, in their infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to their physical conditions of life, will tend to the preservation of such individuals."²¹ Her ironically portrayed capacity for self-delusion, by which, as we have seen, she sanctifies her villainy, is certainly one of these variations, as is her apparently successful employment of the story of Maggie's downfall to excuse her drunkenness—on forty-two occasions—to the police. The greatest element in her survival, however, is not so much a matter of diversity as it is the functioning of an enormously powerful will to survive, perhaps best illustrated by the scene in which, fiercely drunk and barely able to keep her feet, she is surrounded by a group of taunting youths—much as a wounded elk might be encircled by a wolf pack—and summons almost magically the strength to reach her lair unscathed.

The most eloquent display of diversity in *Maggie* belongs to Jimmie. Soundly reared in a climate of familial antagonism, he enters manhood with a clear understanding of the nature of reality. "He studied human nature in the gutter, and found it no worse than he thought he had reason to believe it. He never conceived a respect for the world, because he had begun with no idols that it had smashed" (p. 54). Strength and fearlessness he discovered to be the equipment of survival; weakness, he

¹⁸ P. 75.

¹⁹ *The Origin of Species*, p. 77.

²⁰ *The Origin of Species*, p. 78.

²¹ *The Origin of Species*, p. 74.

found, was displayed not merely by those beneath him, but also by those apparently above him: "To him fine raiment was allied to weakness, and all good coats covered faint hearts. He and his order were kings, to a certain extent, over the men of untarnished clothes, because these latter dreaded perhaps to be either killed or laughed at" (p. 55). He explicitly recognizes the significance of the struggle for existence and his own role in it. The "creatures" of the world "were all trying to take advantage of him," and it thus became necessary "to quarrel on all possible occasions" (p. 56). As a truck driver he came to look with contempt upon passenger-carrying streetcars. These he characterizes as "bugs," while pedestrians are "pestering flies." They are his prey, and he is the "common prey of all energetic officials" (pp. 56-57). The one thing in the world that he admires is a fire engine drawn by "leaping horses" and capable of overturning a streetcar: a mighty symbol of animal power, the fittest, perhaps, of the beasts. Like his mother he is always able to adopt such variations as may become necessary to justify his behavior. For a time he finds it difficult to reconcile his denunciation of Maggie and his attack on Pete, her seducer, with his own rejection of the woman he has himself seduced. But the moral dilemma is of brief duration, and the difficulty largely vanishes as he discovers that fighting with Pete on behalf of Maggie is wasteful since unrelated to his own struggle—to the demands of which nothing must be sacrificed: just before the fight, Jimmie's anonymous comrade in arms remonstrates: "Gee! What's d' use?" (pp. 78-79). When the fight is broken up and a policeman collars his comrade, Jimmie, starting to go to the rescue, changes his mind. "Ah," he says, "what's d' use?" (p. 84). The lesson is well learned. Subsequently, upon being visited by the fleeting notion that Maggie "would have been more firmly good had she better known how" (p. 89), he immediately recognizes the compromise involved in maintaining such a viewpoint. "He threw it hastily aside" (p. 89). The irony here is of course that "learning the lesson" consists simply in reverting to a more primitive level of behavior.

In our first meetings with Pete it appears that he is in all respects a perfect example of one destined to survive. But actually, as we soon discover, he is possessed of a fatal ambivalence of attitude. Although he has been to some extent Jimmie's teacher in the ways of the jungle and has the physical prowess to enable him, even more than Jimmie, to withstand the hazards of the struggle, his devotion to the cause of his survival has led him into an aberration—an "unprofitable variation": concern for the regard of others and for an external standard by which to measure his behavior. Unlike Jimmie and Jimmie's mother, Pete cannot adopt the variations necessary to provide his own justifications for his actions, and thereby achieve self-sufficiency. When he fails to win a goodnight kiss

from Maggie on their first date he reflects to himself with far greater concern than is healthy: "Gee . . . I wonner if I've been played fer a duffer" (p. 68). And later, after Maggie's death, stricken by an emotion suspiciously resembling guilt, he feels obliged to entertain a party of prostitutes from whom he drunkenly requests frequent assurances that "I'm goo' f'ler" (pp. 103-6). That such behavior is entirely inimical to survival is fully demonstrated by his guests of the evening, who lose no time making for the exit when he finally drinks himself to the floor. "The women screamed in disgust and drew back their skirts. 'Come ahn,' cried one, starting up angrily, 'let's get out of here'" (p. 106). Once again the irony is quite apparent. It becomes doubly so here, since it generally requires a rodent or an insect to affect ladies in this manner, and on this occasion the ladies in question are not really ladies at all.

It should be emphasized that regardless of the degree to which each succeeds in the struggle for existence, all of the characters thus far discussed, with the exception of the baby, recognize with great constancy both the absolute value of survival and the certainty that the struggle is the sole path to its maintenance. In the specific tale of Maggie's downfall Crane comments on this certainty by presenting the case of one who attempts to remain aloof from the struggle. It is not that Maggie totally fails to recognize the nature of the world, but that her vision is a dual one. When first encountered she is engaged in what might be termed the brutal performance of an act of compassion: we see her leading the baby, Tommie, small and bedraggled, through the press of a crowded street, now jerking on his arm so that he falls, now jerking him upright. The act of compassion—the leading of the child—belongs to a world which is related to the novel only through its appearance in Maggie's dreams and in the procession of make-believe images that she comes to witness in her brief life. It is a world in which there is love and in which people depend upon and assume responsibility for one another—a world much like the one that Darwin projected for highly civilized, "social" man.²² The brutality that characterizes the act of compassion belongs to the actual world in which Maggie must live, in which survival is the sole absolute value, and the struggle the one path to survival.

In what may be called the four stages of her journey through the novel, the poles of her dual vision compete irregularly for Maggie's belief. In the first stage, that of childhood, she is a realist, fashioning her image of the world from the object lessons to which she is daily exposed. The actual world is brought very close. The other world is a vague possibility on the fringe of consciousness, reinforced during these early years by the

²² See *The Descent of Man*, pp. 98-129.

single incident—and it receives ironic treatment—of her acquiring a flower for Tommie's burial. Her tentative profferings of affection and compassion are rejected by Jimmie, and she of course receives no affection or compassion, either from him or from her miserable, drunken mother and father. It is therefore only to be expected that in her growing up she should become inured to "a world of hardships and insults" (p. 63). The object lessons have done their job.

But as she begins the second stage of her journey, now grown to womanhood, there persists together with her awareness of the actual world a sense of the possibility of escape to the other world. Thus her fashioning of a lambequin, a pathetic symbol of beauty, an attempt at adorning her life and changing her world. Thus, too, her envy of "elegance and soft palm" (p. 68), her craving for "adornments of person" (p. 68), and her aspiration to the "culture and refinement" she sees on the stage (p. 72).

In her idealization of Pete, Maggie attempts to unite the poles of her dual image: "Here was a formidable man who disdained the strength of the world full of fists. Here was one who had contempt for brass-clothed power; one whose knuckles could ring defiantly against the granite of law" (p. 62). Pete is admired because he represents a promise both of the possibility of escape and of the power to deal with the world of hardships and insults on its own terms. He leads Maggie to a galaxy of make-believe images: to cabarets, museums, a freak-show, and particularly to theaters, where "the poor and virtuous eventually overcame the wealthy and wicked"—while a choir sang "Joy to the World" (pp. 71-72). But Pete is equally Maggie's champion in the actual world. There were "people who were afraid of him" (p. 63), and he is capable of translating into action her silent wish to "see somebody entangle their fingers in the oily beard of the fat foreigner" (p. 69)—the owner of the sweatshop in which she works.

In the third stage of her journey Maggie suddenly loses all contact with the actual world. Unable to bear any longer the misery of her life at home, particularly the ill use she suffers at the hands of her mother, she gives herself physically to Pete, and from the moment she is accepted by him her sense of the possibility of escape to the other world dominates her awareness of the world in which she is condemned to live. She speaks to Pete of love, comes to depend on him, puts her life into his charge. "She imagined a future rose-tinted because of its distance from all that she had experienced before" (p. 85). She actually adopts refinements ("unprofitable variations"), shrinking from physical contact with the painted women whose ranks she will soon enter (again, irony at work).

When Pete leaves her, which he does as casually as a sated stallion, Maggie is not, as might be expected, jolted back to her vision of the actual

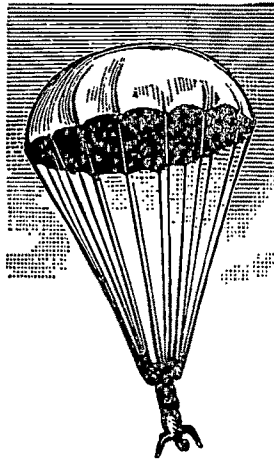
world. She is now too thoroughly committed to her yearning for the other to do anything but increase desperately her efforts to reach it. Thus she goes home on a fool's errand to seek forgiveness from her mother and Jimmie. When they scornfully send her on her way she seeks out Pete and attempts to make him accept responsibility for the charge she has put in his hands. When he tells her to "go to hell!" (p. 99) she goes instead in search of the "grace of God" (p. 100), and it is only when she has been rebuffed by the anonymous gentleman of "the chaste black coat"—whom she has chosen to symbolize that grace—that she appears to end her search.

In the fourth stage of her journey Maggie at first appears to have returned with a vengeance to her vision of the actual world. At last, it would seem, she has come to accept the certainty that its laws are inexorable, and in conducting her life in accordance with those laws (it is of particular interest that she has chosen to make capital of animal necessity) she appears to have been eminently successful. We observe that she is well-dressed and expert at least in the preliminary techniques of her newly adopted profession, and we can only conclude that she has made a success of it. But then we suddenly find that all is not as it appears, that what actually confronts us in this remarkable reversal of vision and behavior is another instance of irony. For Maggie, as we now see, has retained a fatal measure of her vision of the other world, and it now appears to her unreasoning consciousness that escape to it can be accomplished only by means of a forcible exit from the actual one. Consequently, on a rainy night, with business slack, she jumps in the river and drowns.

In another novel Maggie's action might have been a symbolic triumph for her vision of the other world, and palpable evidence of the possibility of escape from control by the laws governing the actual one. Indeed, it might perhaps seem that she has beaten the system, for there are very few animals in the uncivilized state of sufficient will to take their own lives. But the final irony is that Maggie's illusion—unlike those of her mother and brother—is unprofitable; it substitutes for the absolute value of survival. The most incredible self-deception, as we have seen, is perfectly all right—that is, useful—as long as it comprises a profitable variation and thereby aids in a successful prosecution of the struggle. In Maggie's case, however, since it serves to remove her from the struggle, illusion is an unprofitable variation; and we are left to conclude not only that Crane envisions no haven on the other side of Maggie's watery grave, but also that by her action she has contravened the "morality" of life.

Maggie's story is, of course, a very sad one, and it is perhaps shocking to think that Crane is out of sympathy with her ill-fortune. But clearly he is; or rather the matter of sympathy is irrelevant to his scheme for the

novel. He has attained sufficient objectivity to be rid of the necessity—indeed of the opportunity—for judgment, and *Maggie*, examined on its own terms, offers no suggestion of alternatives to the struggle for existence as the single appropriate metaphor for the life of human beings. In the world order of this novel, either one's life conforms to the demands of the struggle, or it is extinguished. There are no exceptions, and we have no cause to suspect that there could be any. Thus can the Naturalism of *Maggie* be identified as a rigorous, Darwinistic determinism, and a denial, if not of the existence of a world beyond, of man's ability to contact it.



MODY C. BOATRIGHT

University of Texas

The American Rodeo

IN 1880 HE WOULD HAVE BEEN A HARDY SOUL INDEED WHO PREDICTED THAT in the first half of the next century the cowboy would become the leading American folk hero. For at that time he was known, if known at all outside the region he frequented, at best as a provincial rustic and at worst as a ruffian and a thief and a murderer. How he attained his present status is a complicated story, only a single chapter of which will be attempted here.

One of the most effective means by which the cowboy established a favorable image of himself was by the public exhibitions of his occupational skills, skills hitherto unknown to Europeans and Eastern Americans. The range cattle industry, out of which these skills developed, had been established in the southern tip of Texas by Mexican rancheros, from whom the Anglo Texans borrowed the equipment and techniques for handling wild longhorn cattle by men on horseback. Basic to this equipment was the rope (*lasso, lariat, reata*), and a strong saddle with a horn to serve as a snubbing post. A highly skilled roper, who could catch an animal by the horns, neck, forefeet, hindfeet or any single foot named, was much admired. Admired too was his horse, which knew exactly what to do when he found a steer or a bull on the other end of the rope.

These horses had not been brought up as pets. Whether they were captured mustangs or horses raised on the ranch, they had been allowed to run on the range until mature. When first ridden they invariably tried to unseat their riders by a series of violent movements called pitching (bucking in the Northwest). Since pitching was peculiar to the range horse of the Americas, the contest between horse and rider had a novel fascination for those unaccustomed to range life. It has an equal (though not novel) fascination for the range men themselves, for whenever broncs were to be ridden cowboys and vaqueros gathered to see the show and to shout derision or encouragement.

It was inevitable that sooner or later shows would be staged both to determine championships and to delight the crowd. One such contest was witnessed by Mayne Reid in Santa Fe in June 1847. To a friend in Ireland he wrote:

This round-up is a great time for the cow hands, a Donnybrook fair it is indeed. They contest with each other for the best roping and throwing, and there are horse races and whisky and wines.¹

In a bronc riding contest held in Deer Trail, Colorado, on July 4, 1869, a cowboy named Gardenshire, lately from England, by riding a famous outlaw horse known as Montana Blizzard, won first prize and the praise of a newspaper reporter, who described the performance in some detail and called it "a magnificent piece of horsemanship."²

Perhaps earlier than the Deer Trail competition was a more elaborate one held in San Antonio, and reported by John Duval in a book of which he says all the events happened, though not necessarily to the persons or in the sequence represented.³ Participating were "Comanche warriors, decked out in their savage finery," Texas "rangers" and "a few Mexican rancheros, dressed in their steeple crown, broad brim sombreros, showy scarfs and 'slashed' trousers, holding gracefully in check the fiery mustangs on which they were mounted."⁴

Some of the events, such as picking up objects from the ground, shooting at targets from horses running at full speed, riding hanging by one leg from the saddle and firing under the horse's neck, were related to border warfare and the protection of herds. But it was the bronc riding that Duval found the most "interesting and exciting of them." Each contestant saddled his own horse in the ring without assistance. The winner was a ranger named McMullen, whose mount, "snorting and absolutely screaming with rage and terror, gave one tremendous bound, and then darted off at headlong speed across the prairie."

At length, frantic with rage and fright, the horse reared straight up, and threw himself backward upon the ground. A cry of horror broke from the lips of the spectators, for every one supposed that McMullen would be crushed to death by the weight of his steed; but he was on the "qui vive" and sprang from under him just in time to save himself, and the moment the horse rose to his feet, we saw him seated again

¹ Quoted in *Rodeo de Santa Fe, Official Program* (1950), p. 35; and in Clifford P. Wistermeier, *Trailing The Cowboy* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1950), p. 344.

² *Denver Field and Farm*, July 8, 1869, quoted by Wistermeier, *Trailing the Cowboy*, p. 345.

³ The description occurs in *The Young Explorers*, serialized in *Burke's Magazine for Boys and Girls*, 1870-71, and published as a part of the book *Early Time in Texas* (Austin, 1892). In the Preface (p. 10) Duval says, "The scenes and incidents described in the second part of the book are also true though not occurring just as stated, for I have connected them together in a continuous narrative (in which several fictitious characters have been introduced), because I thought they would be more likely to interest a reader in that form than they would if told in disconnected fragments." His fictitious characters are spectators at the contest.

⁴ *Early Times in Texas*, pp. 73-74.

in the saddle as calm and composed as though he were bestriding the gentlest hack that ever bore a country curate to his church.⁵

In view of the enthusiastic admiration they elicited, as well as the business they brought to town, it was to be expected that roping and riding contests would be staged throughout the cattle country. Those held before 1890 include the following: Austin, Texas, 1883; Pecos, Texas, 1883; San Antonio, 1883; Galveston, 1883; Mobeetie, Texas, 1884; Miles City, Montana, 1885; Albuquerque, 1886; Denver, 1887; Montrose, Colorado, 1887; San Antonio, 1888; Prescott, Arizona, 1888; Canadian, Texas, 1888; San Angelo, Texas, 1889.⁶

The Pecos contest, held on July 4, 1883, was staged to settle a long dispute among the ranch hands about which outfit had the best ropers. The news spread rapidly, and soon the town was overcrowded with people.

Cash prizes were posted, and the leading ropers from each ranch were selected. Morgan Livingston of the NA ranch took first money, and Trav Windham second. There was a barbecue, and the town was crowded with people. Business was booming, especially around the saloons.⁷

Exactly one year before the Pecos contest a celebration had been held at North Platte, Nebraska, that initiated a series of events that was to bring the cowboy and his skills before millions in America and Europe. The ranchmen of that region decided to celebrate the Fourth of July with an "Old Glory Blowout" and appointed William Cody to get it up. Under the name of Buffalo Bill, Cody was already famous as a scout and stage actor whose role was to play himself in a melodrama of variant forms, but always involving Indians, cowboys, scouts and frontiersmen, a lost maiden and comic relief.⁸ As he had long felt the need of a larger stage, he welcomed the opportunity. "I got out some handbills," he said later, "and sent them to all the ranches around for hundreds of miles and advertized in the papers that prizes would be given for some fancy cowboy stunts."⁹ He expected about a hundred cowboys and a thousand responded.¹⁰ To the cowboy events he added the attack on the Deadwood

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Westermeier, *Trailing the Cowboy*, pp. 344-76; Mary Lucille Deaton, "The History of the Rodeo" (Master's thesis, University of Texas, 1952).

⁷ Reprinted in *The Cattleman*, XXIV (December 1942), 64.

⁸ Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (New York, 1955), p. 156.

⁹ Richard J. Walsh and Milton S. Salsbury, *The Making of Buffalo Bill* (Indianapolis, 1926), p. 217.

¹⁰ Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman, Okla., 1960), p. 290.

stagecoach by Indians (He had used real Indians on the stage.), horse races, shooting contests and a drive of a small herd of buffalo.¹¹ The attendance was gratifying. "North Platte had the biggest crowd it has ever had before or since."¹² "I tried it out on my neighbors," Cody said "and they lived through it and liked it. I made up my mind I'd take the show East."¹³

For three decades Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was to tour America and Europe and to bring the cowboy before millions and to win approval of the ranking military brass of both continents, the sporting plutocracy and the peerage and royalty of Europe, that is, of the taste makers of the era.¹⁴

The cowboys were not the whole of Cody's show. The program varied in detail from time to time, but the constant features were the reenactment of such events from Western history as an Indian attack on the Deadwood stage, a wagon train or a settler's cabin, or "Custer's Last Stand"; and displays of marksmanship and horsemanship.

The cowboys played various roles in these and in special events in addition to those in which they exhibited their own peculiar skills. As Buffalo Bill's faithful retainers they repulsed Indian attacks and fought in the Battle of the Little Big Horn, with Buck Taylor, "the King of the Cowboys" playing their role of Custer.¹⁵ Johnny Baker, "The Cowboy Kid," along with Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill, did exhibition shooting,¹⁶ and in England Antonio Esquivel, "Champion Vaquero," riding Western ponies, won a relay race and five hundred pounds in competition with a British rider on thoroughbreds. His victory was attributed not to the superiority of his ponies, but to his greater agility in changing mounts.¹⁷

But the cowboys shone particularly in the portion of the program assigned to them. From the first performance to the last a section of the program, often billed under the title of "Cowboy Fun" was exclusively theirs. The events included picking up objects from the ground, roping, steer wrestling and "riding the buckers."¹⁸ These latter were not always the property of the show, for wherever he went Cody extended an invitation to all who had unmanageable horses to bring them in to be ridden. One of the several to accept the challenge was the Italian nobleman the Duke of Sermonuta, whose stallions had defied all efforts of his men to tame them. Two were brought in and turned loose in the ring before

¹¹ Sell and Weybright, p. 133.

¹² Walsh and Salsbury, p. 170.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁴ Russell, pp. 324-32; Sell and Weybright, pp. 177 ff.

¹⁵ Sell and Weybright, p. 156.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹⁷ Russell, p. 340.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

twenty thousand spectators. A New York *Herald* correspondent reported, "The brutes made springs into the air, darted hither and thither in all directions, but all in vain. In five minutes the cowboys had caught the wild horses, saddled, subdued, and bestrode them. Then the cowboys rode them around the arena while the dense crowd applauded with delight." ¹⁹

The American cowboy was taking his place among the great horsemen of the world. Among the prominent Americans to express their admiration were Theodore Roosevelt and Mark Twain. The journalists also sang the praises of Buffalo Bill's cowboys. A New York *World* reporter who saw the show in 1886 particularly admired Buck Taylor, "who can stand in the path of any Mexican steer and turn it over by the horns." ²⁰ The response of the London press was enthusiastic. The London *Era* quoted Henry Irving (soon to be knighted) as saying the show, which he had seen in America, was "an entertainment in which the whole of the most interesting episodes of life on the extreme frontier of civilization in America are expressed. . . . You have real cowboys with bucking horses, real buffaloes, great herds of steers, which are loosened and stampeded in the most realistic fashion imaginable. Then there are Indians who execute attacks on coaches driven full speed. No one can exaggerate the extreme excitement and 'go' of the whole performance." ²¹

A reporter from the London *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* found all the excitement Irving had promised; and watching a cowboy perform, he was inspired to comment upon the paradox of wickedness as a virtue.

Some six or eight skinsful of iniquity are successfully dealt with, amongst them the well known mare Dynamite. This is a fiend. Born a buck-jumper, and encouraged in her wickedness from a foal, she humps her back like an angry tom-cat, rises from the ground with her head between her hoofs, her legs stiff as the area railings, and comes down with a diabolical jerk, and at that uncomfortable angle which implies to the ordinary good rider, not only a peremptory notice to quit, but an implication to migrate to the adjoining parish. Her squeal is of itself sinful; it approaches bad language as near as a horse ever got. . . . Happy creature! Appreciated only on account of her perversity; valuable in direct proportion to her viciousness. What a delightful world it would be, and to what high office might we aspire in it, if a similarly inverted code of human morality prevailed amongst us.²²

¹⁹ Quoted by Sell and Weybright, p. 181, and by Russell, p. 352.

²⁰ Sell and Weybright, p. 151.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Another London newspaper reporter was hardly less restrained in an account of another performance of this same mare, ridden by Jim Mitchell.

She made a headlong dash and plunged with all her force into a fence, turned completely over head first and apparently falling upon the rider. . . . Poor Jim was dragged out, bleeding and maimed, and led away. What was the astonishment of the multitude, when the other refractory animals had had their sport, to see Dynamite led out, and the cowboy, limping and pale, come forward to make another attempt to ride her. . . . For fifteen minutes the fight went on between man and beast. . . . The cowboy got upon her back by some super-human skill, and then he was master.²³

Exhibitions of this sort and eyewitness accounts of them must have had a powerful influence in altering the public image of the cowboy. The millions who saw men like Buck Taylor, Jim Lawson, Jim Mitchell, William (Bronco Bill) Irving, Johnny Baker, Antonio Esquivel and José Rozzalo perform did not readily associate them with the outlawry of the Texas border of the 1830s and 1840s, nor with cattle rustling and murder in Arizona in the early 1880s.

As the twentieth century moved toward its second decade, it became obvious that the traveling Wild West show with its tremendous overhead was doomed. When Buffalo Bill failed, it was hardly to be expected that Pawnee Bill (Gordon William Lillie), Zack Miller, Tom Mix or Tim McCoy could long succeed. One reason for their failure was the rise of the motion picture, which in spite of its early crudeness and frequent disregard of historical accuracy, could present most western themes with greater verisimilitude than was possible in the arena. Cody's Pony Express rider, for example, attracted much favorable comment. But the audience knew he was riding in Erastina Park, Staten Island, or Earl's Court, London, not in the Nevada desert. But in the presentation of the cowboy events, the advantage was in favor of the arena. The men, the horses and cattle were physically present, and there was always suspense about the outcome. The cowboys had a saying: "There never was a horse that couldn't be rode; there never was a man that couldn't be throwed." Sometimes Dynamite won.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s more and more western communities began staging riding and roping contests at recurrent intervals.²⁴ After the First World War entrepreneurs began promoting contests, for which they selected the Spanish term rodeo (roundup). Some of the promoters

²³ Russell, p. 321.

²⁴ For the history of the rodeo see C. P. Westermeier, *Man, Beast, Dust* (Denver, 1947).

were dishonest,²⁵ and to prevent the frauds they practiced was one purpose that led to the organization of the Rodeo Association of America in 1929 (later the International Rodeo Association), to be followed soon by the Cowboy's Association of America.

Besides formulating and enforcing a code of ethics, these organizations prescribe minute rules governing all contests, obviously necessary when championships are awarded on the basis of points accumulated in a series of contests. In bronc riding, for example, the rules specify not only the length of time the rider must remain on the horse, but the kind of saddle and headgear he can use, the hand in which the rein must be held, the position of the other hand and how the horse is to be spurred. The associations have also arranged circuits so that a performer can participate in many local contests, and, if his score is good enough, take part in the grand finale in Madison Square Garden. The skills displayed there have little relation to the cowwork on a ranch of the present day. Rodeo performing is now a professional sport.

It is a professional sport, however, that grew out of the daily labor of the cowboy of the nineteenth century. An older equestrian sport which had no relation to work has passed away. The tournament, as it was called, made its appearance in the Old South, significantly, soon after the publication of Scott's *Ivanhoe* in 1819, and spread as far west as Texas. It was modeled upon the tournament of Elizabethan England, where knights like Sir Philip Sidney tilted in the lists, not in serious combat, but to display their horsemanship. The tournament course in America was two hundred yards long. Beginning fifty yards from the starting line and spaced fifty yards apart were three posts with horizontal arms, from each of which was suspended a metal ring about two inches in diameter. The object of the contestant was to catch on a wooden spear as many rings as he could while riding at a dead run. (He would be disqualified if he failed to make a specified speed.) Each contestant made three runs, but the second run was not made until all contestants ran the first, and so with the third. This arrangement added suspense and permitted the horses to rest between runs. First, second and third winners were declared.²⁶

The tournament was chiefly valued for the ceremonial accompanying it and the ball that followed. The contestants were called knights, and each entered under a name chosen by himself. Those who took part in one tournament held in Virginia in pre-Civil War times were listed as follows: The Knight of *Ivanhoe*, The Knight of The Lone Star, The Knight of Waverly, The Knight of The Old Dominion, The Knight of Mephisto-

²⁵ Westermeier, *Man, Beast, Dust*, pp. 62, 96.

²⁶ J. Frank Dobie, "The Tournament in Texas," *Texas Folklore Publication V* (Austin, 1926), pp. 93-103.

pheles and The Knight of The Potomac. Though the custom was not universal these knights wore masks, and although they were probably known to the spectators, their identities were supposed to be secret until after the contest. Like the knights of other tournaments of the time, they wore elaborate costumes. The Knight of Ivanhoe had on "what was intended to represent a coat of mail," and the Knight of Mephistopheles was dressed in "black and scarlet, with horns and a tail that provoked wild merriment."²⁷ The horses were decorated with ribbons and rosettes. Each knight was dedicated to a lady, whose favor he often wore. When the last run had been made the contestants drew up in a semicircle, and first, second and third prizes were awarded by a master of ceremonies selected for his oratorical achievements. In florid style he praised all the contestants for "their prowess and devotion to the service of beauty."²⁸ The winners received their trophies, usually wreath, and humbly presented them to their ladies. The lady chosen by the winner of first place became the Queen of Love and Beauty at the ball.

It is apparent that the tournament was related to the European tradition of courtly love and that in America it celebrated the myth of the feudal South. The time would come when the myth could not sustain the ritual and the ritual could not sustain the myth, and the tournament would be an anachronism unrelated to the American experience. The horsemen of America fought to extend their domain and to protect the property and the lives of themselves and their families. A mystic sublimation of sexual love played little part in their efforts. The tournament would pass away.

The rodeo would persist even in a machine age. Almost from the beginning of their national existence Americans had been searching for a past, for a key to their history, for a concept that would make America more than an appendage of England. The fame of frontier folk heroes like Boone, Crockett and Carson, and of Leather Stocking and his successors in fiction, led them to find this key in their mythicized frontier experience, a key confirmed, it was thought, by Turner and his successors. Within this century, thanks to the mass media, the cowboy would become the popular symbol of the American frontier. The rodeo would survive. It would survive by becoming a ritual in which, on the obvious level, the last frontiersman, the cowboy, or, more accurately, a man in ceremonial garb representing him, re-enacts the conquest of the West, and on a deeper level symbolizes man's conquest of nature.

²⁷ Mrs. Sally McCarty Pleasants, *Old Virginia Days and Ways: Reminiscences of Mrs. Sally McCarty Pleasants*, edited by her daughter, Lucy Lee Pleasants (Menasha, Wis., 1916), p. 159.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

JOHN CLENDENNING
San Fernando Valley State College

Piety and Imagery in Edward Taylor's "The Reflexion"

IN THE MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS SINCE THOMAS H. JOHNSON PUBLISHED his edition of *The Poetical Works*, Edward Taylor has been the subject of several scholarly quarrels.¹ To some critics, Taylor was a typical Puritan; others have found him rather inclined to Catholicism. Some have seen in his poems a poor imitation of the metaphysical style; others have argued that Taylor possessed an original genius of a high order. Instead of abating, the interest which caused these controversies and grew out of them has reached a climax, as evidenced by recent studies that ensure our confidence in the text and provide us with a critical synthesis.² But these alone, though indispensable, are not sufficient. We now need a deepened understanding of particular poems, a task which few of Taylor's critics have adequately attempted.

"The Reflexion" seems particularly in need of a close reading.³ Though a popular selection of anthologists, it has attracted detailed critical comment only from Austin Warren, who examined no more than two stanzas.⁴ Warren, to be sure, gave us a sense of the poem's compression, its integration of metaphors, its ambiguity, its ecstatic tone. But the poem, taken as a whole, is even more satisfying, for in "The Reflexion" Taylor embodied his Puritan theology in a verse of remarkable quality.

¹ *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor* (New York, 1939).

² *The Poems of Edward Taylor*, ed. Donald E. Stanford (New Haven, 1960)—hereafter cited as *The Poems*; Norman S. Grabo, *Edward Taylor* (New Haven, 1961); Edward Taylor, *Christographia*, ed. Norman S. Grabo (New Haven, 1962).

³ *The Poems*, pp. 14-15. Reprinted from *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson, by permission of Princeton University Press. Copyright © 1939 by Rocklands Editions. Copyright © 1943 by Princeton University Press.

⁴ Austin Warren, "Edward Taylor's Poetry: Colonial Baroque," *Kenyon Review*, III (Summer 1941), 369-70.

THE REFLEXION

Lord, art thou at the Table Head above
 Meat, Med'cine, sweetness, sparkling Beautys to
 Enamour Souls with Flaming Flakes of Love,
 And not my Trencher, nor my Cup o'reflow?
 Be n't I a bidden Guest? Oh! sweat mine Eye.
 Oreflow with Teares: Oh! draw thy fountains dry.

 Shall I not smell thy sweet, oh! Sharons Rose?
 Shall not mine Eye salute thy Beauty? Why?
 Shall thy sweet leaves their Beautious sweets upclose?
 As halfe ashamde my sight should on them ly?
 Woe's me! for this my sighs shall be in grain
 Offer'd on Sorrows Altar for the same.

 Had not my Soule's thy Conduit, Pipes stopt bin
 With mud, what Ravishment would'st thou Convey?
 Let Graces Golden Spade dig till the Spring
 Of tears arise, and cleare this filth away.
 Lord, let thy spirit raise my sighings till
 These Pipes my soule do with thy sweetness fill.

 Earth once was Paradise of Heaven below
 Till inkefac'd sin had it with poyson stockt
 And Chast this Paradise away into
 Heav'ns upmost Loft, and it in Glory Lockt.
 But thou, sweet Lord, hast with thy golden Key
 Unlockt the Doore, and made, a golden day.

 Once at thy Feast, I saw thee Pearle-like stand
 'Tween Heaven, and Earth where Heavens Bright glory all
 In streams fell on thee, as a floodgate and,
 Like Sun Beams through thee on the World to Fall.
 Oh! sugar sweet then! my Deare sweet Lord, I see
 Saints Heavens-lost Happiness restor'd by thee.

 Shall Heaven, and Earth's bright Glory all up lie
 Like Sun Beams bundled in the sun, in thee?
 Dost thou sit Rose at Table Head, where I
 Do sit, and Carv'st no morsell sweet for mee?
 So much before, so little now! Sprindge, Lord,
 Thy Rosie Leaves, and me their Glee afford.

 Shall not thy Rose my Garden fresh perfume?
 Shall not thy Beauty my dull Heart assaile?
 Shall not thy golden gleams run through this gloom?
 Shall my black Velvet Mask thy fair Face Vaile?
 Pass o're my Faults: shine forth, bright sun: arise
 Enthroned thy Rosy-selfe within mine Eyes.

The suspicions which critics have raised concerning Taylor's alleged heterodoxy have been adequately refuted; Grabo's succinct conclusion—"Edward Taylor was a typical Puritan"—seems likely to prevail.⁵ Stanford agrees: "The evidence of Taylor's poetry, sermons, notes on divinity, and profession of faith in the Church 'Records,' as well as of his lifelong pastorship of the Westfield Church unmarked, as far as we know, by any deviations on his part from orthodox theology or church polity, indicates that he was completely in accord with the Calvinistic beliefs of his time."⁶ "The Reflexion" may indeed be cited as evidence of the poet's orthodoxy, so admirably does it illustrate what Perry Miller called "the Augustinian strain of piety" and the practice of it.⁷ Aside from its artistic qualities, therefore, the poem may be examined initially from a theological viewpoint.

God is at the "Table Head"—at the head of the Church or at an altar administering the sacrament. Throughout the poem, the Eucharist symbolizes *grace*; Taylor never suggests that God is, in any but a metaphorical sense, substantially present in the host. As a token of grace, as the soul's "nourishment and confirmation," therefore, the sacrament is closely related to the doctrine of election.⁸ The poet yearns for redemption, but fears that he is not one of the elect. Here we get a hint of Taylor's very conservative views about the use of the Lord's Supper, a poetic counterpart of his controversy, which began in 1679, with Solomon Stoddard.⁹ For Taylor, the sacrament was not an initiation into the religious life, but the climax of it. The Lord's invitation must follow an agony of tears, remorse and renunciation of sin. Indeed, remorse is no mere preliminary state; these "sighs" shall be offered "in grain"—that is, permanently. Hence Taylor reveals no sign of antinomian perfectionism. The "Conduit" between him and God is filled with "mud" or sin; grace loosens the mud but does not remove it; instead, grace releases sorrow, and sorrow or remorse cleanses the soul. Exemplified here is the doctrine of imperfect regeneration, in which sanctification or holiness is portrayed as a process that only gradually and sometimes faultily develops after justification, the forgiveness of sins. These stanzas provide an example of the Puritans' spiritual individualism. Piety required that each man yearn for, even lust for his Saviour. Thus, in Taylor's poem, as Puritan piety demands,

⁵ Grabo, *Edward Taylor*, p. 40.

⁶ *The Poems*, p. xlix.

⁷ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 3-63.

⁸ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 84.

⁹ See Norman S. Grabo, "Edward Taylor on the Lord's Supper," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, XII (January 1960), 22-36.

redemption is a personal and always unfulfilled quest. As Miller put it, the Puritans "demanded of their followers wholehearted, continuous, and heroic exertions."¹⁰

Having described the regenerative process, Taylor turned, in his fourth stanza, to analyze the Christian myth. God created on earth a paradise, where men could live in eternal bliss. Sin, however, forced paradise to leave earth and the door to redemption was "Lockt." But Christ atoned for man's sin and again made heaven accessible. This doctrine of atonement finds a direct relationship to the poet's experience. He testifies to having had a mystical vision of Christ, who stood "Pearle-like" in streams of "Bright glory." The experience, however, is more than a vision of Christ, great as that is; it is evidence of personal election, of "Saints Heavens-lost Happiness restor'd." Typical of Puritan piety, such evidence of regeneration was often used, along with sanctification, in identifying the elect. Still, the truly elect, though he may believe he is saved, cannot boast of his personal redemption. He must continue to doubt his election, and recognizing that he can never thoroughly know God he must continue to grope and plead for a fuller vision.

Taylor renders these religious beliefs in an imagery that is brilliantly controlled. "The Reflexion" contains four basic images, and each of these is related to the others and to the whole poem. These images or motifs, all of them, by the way, common throughout Taylor's poetry and Biblical in origin, are food, light, flowers and sex—the last two being represented ambiguously in the *Rose of Sharon*.

Since the poet is preparing for the Lord's Supper, it is appropriate that food should be the basic image. The poem begins casually, almost colloquially. Christ stands before his heavenly supper of nourishing meat, healing medicine and delicious sweets. The richness of this redemptive banquet can be visualized, as Austin Warren said, "after the fashion of an Italian or Flemish primitive. . . ." ¹¹ The poet, however, betrays his spiritual yearnings with a certain vulgarity by asking, "Be n't I a bidden Guest?" The situation, reminiscent of the unchosen wedding guest (Matt. 22: 12-14) and the question, hardly to be asked even of worldly hosts, provide us with a sense of the poet's unworthiness. Compare also the purity of the twenty-third Psalm ("my cup runneth over") with the almost petulant, "And not my Trencher, nor my Cup o'reflow?" Likewise, the poet's "sweat" is contrasted with the Lord's "sweetness." But the same "sweat," if mundane and even vulgar, proves the poet's sincerity; he

¹⁰ Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, p. 59.

¹¹ Warren, p. 369.

recognizes that he is unworthy, that he is mere salt, and he asks that his stinging tears result from his great spiritual toil.

Although the subsequent stanzas are not directly concerned with food images, the banquet setting provided in stanza one is never entirely abandoned. The repetitions of "sweet," for example, not only emphasize the smell of "Sharons Rose," but also return our attention in each case to the "Table Head." The dinner metaphor is reinforced with "Sorrows Altar" in stanza two, the soul filled with sweetness in stanza three, the "poyson" of sin in stanza four, and the "Feast" in stanza five. The "Loft" in line twenty-two reminds us again of the feast image, for indeed where else would the unprepared grain of redemption be locked? A similar metaphor is suggested in the sixth stanza: divine glory is "bundled," like sheaves of grain, inaccessible to man. In the same stanza, Taylor returns explicitly to the "Table Head," where now he asks not petulantly that his trencher and cup "o'reflow," but more humbly he asks for a "morsell sweet."

If the banquet metaphor is the foundation of the poem, light imagery provides it with a rich adornment that enhances its deeper symbolic meanings. The banquet in stanza one has "sparkling Beautys" and "Flaming Flakes of Love." The brightness of these celestial gifts is made richer later in the poem as "Graces Golden Spade" and the Lord's "golden Key," which makes "a golden day." These light images are specifically contrasted with the "mud" and "filth" of sin in stanza three and with "inkefac'd sin" in stanza four. The light imagery reaches its climax in the fifth stanza, where Taylor describes his former vision of "Pearle-like" Christ, standing in "streams" of "Heavens Bright glory," like "Sun Beams." The same language is repeated in the next and the final stanzas. Taylor asks that "golden gleams run through this gloom" and that his "black Velvet Mask" of sin not blot out God's "fair Face." Finally, he asks God, now symbolized as the "bright sun" (suggesting also "bright Son") to "shine forth."

The inescapable ambiguity of the rose imagery is the finest achievement in the poem. In the Biblical Song, usually called Canticles in Taylor's day, the Rose of Sharon is, of course, both a flower and a bride; so, in the English language, Rose is both a common female name and a flower. Thus, the ambiguity between garden imagery and sexual imagery was inevitable, a fortuity which Taylor cogently exploited. When the poet asks, "Shall I not smell thy sweet, oh! Sharons Rose?" it is impossible to imagine only a flower or only a woman; both images are distinctly present. To the Puritans, who frequently named their daughters Charity, Pearl or Prudence, the ambiguity would have seemed quite natural. Con-

sider, for example, these two lines where Taylor juxtaposes one meaning of *rose* against the other:

Shall thy sweet leaves their Beautilous sweets upclose?
As halfe ashamed my sight should on them ly?

The "sweet leaves" of the first line are primarily the petals of a rose blossom; but certainly they belong also to our female Rose. She does indeed become a woman in the second line, a shy, virginal woman whose petals hide her sweet nakedness. Yet, being only "halfe ashamde," this shy Rose is a voluptuous virgin indeed.

Having established the ambiguity of the rose imagery, Taylor proceeded in the third stanza to develop an elaborate double conceit, involving the garden and the sexual experience, both symbolizing spiritual regeneration. Certain images, such as "Graces Golden Spade," suggest the garden, the Paradise regained motif. Other phrases, however, like "what Ravishment would'st thou Convey?"—point directly to sexual intercourse. By superimposing the two conceits, Taylor kept them constantly interrelated, though visually distinct. If we concentrate on the garden imagery, we see the entire garden, particularly the soil, as a metaphor for the poet's soul. This meaning is explicit in the poem's last stanza: "Shall not thy Rose my Garden fresh perfume?" Like all earthly souls, this one contains both the mud of sin and the tears of remorse. Above the soul, though connected to it with a pipe or stem, is the Lord as a rose blossom. But a human soul, even when God blooms in it, needs nourishment—that is to say, sanctification, and the poet sees the rose's stem clogged with muddy sin. The soil must be cultivated with "Graces Golden Spade" to enable a "Spring"—a pun meaning both the seasonal symbol of regeneration and an underground source of water—to sanctify the soul and nourish the rose. The sexual imagery is more discreetly suggested. There is, of course, no sexual equivalent for mud or the spade, but the pipe image is sufficiently phallic that when identified as a "Conduit" and associated with "Ravishment," a sexual interpretation is justified. Indeed, this interpretation is unavoidable if the stanza is read in connection with the voluptuous image of the Rose of Sharon and the beauties which "Enamour Souls with Flaming Flakes of Love." Thus, Taylor asks that Rose entice him, raise his sighings, fill his pipes with tears, so that the sweetness of this sexual-spiritual experience may be fulfilled.

Perhaps the crucial problem in the interpretation of this rose imagery is its symbolic meaning. Who is this Rose, and how does she relate to the poet's meditation? Austin Warren thought that the rose symbolizes the intercession between man and God. However, noticing the poem's

complexity, Warren also insisted that "it is difficult not to avoid a connotative overlapping of Christ, the Rose, and the Sun of Righteousness."¹² Grabo seems to go further; without developing the point, he says that the "central image of the poem" is "Christ as the Rose-of-Sharon."¹³ A clue to the answer to this problem can be found by identifying the persons addressed in the poem. Aside from the possible direct address to "mine Eye" in line five and "bright sun" in line forty-one, the poem is spoken alternately to "Lord" and "Rose." But the transitions from "Lord" to "Rose" are never clear; indeed, it is often impossible to distinguish between them. The "Lord" of the first stanza smoothly gives way to "Sharons Rose" in the second stanza; then, in stanza three, the two merge. Here the garden imagery, the sexual imagery and the structural linkage with stanza two identify the "thy" in line thirteen as a reference to "Rose." Without this meaning, the stanza is unintelligible. But in line seventeen, "Lord" replaces "Rose," making them identical; thus, God is represented as a woman, the voluptuous form of the Rose of Sharon.

If then, Rose is a symbol for God, much of the poem's obscurity is clarified. Ordinarily, "Rose" in the phrase, "Dost thou sit Rose at Table Head," is taken as a direct object, meaning in other words, *place a rose* or *seat Rose*. But if the entire poem is considered, it is more reasonable to read "Rose" as direct address. She is "at Table Head," she "Carv'st no morsell sweet for me," for now "Lord" is symbolized in her. My insistence on this syntax is not pure whimsy. Were "Rose" set off with commas, my reading would be unquestionable. But Taylor often omitted punctuation marks; in fact, of all direct address constructions, he omitted commas in approximately one-fifth of them. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish direct address from direct object. Consider, for example, "Oh! sweat mine Eye," in line five. Is Taylor asking the Lord to "sweat" the eye? Or is he asking the eye to sweat? The same problem is present in "Dost thou sit Rose." Only by referring to the context can the phrase be properly interpreted, and since "Rose" and "Lord" are symbolically united elsewhere in the poem, there is reason to consider them united here.

This symbolic union has startling implications for the whole poem, particularly for the sexual imagery. Taylor's critics have noted his continued use of this imagery, and of course, sex as a metaphor for a divine encounter is common among mystic poets. Indeed, the Rose of Sharon and her lover have been especially suggestive bases for the metaphorical relationship of sexual and religious experience. Again, Taylor's critics have provided the standard typological explanation of Canticles: the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 370. Presumably, Warren did not intend the negative.

¹³ Grabo, *Edward Taylor*, p. 69.

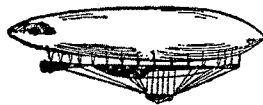
bridegroom is Christ while the Rose of Sharon is the Church or mankind. Stanford, Grabo and Austin Warren suggest that Taylor always employed this symbolism.¹⁴ But such a reading will not fit "The Reflexion." True enough, in other poems, Christ became Taylor's bridegroom: "Marri'de our Manhood, making it its Bride." But in "The Reflexion," Christ does not pursue, seduce, ravish or wed the poet. The poet is not the chaste virgin of Donne's famous sonnet. He is distinctly masculine; he is the seducer and the ravisher. The poet's "tears" fill his pipes in his "Ravishment" of Rose; later he pleads, "Sprindge, Lord,/Thy Rosie Leaves." Those leaves earlier in the poem were identified as petals covering her nakedness; now Taylor asks that the rosy leaves be spread open, revealing her "Rosy-selfe" and affording "Glee." Thus, Taylor becomes the groom and Christ the bride.

Taking the masculine role was, I suspect, more temperamentally satisfying for Taylor. His poems certainly provide abundant evidence of his intensely passionate nature. His feminine beauties are almost always irresistibly sensual. Further, though biographical evidence is meager, Taylor appears to have been a remarkably virile person. His relationship with Elizabeth Steadman, for example, his undergraduate *femme de trente ans*, was so notorious that the gossips nearly drove him from Harvard College.¹⁵ But perhaps Taylor's most compelling motive for reversing the traditional typology of Canticles was his Puritan piety. As Miller indicated, one of the "unique features" of the practice of this piety was its "peculiar ferocity."¹⁶ Each man was to struggle against his sinful nature and passionately pursue irresistible grace. Translated into sexual terms, this "ferocity" was more analogous to the masculine than the feminine role. "The Reflexion," therefore, is decidedly a Puritan poem, and as such, it is a magnificent statement of that religious sensibility.

¹⁴ *The Poems*, p. liii; Grabo, *Edward Taylor*, p. 80; Austin Warren, "Edward Taylor," in *Major Writers of America*, ed. Perry Miller et al. (New York, 1962), I, 58, 66.

¹⁵ "Diary of Edward Taylor," *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XVIII (1880-81), 15-16.

¹⁶ Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, p. 57.



Notes

Hawthorne's "The Canal Boat": An Experiment in Landscape

HISTORIANS AND LITERARY CRITICS ALIKE HAVE CLOSELY EXAMINED THE imaginative literature of the period 1830-60 for evidence of responsiveness to the technological revolution that was transforming America. These years, as Leo Marx has observed, saw "the image of the machine, and the idea of a society founded upon machine power take hold of the public imagination."¹ Our writers were slow to assimilate and express this new awareness, at least directly. Marx suggests that Hawthorne, for example, was unable to handle the technological aspect of the modern environment because he could not escape the limitations of the literary convention of the picturesque within which he worked. The result was that his reactions to factories, railroads and other manifestations of the coming age were expressed covertly or symbolically. But in one sketch, "The Canal Boat" (*The New England Magazine*, December 1835), Hawthorne faces the new technology quite openly, recognizing that the Erie Canal and the boats pulled along its towpath, though not "machines," are a significant technological innovation. He measures the effects of this innovation in his picture of the society, ridden by money and indifferent to beauty, that travels along the canal. He describes the "Grand Canal" with the obvious intention of picturing the commercial drabness and meanness that were overcoming America; and whether he intended to do so or not, he gives his readers an early glimpse of industrial gloom foreshadowing the great changes of the post-Civil War period. The picturesque convention, which usually prevents Hawthorne from making a realistic response to the actual physical landscape, in "The Canal Boat" becomes a technique for establishing an ironic contrast between poetic expectation and monotonous reality. The sketch begins: "I was inclined to be poetical about the Grand Canal."² After expanding in this vein for a paragraph, Hawthorne shifts to the mock-romantic style: "Behold us, then, fairly afloat, with three horses harnessed to our vessel, like the steeds of Neptune to a huge scallop shell in mythological pic-

¹ "The Machine in the Garden," *New England Quarterly*, XXIX (March 1956), 30.

² *Hawthorne's Works*. Riverside edition (Boston and New York, 1883), II, 484. All quotations from Hawthorne are from this edition.

tures" (II, 485). The style moves next toward the detailed notation of the scene in all its oppressive bleakness: the mythologically conceived voyage gives way to the "navigation of an interminable mud puddle; for a mud puddle it seemed, and as dark and turbid as if every kennel in the land paid contribution to it" (II, 485).

Hawthorne's experience on the canal was one of the many summer trips which gave him first-hand familiarity with a wide range of social types and settings—the materials necessary to a critical evaluation of America. He tells us that he boarded the boat thirty miles below Utica for the trip to Buffalo, "determining to voyage along the whole extent of the canal at least twice in the course of the summer" (II, 485). He apparently did not carry out his plan. The sketch itself ends short of his destination: deserted by the boat, he stands alone, musing over the phenomenon of the "moral rottenness" of the forest bordering the canal. On the way to this climax, "The Canal Boat" exhibits a remarkable literary range, from the pseudo-poetical mode of the beginning to extended descriptive passages charged with emotional revulsion, followed by a comic-realistic section describing the passengers aboard the boat, and finally by an expansion and synthesis of the entire experience in symbolic terms. The mood is set by vivid images of "all the dismal swamps and unimpressive scenery," and of the "overpowering tedium" that deadens the traveler's perceptions. The feeling of suffocating boredom is not relieved by the variety of traffic on the canal. The failure of the passing craft to present to the eye anything aesthetically pleasing or able to relieve the deepening ugliness of the scene is overwhelming.³ Particularly striking is a rusty boat of rude construction, "painted all in gloomy black, and manned by three Indians, who gazed at us in silence and with a singular fixedness of eye" (II, 486). This episode, significant because it places the Indian in the context of a landscape of commercial bleakness, must be appreciated in the light of Hawthorne's professed inability to idealize or poeticize the Indian character (expressed in "Our Evening Party Among the Mountains," of the group of sketches to which "The Canal Boat" belongs). The Indian episode in "The Canal Boat" is nothing more than a passing impression, but it suggests that Hawthorne's hostility to the romantic treatment of the redskin ("I do abhor an Indian story") was rooted in a realistic knowledge of the ways in which the Indian actually functioned in his environment. "The most peculiar field of American fiction" (II, 483) that Cooper exploited so successfully was

³ Hawthorne, of course, is not alone in describing the dreary wastes of the canal country. An adequate bibliography of canal literature, and excerpts from some of the accounts of various travelers, British and American, are given in *The Erie Canal, Gateway to Empire*, eds. Barabara K. and Warren S. Walker (Boston, 1963).

closed to Hawthorne for the reasons that the image quoted above suggests—the Indian, if exotic, is alienated and grotesque—as is everything else—in the setting of the canal.

The sense of unrelatedness—of a series of pointless or fortuitous events against a blighted background—is heightened by the appearance of another boat, bearing a colony of Swiss on their way to Michigan. Theirs is “a vessel that seemed full of mirth and sunshine”; and to make certain that we will not miss the point, Hawthorne tells us that “These honest Swiss were an itinerant community of jest and fun journeying through a gloomy land and among a dull race of money-getting drudges, meeting none to understand their mirth, and only one to sympathize with it” (II, 486). Their freedom from the pecuniary motives that dominate the life of the canal makes them unique, and opens the way to perhaps the most remarkable contrast in the sketch, between the alluring sexuality of a Swiss girl and the false purity of the “Western lady” whom Hawthorne mentally disrobes on the boat on which he is a passenger. The Swiss girl, “a pretty damsel, with a beautiful pair of naked white arms,” is devoid of the genteel characteristics of her American counterpart. The exchange, in which she addresses “a mirthful remark” to Hawthorne in her native language, to which he replies in English, with both laughing at each other’s “unintelligible wit,” is a moment of frank, flirtatious interaction, sharply at odds with the portrait of the western lady, which leads to a damning indictment of American womanhood. Behind the crimson curtain which separates the sexes at night on the boat, Hawthorne hears “the rustling of a gown in its descent; and the unlacing of a pair of stays,” until “My ear seemed to have the properties of an eye; a visible image pestered my fancy in the darkness; the curtain was withdrawn between me and the western lady, who yet disrobed herself without a blush” (II, 491). This vicarious synaesthetic experience approaches the prurience of Coverdale’s wistful “disrobing” of the exotic Zenobia; but Hawthorne’s attitude is here noncommittal and curiously detached. His calm undressing of the lady leads him to a generalization about women rare in any American fiction of the period. Hawthorne’s observations are partially concealed behind the gaze of a critical English traveler who has been taking notes of everything in a memorandum book, and who lifts his eyeglass to inspect this lady: “Here was the pure, modest, sensitive, and shrinking woman of America—shrinking when no evil is intended, and sensitive like diseased flesh, that thrills if you but point at it; and strangely modest, without confidence in the modesty of other people; and admirably pure, with such a quick apprehension of all impurity” (II, 490).

Hawthorne comically blames the Englishman for these unorthodox thoughts, but we cannot help wondering why he was unable to make some use of this order of observation in his fiction, since doing so would have freed him from the pallid stereotypes that typically govern his portraits of women. The sketch as a literary form often gave Hawthorne a documentary and reportorial freedom that he could not sustain in fiction. The remarkable thing in "The Canal Boat" is the association of the extended image of a depressing landscape realistically envisaged with an obsessively money-driven society, out of which comes an analytically cold rejection of the highest product of that society—the American girl. She is symbolic of certain contradictions in American life of which Hawthorne was painfully aware. The profit motive undercuts the pretense of virtue, and envelops that virtue in unconscious hypocrisy in an acquisitive society. I am not suggesting that Hawthorne was an incipient Marxist—his Jacksonian preferences were surely enough to have led him to these associations, however reluctant he might have been to build upon them.

The sketch proceeds to describe the villages, the forest and the banks along the canal. The forest, "dark, dense, and impervious," rises against the "lonely tract" from which it occasionally recedes, "covered with dismal black stumps where, on the verge of the canal, might be seen a log cottage and a sallow-faced woman at the door" (II, 487). The view of destitution, of unrelieved poverty, that follows is worthy of Dickens or Balzac, and anticipates some of the social anger of the later realists. One cannot help but oppose the genteel western lady to the American woman sketched against the background of the uninviting settlement, "lean and aguish . . . half-clothed, half-fed, and dwelling in a desert, while a tide of wealth was sweeping by her door" (II, 487). Both women represent the degradation of the beauty and mystery intact in the Swiss girl; and this comparison is paralleled by Hawthorne's underlying recognition of the debasement of nature following upon the intrusive technological "progress" represented by the canal.

The unifying symbol in "The Canal Boat," however, comes near the close, as Hawthorne reverts to his characteristic search for an "emblem" that will comprehensively embrace the materials of his sketch. The emblem in this case is a paradoxical reversal of the wilderness image, divested of its expected associations of purity and innocence. Instead, the forest that borders the canal is endowed with the qualities of decay and corruption, itself becoming a symbol of the encroachment of the civilization which the canal represents. "In other lands decay sits among fallen palaces; but here her home is in the forests" (II, 493). Preliminary to this unusual idea is the commonplace observation that "the wild nature of

America had been driven to this desert-place by the encroachments of civilized man" (II, 492), but Hawthorne goes beyond this point when the tow rope that guides the boat becomes entangled in a fallen branch on the shore, causing a delay. He disembarks and examines the rope in the phosphoric light of an old tree. The "diseased splendor" of the fallen tree, "which threw a ghastliness around," becomes a major symbolic figuration of forest decay, indicative of pioneer America relentlessly pushing back the wilderness. Hawthorne's reflections are not entirely relevant to the canal boat experience: "I called it a frigid fire, a funeral light, illumining decay and death, an emblem of fame that gleams around the dead man without warning him, or of genius when it owes its brilliancy to moral rottenness" (II, 493). Nevertheless, the image of nature's "latest solitude" forced back by "a vulgar and worldly throng" remains the primary impression. The literary strategy which concludes the sketch not only states the conventional opposition of primeval nature to corrupting society; it includes an underlying image of a contagion within the forest itself. This extension, however illogical from a conceptual standpoint, has a kind of emotional logic in its enlarging, generalizing power. As the canal boat is pulled on its way without Hawthorne as a passenger, the image of phosphorescent decay becomes in the reader's experience a dominant symbolic expression of the attitudes toward society and the scenes that the sketch has presented.

LEO B. LEVY, *Arizona State University*

Emerson and Phrenology

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ALMOST EVERY MAJOR American writer reacted strongly to phrenology in one way or another. Edward Hungerford traces the interest of Poe and Whitman in the subject in two articles in *American Literature* (II [1931], 209-31 and II [1931], 350-84). Melville's use of phrenological imagery is examined by Howard P. Vincent in *The Trying-Out of Moby Dick* (Boston, 1949).

Only Thoreau was uninterested in phrenology; except for a satiric aside in "Civil Disobedience," he seems not to have mentioned the topic. The same can not be said for Thoreau's good friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson. It remained an object of slightly fearful interest to Emerson for many years. He first mentions the subject in a letter to his brothers early in 1830. He refers to a book he has been reading, George Combe's *Constitution of Man*. Combe was one of the most famed phrenologists in the world. The Boston edition of his work had just been published and Emerson was very impressed with it, calling it "the best Sermon I have

read for some time.”¹ Yet only a few years later he seems to have changed his attitude somewhat. He calls phrenology “innocent entertainment if one has the time.”²

Nothing if not inconsistent, Emerson by 1837 is once more considering phrenology with some seriousness. In his journal he records the alarm felt when men feared that phrenologists could read them “to the bone and marrow.” But, he says, men were comforted when they discovered that the adept had not as yet discovered what allowance to make for temperament, or what for “counteracting organs.”³ And yet again he reverts to a lighter view of the subject. In a letter to Margaret Fuller he mentions two prominent phrenologists and adds, “I think it is part of our lesson to give a formal consent to what is farcical, and to pick up our living and our virtue amidst what is so ridiculous. . . .”⁴

Although the tone of Emerson's private views changed and wavered, in his published essays he always treated phrenology seriously. Often he is fearful of it, as in “Experience.” In this essay he calls phrenologists “theoretic kidnappers and slave drivers,” accusing them of using “cheap signboards” such as the slope of a man's occiput to read his fortunes and character. “The grossest ignorance does not disgust like this impudent knowingness,” he concludes.⁵ And he completes his essay on “Fate” rather pessimistically by observing, “Very odious, I confess are the lessons of Fate. Who likes to have a dapper phrenologist pronouncing on his fortunes?”⁶ Emerson also comments on phrenology in a number of other essays such as “Worship,” “Domestic Life” and “Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England.” But perhaps his most characteristic comment appears in his essay on “Demonology.”

Things are significant enough, Heaven knows, but the seer of the sign, . . . where is he? We doubt not a man's fortune may be read in the lines of his hand, by palmistry; in the lines of his face, by physiognomy; in the outlines of his skull by craniology; the lines are all there, but the reader waits.⁷

In other words, just as any natural fact has significance as a symbol of a spiritual fact, so the bumps on a person's head are facts which must be

¹ *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph Rusk (New York, 1939), I, 291.

² *Letters*, I, 407.

³ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, eds. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909), IV, 297-98.

⁴ *Letters*, III, 246.

⁵ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Centenary Edition), III, 55-56.

⁶ *Works*, VI, 9.

⁷ *Works*, IX, 10.

symbolic of certain spiritual facts. Nevertheless, the man of intuition is needed to see beneath the bump to the spiritual fact it represents. Although Emerson was somewhat fearful of the deterministic qualities he sensed in phrenology, and although he had ambivalent feelings about its worth, he doesn't seem to have altered his fundamental philosophy because of it, nor does he seem to have adopted any of the specialized vocabulary of phrenology as did Whitman.

STEPHEN S. CONROY, *University of Florida*

American Studies Documents in Japan

A FEW YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II A GROUP OF JAPANESE SCHOLARS SET OUT on a most formidable task. They proposed to translate and so to make available to Japanese students the basic documents in American historical development. First and last, more than thirty Japanese scholars worked on this project. They published the first volume in 1950; the sixth and last in 1958, a total of over 3,000 pages. The topics covered have been: Vol. I, The Colonial Period; Vol. II, The Revolution and the Birth of the Republic; Vol. III, The Development of Democracy; Vol. IV, The Emergence of Present Day America, 1860-1898; Vol. V, The Emergence of Present Day America, 1898-1940; Vol. VI, Supplement: Present Day America, 1940-1957. Each volume, except the last, provides a summary of United States history for the period covered by the documents in the volume. Though contributed by various authors, these summaries manage to achieve a genuine unity and taken together are said to comprise one of the best statements of American historical development available in the Japanese language.

Two major problems faced the editors: (1) Selection of the documents to be included, and (2) their careful and accurate translation into Japanese. Special committees spent many hours on both of these matters and the excellent results attest to the patience and competence of the scholars concerned. The documents cover a variety of materials from the first charter of Virginia, 1606, to a recent item such as Eisenhower's addresses at the Geneva Summit Conference. The selection is certainly an excellent one and the translation into Japanese is reported to be both competent and felicitous.

Most of the leading Japanese students of American civilization participated in this cooperative work. At their head was Yasaka Takagi who retired in 1950 from the University of Tokyo where he was Hepburn Professor in the Faculty of Law. His lifelong devotion to promoting

Japanese-American friendship, his dedication to the highest ideals of scholarship, and his wise counsel and inspiring leadership contributed immensely to the completion of a really monumental task. For about ten years, much of his time was given to this project and he devoted at least one day weekly to working with scholarly groups working on one aspect or another of the project.

Engaged with Dr. Takagi have been a truly able and devoted group of Japanese experts in American civilization, men like Shigeharu Matsumoto, now Managing Director of International House of Japan; Professor Moritane Fujiwara, Professor of Politics, Keio University; Professor Hiroshi Shimizu, Professor of History, Rikkyo University; Professor Kenichi Nakaya, Professor of American Studies, University of Tokyo; Professor Shinzo Kaji, Professor of Economic Geography, University of Tokyo; Professor Hikaru Saito, Professor of American Literature, University of Tokyo; and Professor Makoto Saito, Professor of Politics, University of Tokyo. Working with these senior scholars have been a group of younger men who are already distinguishing themselves as leaders in the growing field of American Studies in Japan. At the same time that they made a contribution to the project, they gained much not only from their work with the American documents, but also from the opportunity of participating in the weekly work sessions with Dr. Takagi and other senior scholars.

The Genten Amerika Shi (a documentary history of the American people, Iwanami Publishing Company, Tokyo) makes available to the Japanese people, in their own language, a collection of fundamental American materials more satisfactory and more extensive than exists so far as I am aware in any foreign language other than the Japanese. A major contribution to international cultural relations, it merits the admiration and appreciation of all who are interested in the development of American Studies in foreign lands.

GEORGE ROGERS TAYLOR, *Amherst College*



Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

Studies of Urbanization

WRITING "IN DEFENSE OF THE CITY," VICTOR GRUEN HAS NOTED THAT DISSATISFACTION with our city life is an old story. Congestion, slums, blight, foulness and corruption have polluted older centers for many years, while new cities have quickly demonstrated their susceptibilities to historic evils. Nor have the suburbs brought the advantages hoped for, at least not in any enduring way. The disadvantages of cities easily migrated to the countryside, while automotive congestion counterbalanced the conveniences of improved transportation. For his remedy, Gruen urges a novel planning concept "to separate flesh from machines, vehicles from people, and various types of vehicles from each other." Existing grids of city streets will be superseded by cells and clusterlike arrangements, "similar in structure to the organisms which nature has created, and within which it has arranged everything from molecules and cells to the planetary system." The dimensions of each cell or nucleus would be defined by the "limits of walkability," or the quantity of satisfaction enjoyed by pedestrians as opposed to their pain at being deprived of wheels.

Sixty years earlier, in his famous muckraking articles which comprised *The Shame of the Cities*, Lincoln Steffens saw America's municipalities as shamefully misgoverned communities. Businessmen were the primary miscreants, according to Steffens, "big" businessmen who distorted democratic means for plutocratic ends, and "typical" businessmen who scorned politics only to fail as citizens. The entire system consisted of vicious circles of special privilege, fostered by civic neglect, and abetted by a widespread hypocrisy which deplored politics and lauded business. The remedy lay in making popular democracy effective through honest government, he thought, in order to eliminate the cancerous corruptions wrought by the existing system of bribes, theft, favors and privileges.

As the foregoing paragraphs indicate by way of examples, an illuminating incongruity asserts itself repeatedly when America's urban problems are being considered. It is ironic, as the late Richard Wohl observed, that this nation which rushed so eagerly into urban patterns of living continues to applaud ideologies condemning city life, either as it truly is or as it is believed to be. Model doctrines of agrarianism, as defined by Thomas Jefferson and others, comprehended the city as a threat to libertarian, republican and democratic ideals. When the farmer began to recede into the background of national life, thereafter to sustain the com-

munity with foodstuffs and raw materials grown from the soil but no longer to direct its policies, the agrarian doctrine of anti-urbanism congealed into an ideology and became embedded in folk-myth. The Progressives, on the other hand, were more concerned with superimposing bourgeois standards of virtue upon civic affairs than in providing justice for underprivileged urbanites.

At any rate, the city has seemed to offer fundamental challenges to successive generations of Americans, a source of dangers to be escaped if possible or thwarted in any event. Even urban sociology deals mainly with the troubles of cities, as does utopian city planning by contriving opposites to existing conditions. Neither sociology nor utopian planning confronts the ecology of cities as a whole, particularly not their basic economic circumstances.

Hence it is encouraging to notice the current interest in urbanization and metropolitan affairs among Americanists, as evidenced by growing numbers of publications and new centers for urban studies. But mere proliferation by itself will probably not add a great deal to our fundamental understanding of conditions and problems. "Each city is the sum of its history," stated Richard Wohl, and is therefore unique. "In many respects, the United States is not a whole," Eric E. Lampard wrote in *The American Historical Review* (October 1961), "and, if the thrusts of technology and pulls of opportunity tend to make people and places more alike and to reduce the divisive force of provincial influences in national affairs, the history of cities reveals how often community life has diverged from the mainstream." The point is that the mere multiplication of case studies of cities and their populations could do little more than to compound existing uncertainty, unless new and better frames of reference can be devised.

The four books being reviewed in this essay can serve tentatively to delineate the outlines which such frames of reference ought to encompass. In turn these books conveniently shed light on the prevailing and conflicting viewpoints which have expressed themselves during the Republic's history, on the processes of urbanization and metropolitan growth, and on the only partially assimilated masses of the big city's inhabitants.

David R. Weimer's *City and Country in America*¹ offers a selection of viewpoints about America's cities from Crèvecoeur and L'Enfant to Robert Moses, Christopher Tunnard and other latterday contemporaries. As cities rose in America's wilderness, a romantic attachment for the once-virgin land persisted in a feeling for the earth and trees and the open spaces of sky and frontier. Men believed that a rural life was the most

¹ *City and Country in America* (xvi, 399 pp., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962, \$2.75).

humanly valuable. However, when considering the decline of the rural population in the United States, it is surprising to encounter the vigor and variety of present-day agrarian arguments critical of the city and its problems. One explanation is that the shortcomings of the nation's cities are too obvious to be overlooked, while the superficial attractions of nature and the outdoors are as strong as ever. The trend of the debate between the defenders of agrarian ideals and the determinist march of city life is evident today in the attempts to achieve a rational synthesis of the two forces. Efforts to bring about a planned regionalism, in which city and country achieve an interrelated harmony, are currently to the forefront. Meanwhile the metropolitan sprawl unheedingly engulfs the land, overrides boundaries and jurisdictions, outdistances plans and planners.

Blake McKelvey² and Sam B. Warner Jr.³ have provided books on the urbanization process itself. Urbanization was, and still is, a dynamic thrust of expansion and innovation, which has rapidly converted the United States in both absolute and relative terms from an agricultural society of farms and villages into an industrial colossus of factories and cities.

McKelvey's purpose is "to examine the character of city growth, to uncover, if possible, some of its causes, and, most of all, to explore the relationships between this development and other phases of American history." Most cities originated as regional market centers, or as hubs for traffic with the hinterland. These cities developed industrial potentials because of their accumulations of capital to invest and their entrepreneurial talents ready to lead the way. Other cities rose to prominence by exploiting minerals, or by processing the wealth of forests and farms. Urbanization as a societal process, so far as individual cities were concerned, depended always on unique combinations of internal, regional and national developments. McKelvey's excellent bibliography will direct students to all of these factors of importance.

The example of Boston and its growth, which Warner describes, is the history of a famous old colonial port and cultural capital, which in time headed the industrial development of New England and spread its far-flung arteries of influence. Boston itself became transformed meanwhile. The street railway divided the mushrooming metropolis into an inner city of business and slums and an external city to shelter commuters. Warner asked who built the new city, and why, and how. His approach

² *The Urbanization of America (1860-1915)* (xiv, 370 pp., Rutgers University Press, 1963, \$10.00).

³ *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900*, Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University (xxii, 208 pp., The M. I. T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963, \$6.50).

involved analysis of the building permits issued for 23,000 new houses constructed in the "bedroom" districts of Roxbury, West Roxbury and Dorchester. Although "housing decisions were made by thousands of individuals, unhampered by zoning or modern land control, the very fragmentation of decision-making tended to produce uniformity and regularity"—a curious outcome to be placed alongside the schemes of city planners when pondering causes and results. A further insight which is revealed by Warner's study of early suburbia, is that this outward search for community life in Boston's adjacent countryside resulted instead in "a loss of a sense of community." Boston's example of growth, decentralization and deterioration has broad applicability for understanding America's cities.

Beyond the Melting Pot by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan⁴ is a commentary by two native New Yorkers on the five largest ethnic groups of their city. It is a book about a great city's people rather than the city itself. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish are treated in turn. The point about the melting pot, which the authors make, is that it did not occur. Each distinctive group, whatever its comparative advantages or handicaps, maintains its identity and comprises a major political and cultural factor in the life of New York City. Readers will be intrigued by the insiders' insights on Gotham's population offered by Glazer and Moynihan, and provoked by the stereotypes their book preserves in fulfillment of its thesis. Yet their material is the very flesh and blood of the nation's metropolis. Their book conveys an authentic note of cosmopolitan humanity struggling in its myriad guises.

The summation is that each American city developed its unique features in response to its own internal drives and the nation's pressures or opportunities. Each city thrived more or less well in a climate of opinion predominantly agrarian or negatively critical of its shortcomings. Each city was shaped by the new technology of industry and management in largely unplanned ways. Paradoxically both the critics of cities and the planners of urban improvements emphasized the negative features of daily life rather than the economic circumstances which made metropolitan existence possible at all. Throughout, yet strangely overlooked by democracy's theorists and urban reformers, the peoples of the cities struggled to survive and to advance as individuals and as members of cherished groupings. Only they knew the city intimately. It was their home.

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN, *Bryn Mawr College*

⁴ *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University (viii, 360 pp., The M. I. T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963, \$5.95).

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN, *Washington: Capital City, 1879-1950*. xvii, 58 pp. Princeton University Press, 1963. \$9.50.

THIS account of the evolving national city is as valuable as Miss Green's Pulitzer Prize-winning first volume. Covering approximately the same time span and subjects (society, education, economics, planning and power), she again fashions an excellent comprehensive study of the capital as interwoven product of unique and universal conditions. Using modern association records, statistics, personal interviews and other supplements to the newspaper, mugbook and public record, she also offers a more exacting text. Moreover, she now focuses equally on the "Two Cities" of a District where half the land is tax-exempt and half the population is transient—one growing in physical beauty, the other sorely afflicted by unresolved ills and public impotence—and reaches less optimistic conclusions. The shapers "must enfold and redeem the lesser city" if they would make Washington "the symbol of American democracy at its best."

Close study of contrasts within a world city is likely to be uneven. This account of guilt, crisis and change occasionally overemphasizes short-run Negro gains, municipal power elsewhere and presidential indifference; separates such related matters as planning, housing and welfare services; and gives us a too brief and impressionistic look at the years since 1940. These do not mar the author's solid presentation of major theses, however. Poorly coordinated public-private effort in metropolitan planning; obstructionism by the city's "intrinsically undemocratic" power groups (Board of Trade, realtors, conservative Congressmen); the local impact of national and international affairs; and steady white removal of basic rights, incentive and access for Negroes—these are all invaluable evidences of American culture. Even if the professional planner's view is slighted, a better documented study of Negro-white relationships will not be found in our urban histories. In short, this is a masterful history of how one American community faced its unique and universal problems, and an excellent guide for the study of others.

JOHN L. HANCOCK, *University of North Dakota*

FRANKLIN OTTO GATELL, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience*. x, 337 pp. Harvard University Press, 1963. \$6.95.

THERE is a decided difference, as everyone knows, between simply being accepted and being accepted after seeking acceptance. This difference suggests to us a distinct clue to the long, somewhat perplexing and important, if now largely forgotten, career of John Gorham Palfrey (1796-

1881). As Franklin Otto Gatell shows in this carefully developed, well documented, in fact, definitive biography of this minister, educator, politician and historian, Palfrey was not privileged to be born into one of the families Oliver Wendell Holmes called the New England "Academic Races." Of good quality, his family was nonetheless socially and intellectually undistinguished. After the early death of his mother, furthermore, Palfrey lived the irregular life of a semi-orphan; while his father pursued an uncertain commercial career that eventually led him to Forlorn Hope, a primitive plantation in South Louisiana worked by slave labor.

Palfrey became a member of the Academic Races, so to speak, by adoption. This was partly owing to the support he received from William Ellery Channing and also from aid tendered to him by Joseph Stevens Buckminster, whose early death left vacant the fashionable Brattle Street pulpit, the first position Palfrey occupied in the world of Boston religion and letters. But the adopted son, until his later years, never felt intellectually, financially or socially secure among the New England patricians. This is essentially why he made himself willingly, in the words of Charles Francis Adams Jr., "almost morbidly a victim of the terrible New England conscience." Assuming a central, and at more than one period a highly uncomfortable, role as a chief spokesman of the New England conscience against the Southern Slave Power, Palfrey created for himself an identity idealized by the Puritan heritage. He made his life an exemplum of the two-century Bay State discourse on morality. By way of tangible reward he achieved the postmastership of Boston. This was incidental to his compulsive personification of New England virtue.

Finally, Palfrey solidified his career by fulfilling an irresistible impulse to write his *History of New England*, a "five volume historical eulogy," Gatell calls it, "which was a reflection of himself." In this voluminously researched, yet fundamentally mythical story of a people who came into the Massachusetts wilderness to redeem mankind, Palfrey put a period to his own life and the life of the Brahmin Age of New England.

LEWIS P. SIMPSON, *Louisiana State University*

JOHN PAUL PRITCHARD, *Literary Wise Men of Gotham: Criticism in New York, 1815-1860*. ix, 200 pp. Louisiana State University Press, 1963. \$6.00.

FROM the interpretive and critical articles appearing in forty-five New York periodicals (of sixty that he read) of the years 1815-60, Professor Pritchard has pieced together a description of the "literary bowl" in which the "literary wise men" of "little old literary New York" set sail. Professor

Pritchard's central thesis is that, despite the fact that "to go off half-cocked was one of the less desirable qualities in New York literary men as a whole," the New York literary critics expressed and forecast a more representative American literary spirit than did the "New England sons of light."

In chapters on the critical comment on the author, on poetry, on fiction, on the concepts of literary criticism, on "forces at work in New York criticism" and on "local problems" of criticism, the book summarizes representative critical remarks, usually in the chronological order in which they appeared. Perhaps because all those little waves of detail tend to obscure the place of the New York literary bowl in the wide ocean, many of the judgments in the book may be questioned. For example, can we believe that because New York critics were "businesslike children of this world," "accustomed to accurate stocktaking," they did not overrate their own literary productions or that "unlike the Boston sons of light, they did not indulge in mutual admiration societies"? But the labor expended on the book is impressive and the central thesis is defended with some success.

JOHN STAFFORD, *San Fernando Valley State College*

DOUGLAS WAITLEY, *Portrait of the Midwest*. 288 pp. Abelard-Schuman, 1964. \$6.00.

FRANK R. KRAMER, *Voices in the Valley*. xvii, 300 pp. University of Wisconsin Press. \$5.00.

THESE two books about the Middle West differ in both subject matter and approach and are manifestly designed for different audiences. Douglas Waitley's volume, pretentiously subtitled "From the Ice Age to the Industrial Era," is a superficial rehash of literary and historical material which is also half guidebook. He has produced a kind of travelogue in which he tries to pay tribute to Middlewestern energy and leadership in both politics and industry, but at the end he curiously writes off Chicago as the "second city" and envisages its replacement by Los Angeles. Frank Kramer's study of the role of myth and folklore in the making of the Middle West is an original attempt to assess the impact of tradition in the development of the American heartland. *Voices in the Valley* includes almost seventy pages of notes and bibliography; *Portrait of the Midwest* is undocumented.

Kramer's book begins with an account of the Jesuit missionaries and their contact with the Huron Indians of the Great Lakes area; it ends with six short chapters on the interrelationship of myth and history. The

core of the book consists of overly succinct chapters on certain social occasions in which folk concepts, traditional images, slogans and ballads seemed at least as influential as the new agrarianism or the new industrialism. To illustrate his point, Kramer chose a camp meeting in which Peter Cartwright participated, a county fair in Illinois, a Grange meeting in Iowa, a labor organizational battle in Cleveland. In each case the point of view, if not the action of the people, was conditioned by the legacy of folk tradition of which the crowd was not always cognizant.

To Kramer the central image of the early Midwesterner was the homestead with its implications of independence, self-sufficiency and concrete ownership. The homestead was both goal and means. The Middle West in its first century of history was predominantly rural, and the farmer was the great symbolic producer. Industrialism considerably altered the picture, and to some extent the husbandman was replaced by the assembly-line worker. But the homestead mentality has by no means disappeared.

Kramer supports his interpretation with a host of evidence drawn from collections of folklore, files of agricultural newspapers, studies of the racial minorities and histories of both farm and labor movements. He is at his best when he interweaves folk tradition with social and political history. The purely theoretical sections of this book are repetitious and redundant.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN, *University of Illinois*

NORRIS W. YATES, *The American Humorist: Conscience of the Twentieth Century*. 410 pp. Iowa State University Press, 1964. \$4.95.

MR. YATES, author of a fine study of the nineteenth-century American humor exemplified in the *Spirit of the Times*, has been less successful in encompassing American humor of the first five decades of the twentieth century. As it happens, his studies of such figures as Ade, Lardner, Benchley, Mencken and Perelman are knowledgeable, edifying and replete with stylistic verve. "The American Humorist" as a whole has not been delineated, however, because Mr. Yates' fifteen selected writers are journalists who cater primarily to popular, unadventurous taste. His "key" to understanding them is the way in which they perpetuate or vary some basic character types of popular nineteenth-century humor. Mr. Yates presents these type survivals and modifications against a cultural background consisting chiefly of the social factors that have caused fragmentation and alienation of the individual.

Mr. Yates' search for "the main currents of thought in modern American humor of the printed word" would have been enriched in substance

and conclusions if he had considered the work of Wharton, Frost, Cummings, Eliot, Fitzgerald, West and Faulkner. These are more than occasional writers of the "humor and satire" Mr. Yates sought to illuminate. They reveal the modern American "conscience" with greater depth and flourish than do the popular humorous journalists; they bring to light an American culture far more complex and varied than that of the popular humorist.

BROM WEBER, *University of California, Davis*

ROBERT H. BOYLE, *Sport-Mirror of American Life*. Little Brown and Company, 1963. \$6.00.

THIS is a home-run in its field and its author touches all the bases. The depth of research is suggested by Boyle's concise account of how Henry William Herbert, British remittance man, as soon as he was hired by William T. Porter, publisher of the *Spirit of the Times*, became the first in the U. S. to earn his living by writing about horses and hunting. The speculative range is demonstrated by the broad, clear plan of the work. Beginning with the cultural and psychological backgrounds of sports in the U. S., Boyle then analyzes our key institutions of sport by a scrutiny of their class dimensions. He concludes with a study in ideology that is also one of the best investigations so far of popular fiction: an analysis of the campus-epic of athlete Frank Merriwell and of the career of his creator, Gilbert Patten ("Burt L. Standish").

Boyle tackles several questions of very general interest. One is whether we should emphasize the urban or the "frontier" origins of sports in the United States. Boyle assures us that the settled upper classes of the cities gave sports to the U. S. Even the consideration of what he could have said about the frontier's rodeo sports, if he had dealt with them, seems to support his case. Another question concerns the nature of competition and promotional norms in sport. Is the current code an amateur's code that is constantly being broken or is it a market-minded code that is, in fact, observed? Boyle sees strong evidence for the latter conclusions. Considering the compression of the work it is not surprising, though it may be regretted, that the discussion of the field sports of earlier American agrarian society and the post-bellum plutocracy is thin. But Boyle's plan was to examine significant samples rather than to provide a full inventory of sports activities. His major theme, the diffusion of sports from upper-class amateurs to commercialized mass-audiences (and today, to mass-participants) is brilliantly developed and convincingly documented.

It would have been a pleasure to find in Boyle's citations that name of a productive predecessor of his, John Tunis, but on the whole his range

of reference seems both rich and right. Boyle has a gift for reportorial as well as archival research. This, along with his apt use of quotation and an ability to handle the big questions in genial language, makes this a book that dominates its field.

REUEL DENNEY, *University of Hawaii*

CHARLES SELLERS AND HENRY MAY, *A Synopsis of American History*. 434 pp. Rand McNally and Company, 1963. \$4.00.

CHARLES SELLERS, *The Berkeley Series in American History*, fifteen paperbacks. Rand McNally and Company, 1963. 75¢ each.

THE editors of *A Synopsis of American History* state that it is "a brief summary, with emphasis on politics, designed for adults who are beginning the subject." They further point out that in general they say little directly about social and intellectual history because in their opinion "political history affords the clearest organization of American history." It is their view that often American politics "reflect with fair accuracy the underlying tendencies in economic, social, and intellectual life."

The *Synopsis* itself covers the period from 1607 to 1963. Its thirty chapters are well-organized with clearly defined subsections. Usually each chapter follows a concise but quite helpful chronological chart. These charts become more complex as more themes are developed in the story of our history. Each chapter also has a highly selective, but pertinent, annotated bibliography of works readily available to extend the basic knowledge of the student. A fair selection of useful maps is also offered.

The *Synopsis* is part of and is intended to be used with *The Berkeley Series in American History*. This series consists of fifteen paperback pamphlets which the editors feel should be used with other materials to "help a student get some idea of the vast diversity of American historical writing and to experience some of the excitement of close, first hand study of historical sources."

The titles of the pamphlets are: *The Creation of Society in the New World* by Sigmund Diamond, *The Puritan in the Enlightenment: Franklin and Edwards* by David Levin, *Rebel versus Tory: The Crisis of the Revolution, 1773-1776* by Jackson T. Main, *Adams and Jefferson: "Posterity Must Judge"* by Adrienne Koch, *Andrew Jackson, Nullification, and the State-Rights Tradition* by Charles Sellers, *Abolitionism: Disrupter of the Democratic System or Agent of Progress?* by Bernard A. Weisberger, *The Secession Crisis, 1860-61* by P. J. Staudenraus, *Reconstruction and the Freedmen* by Grady McWhiney, *Science and the Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1916* by A. Hunter Dupree, *The Issue of Federal*

Regulation in the Progressive Era by Richard Abrams, *The Coming of War, 1917* by Ernest R. May, *The Discontent of the Intellectuals: A Problem of the Twenties* by Henry May, *Labor and the New Deal* by E. David Cronon, *The Cold War: Containment and Its Critics* by Hugh Ross and *Conscience, Science, and Security: The Case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer* by Cushing Strout.

Each book in the *Series* contains a brief introduction, usually an overall view of the problem or problems discussed, documents drawn both from original sources and major scholarly essays, and a selected and annotated bibliography further developing the subject of the book. There is great variety in the makeup of these books. Some of them contain chronological charts, and some have extensive questions posed for the student about the meaning and nature of the sources quoted. As can be seen, many of the titles pose problems in historical interpretation developed from original sources about a relatively narrow point; others offer documentation about a more extended tendency or period of historical development.

Despite the editors' focus on political history, there is sufficient flexibility in their treatment or in their definition of politics that the *Synopsis* and the *Series* when used in conjunction with other materials they suggest could form the core of a highly provocative and stimulating basic course in American Studies.

THOMAS RICHARD GORMAN, *Loyola University, Chicago*

J. W. DE FOREST, *Honest John Vane*. Edited with an introduction by Joseph Jay Rubin (Volume I of the Monument Edition). 232 pp. Bald Eagle Press: State College, Pa., 1950. \$5.75.

J. W. DE FOREST, *Playing the Mischief*. Edited with an introduction by Joseph Jay Rubin (Volume II of the Monument Edition). 452 pp. Bald Eagle Press: State College, Pa., 1960. \$5.75.

J. W. DE FOREST, *Kate Beaumont*. Edited with an introduction by Joseph Jay Rubin (Volume III of the Monument Edition). 424 pp. Bald Eagle Press: State College, Pa., 1963. \$6.75.

DE FOREST died in 1906 hopeless that his twelve novels would ever be collected into the edition that he had planned as "a small monument to myself." Part of that monument here becomes a handsomely bound and printed, as well as definitively edited, reality: the remaining nine volumes, if support can be got—and it surely must—will presently be added. Professor Rubin's spiritedly written, painstakingly researched introductions are valuable contributions to American Studies in that they set each novel in its fullest possible context. Since De Forest was our first thorough-

going realist—and in this sense “our earliest *novelist*,” as Howells called him—Professor Rubin has much to tell us about American politics, society and literary taste. For *Honest John Vane* and *Playing the Mischief* he explores, respectively, the railroad and claims frauds of the corrupt Washington, D.C., of Whitman’s *Democratic Vistas* and makes comparisons with Trollope’s achievement in the Parliamentary series. For *Kate Beaumont* he describes South Carolina’s feudal order before the Civil War and contrasts De Forest’s Thackerayan veracity in exposing the traditions of chivalry and gallantry with the propagation of the plantation myth by such sentimental regionalists as Carolina Lee Hentz.

JOE LEE DAVIS, *University of Michigan*

Mr. Dooley Remembers: The Informal Memoirs of Finley Peter Dunne. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by Philip Dunne. 307 pp. Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown and Company, 1963. \$5.95.

FINLEY PETER DUNNE has taken so firm a position as the author of a literary classic that it would seem time to define his achievement. His writings bear especially upon courses in American Studies because they reflect so consistent a flow of American affairs, transmuted through the vision of “Mr. Dooley.” Montaigne was “one of the gods of [Dunne’s] idolatry.” But almost any anecdote included in these memoirs suggests Dunne’s originality. Asked once whether he was a Roman Catholic, he responded, “No, I’m a Chicago Catholic.” Dunne had no interest in autobiography, and his son Philip, long associated with Hollywood, has little regard for scholarship. But he persuaded his dying father to set down whatever might come to mind and pen, and interlarded Dunne’s trains of thought, views and recollections with his own reminiscences of Dunne’s ways and personality, all placed within the context of family and friends. The product is rich and illuminating. Dunne himself on biography and the Irish, on Warren G. Harding and Theodore Roosevelt, and on Mark Twain adds footnotes to history and literature. Best of all, he helps the specialist and teacher to discover his uses. Dunne had a masterly ear for good phrases and incidents, printable and otherwise. As they concern Franklin D. Roosevelt, Theodore Dreiser and Ring Lardner, among many others, they cast light on the vision which created “Mr. Dooley’s” memorable lines. Dunne may in time himself gain some stature as an essayist in his own right. Meanwhile, there are several collections of “Mr. Dooley’s” essays available for use in courses concerned for early twentieth-century social and cultural movements.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

IRVING HOWE, *A World More Attractive: A View of Modern Literature and Politics*. xii, 307 pp. Horizon Press, 1963. \$6.50.

BECAUSE Irving Howe is not one to make quibbling distinctions between literary and social criticism, his work often has a scope and profundity that is missing from that of critical practitioners today who have been nurtured in narrower academic precincts. Add felicity (even pungency) of style and the courage to take forthright stands in full awareness of their limitations or inherent paradoxes and you have, in Howe, a distinctly "old fashioned" type—a kind of cross between H. L. Mencken and Mencken's humanist antagonists (such as Stuart P. Sherman in his later phase)—surely a rare bird in any age!

Hence, a new work by Howe arouses high expectations and, in *A World More Attractive* (a collection of 18 of the best essays since 1950), the expectations are fully realized. If the book as a whole wants thematic unity and if one or two of the journalistic pieces from the early 1950s are, quite naturally, dated, there is a least unity of "concern" here and the range of ideas is as exciting as it is astonishing. Not only "literature and politics" (announced in the subtitle) but almost the whole complex fabric of modern life and culture comes within Howe's purview, nor does he confine himself solely to the national scene. Louis-Ferdinand Celine, Sholom Aleichem, George Gissing and T. E. Lawrence receive almost as much attention as Whitman, Frost, Wallace Stevens, Edith Wharton, Edmund Wilson and a dozen more native moderns and "post-moderns" (Howe's term).

Yet, one must admit that the most ambitious of the literary essays therein—notably those on Whitman, Frost, Stevens and Mrs. Wharton—do not quite succeed in fulfilling Howe's evident "revisionist" aims, probably because the tasks he sets himself in these critiques need larger frames of reference and argument than the brief essay form permits. One could wish, also, for a more rigorous definition of the "modern hero" (T. E. Lawrence is the cadaver operated on here) than merely "a man with a load on his mind" if the "problem" of heroism in our time is to be greatly illuminated. Again, if the "Quest for a Moral Style" is, as Howe claims, absolutely "fundamental to the best writing" of the 1920s (especially to Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Faulkner), then we need a precise definition for this catchy term to help us get down to *fundamental* questions of style and provide fresh insights more sharply etched than a slogan or an "improvised phrase" (as Howe admits) that serves a multitude of disparate values.

Nevertheless, the student of American civilization will find much to nourish his thinking and challenge his preconceptions in Howe's collec-

tion. The essay on "Mass Society and Post-Modern Fiction" alone, if it receives the attention it deserves, should enliven the discussion of contemporary writing and set criticism off in a new, and more fruitful, direction. What would have happened in *Crime and Punishment*, Howe begins by asking, if, at the crucial moment before murdering the pawnbroker, Raskolnikov had received a Guggenheim Fellowship? This he sees, only half-facetiously, as a paradigm of the predicament in society facing the contemporary novelist and, to this reader, his elaborations of the point are worth dozens of journal articles on the interdisciplinary approach.

CARL R. DOLMETSCH, *College of William and Mary*

PETER BLAKE, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape*. 142 pp. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964. \$2.95, paper.

ONCE a pure inspiration of immigrants, pioneers, poets and statesman, the American land lies befouled in ugliness. Written, as he says, "in fury," Mr. Blake's book is an attack against America's mistreatment of her greatest resource. His technique is satire; beginning with the title, he shows that the values of beauty and community have been inverted into those of profit and selfishness. The first aim of the book is to teach the eye to see the mess. Over 150 large photographs jar the reader with pointed contrasts of the natural forms of wood and field and the amenities of true city places (like Beacon Hill) with the commercial and technological clutter of neon signs, junkyards, suburban subdivisions, concrete highways and skyways, and the smiling money-machines called billboards.

The second aim is to place blame where it belongs. The chief vandals are not the thoughtless litterbugs; they are the "well organized and well financed" industries, like the billboard, automobile and real estate outfits, for whom natural and human resources are easy and apparently willing sources of profit. Mr. Blake, who is editor of *Architectural Forum*, makes no fuss about the fact that it is the profit system he is attacking, and that the consequences of that system are not only visual ugliness but inner blight, the deterioration of community life and mass indifference to humane values. "The brutal destruction of our landscape is much more than a blow against beauty. . . . In destroying our landscape, we are destroying the future of civilization in America." The reader has only to imagine the unseen people, the real victims in "God's own junkyard," to get the full force of Mr. Blake's meaning.

ALAN TRACHTENBERG, *Pennsylvania State University*

From Chapel Hill . . .

. . . *Literary Criticism*

THE CAUGHT IMAGE:

***Figurative Language
in the Fiction of HENRY JAMES
by Robert L. Gale***

This first extensive study of figurative language in the complete works of any novelist considers the figures of imagery in all of James's 135 novels and short stories. Dr. Gale, associate professor of English, University of Pittsburgh, defines the images, compares James's use of them with that made by other important novelists, and analyzes the figures by placing them into major categories: water, flower, animal, war, art, religion—and many minor ones: fire, metals, sensations, and others. An important addition to Jamesian scholarship. \$6.00

. . . *American History*

INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN JEFFERSON'S VIRGINIA, 1790–1830

***Winner of the First American Association for
State and Local History Manuscript Award
by Richard Beale Davis***

The fascinating story of the place and the period that gave America four Presidents, a Chief Justice, numerous Secretaries of State, ambassadors, explorers, Congressional leaders, and countless memorable orators. Mr. Davis, a native Virginian, is Alumni Distinguished Service Professor of American Literature in the University of Tennessee. Illustrated. \$8.75

at all bookstores

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805

edited with an Introduction and Notes by Ernest Staples Osgood

The discovery in a St. Paul attic in 1953 of the rough notes taken between 1803 and 1805 by Capt. William Clark brings into focus new highlights and descriptions of the memorable Lewis and Clark expedition. The Notes are produced in both facsimile and transcript, with maps and other illustrations. "A significant addition to historical knowledge. . . . No one can fail to be impressed by the meticulous editorial labors of Professor Osgood. His detective skill in running down obscure information is as impressive as the lucid style with which he presents his findings."—Ray A. Billington. Yale Western Americana Series, 5. 10 x 14 inches, 136-page illustration section. **\$12.50**

The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin

Leonard W. Labaree, Editor; Ralph L. Ketcham, Associate Editor

For the first time in the nearly two hundred years since Benjamin Franklin began to write an account of his life, a thoroughly edited and indexed publication of his autobiography is available. The Introduction, Notes, and Index have been prepared by the editors of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, who have brought to this task the knowledge and understanding of Franklin's life and services gained during the years spent in producing the first seven volumes of that large-scale enterprise.

De luxe clothbound edition, \$12.50; paperbound **\$1.95**

The Gentle Puritan

A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795

by Edmund S. Morgan

"Professor Morgan contributes not merely a biography but an indispensable study of New England's intellectual history from 1740 to Stiles's death in 1795."—*American Historical Review*. "This book is a model of what can be done when ample sources are combined with breadth of knowledge of the historical setting. . . . It is a pleasure to encounter a book which is both so illuminating and well-written."—*American Literature*. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. **\$10.00**

Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture

by Charles Coleman Sellers

"This book is a monument to both subject and author."—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. "Every Franklin devotee will want to own this book."—*American Historical Review*. **\$10.00**

Yale University Press



New Haven and London

Canadian orders:



McGill University Press

American Calendar

Summer



1964

METROPOLITAN N. Y. The Metropolitan Chapter, after a period of inactivity, resumed active operation on March 13-14 with a conference on the theme: "The Image of the United States within the Soviet Orbit." Among other reasons the meeting was remarkable for providing ASA sponsorship, and a heavily ASA audience, for two days of papers presented by social scientists who were not themselves ASA members. The contact thus established produced two days of successful papers at Brooklyn College, and some ASA recruits. There were three major sessions: "Variety and Change in Satellite Europe," moderated by John C. Campbell (Council on Foreign Relations); "Image Creation and Maintenance in the U.S.S.R.," moderated by Alexander Dallin (Columbia University); and "Images: Multiple and Blurred," moderated by Stanley Page (City College). In the first session, papers were given by Feliks

Gross, Brooklyn College, "The American Image and Poland"; and Karl Reyman, Free Europe Committee, "The American Image and Czechoslovakia"; with comment being provided by Herbert Strauss, of City College, and Randolph Braham, of Hunter College. In the second session, papers were given by Elizabeth Bass, Current Digest of the Soviet Press, "The American Image and the Press"; Michael Rywkin, City College, "Memoirs of Soviet Visitors to the U. S."; Allen Ballard, City College, "The Impact of Exchange Scholars"; Maurice Friedberg, Hunter College, "Soviet Cultural Imports"; and Michael Luther, Hunter College, "Educational Ideas in Transit." The final session featured papers by Erich Goldhagen, Hunter College, "The Intellectual and the Commissar"; Samuel Hendel, City College, "Reciprocal Image Distortions in the United States"; and Paul Collins, Free Europe Committee, "Official

and Other Views in the Satellites." The featured speaker at the post-dinner meeting on the 13th was Frederick H. Burkhardt, President of ACLS. Sidney Ditzion, City College, chaired the program, with Grace Stuart Nutley, Brooklyn College, co-chairing.

MIDCONTINENT. On April 10 and 11, at Kansas State College, in Pittsburg, Kansas, the ninth annual meeting of the Midcontinent ASA was held. In three sessions, the first of which was held jointly with the Kansas Folklore Society, the following people presented papers: Robert A. Georges, University of Kansas, "American Immigrant Folklore: Survival and Tradition"; J. Neale Carman, University of Kansas, "Immigrants and their Linguistic Development in the Pittsburg Coal Fields"; Warren French, Kansas State University, "The Background of Snopesism in Mississippi Politics"; and Alexander Kern, State University of Iowa, "The Major American Writer in American Studies: The Case of Thoreau." Commentators for the papers, in this order, were S. J. Sackett, President of the Kansas Folklore Society (Kansas State College), Gordon R. Wood (Southern Illinois University, Alton), Clinton Keeler (Oklahoma State University), and Walter Shear (Kansas State College). William E. Koch (Kansas State University), Dudley T. Cornish (Kansas State College), and Ernest Grundy (Kearney State Col-

lege) presided over the three sessions.

N. Y. STATE. An item from the Spring 1964 NYAS Newsletter runs: "Thanks to the interest and support of Walter Harding, professor of English, and Robert MacVittie, newly installed president of the college, State University College at Geneseo joins State University College at Buffalo, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and Cornell University as an institutional member of the American Studies Association, from the upstate area. The states of New York and California are now tied for first place in the number of institutional memberships: six. Would anyone like to try for seven?"

TEXAS. The December eighth annual meeting of the Texas Chapter went approximately as was reported in the previous "American Calendar." But, contrary to previous report, Robert E. Spiller (University of Pennsylvania) was prevented by illness from being the featured speaker, and when Anne Whaling (Arlington State College) was unable to deliver her paper, Lloyd C. Taylor (Texas A. & M.) worthily substituted with "Marie of Roumania and Humanitarianism." 1964 officers elected at the meeting were: John Q. Anderson (Texas A. & M.) president, David Van Tassel (University of Texas) vice-president, and Charles W. Hagelman Jr. (Lamar State College) secretary-treasurer.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC. The tenth annual meeting of the Middle Atlantic States ASA was held Saturday, April 18, at Beaver College in Glenside, Pennsylvania. Patrick D. Hazard of Beaver was chairman of the program, which centered on the theme: "A Century of World's Fairs: Their Cultural Significance." The speakers were Monte Calvert, University of Pittsburgh, "The Fair As A Maturing Institution in America"; Phyllis Montgomery, Chief Researcher, U. S. Federal Pavilion, 1946-65 New York World's Fair, "The Unfinished Agenda of America: Challenge to Greatness"; John Maass, Visual Presentation Director, City of Philadelphia, "The Centennial Fair of 1876"; and R. Damon Childs, Renewal Planning Division of Philadelphia, "Plans for Philadelphia's Bicentennial Fair." The program concluded with a showing of the prize-winning documentary film from KPIX in San Francisco, "The Innocent Fair." At a luncheon business meeting, 1964-65 officers were elected: president, Marshall Fishwick, of the Wemyss Foundation; vice-president, Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania; secretary, George P. Winston, Lafayette College; treasurer, Charles Bohner, University of Delaware.

HISTORY OF SCIENCE. ASA had a joint session with the History of Science Society on December 30, under the chairmanship of Brooke

Hindle. The meeting was dedicated to the theme "Problems in Studying the History of American Science," and featured as speakers: John C. Greene (University of Kansas), Charles Rosenberg (University of Pennsylvania) and Donald Fleming (Harvard University). The floor discussion was lively and extraordinarily general.

SHA. At the Philadelphia American Historical Association meeting on December 28, in addition to the ASA participation noted in the last "American Calendar," there was an ASA-Southern Historical Association session entitled "Image and Reality: the South in the 1920's." George B. Tindall (University of North Carolina) presented a paper entitled "The Modern Image of the Savage South."

ACLS. The American Council for Learned Societies has awarded a 1964-65 Study Fellowship — designed to assist young scholars in the humanities and social sciences to enlarge their range of knowledge by study in fields outside their areas of specialization—to John C. Clendenning, San Francisco State College. He will study philosophy, with emphasis upon skepticism and idealism. ACLS grants-in-aid were awarded to George Arms, University of New Mexico; Edwin S. Gustad, University of Redlands; and Lewis Leary, Columbia University. Louis D. Rubin Jr., Department of English, Hollins College, received

an ACLS scholarship to study "the formal mode of the novel."

NEW PROGRAMS. Starting in September 1964, the State University College at Oneonta and the New York State Historical Association, at Cooperstown, will present two M.A. programs, one in History Museum Training, the other in American Folk Culture. Write Louis C. Jones, Director, c/o New York State Historical Assn., Cooperstown, N. Y. . . . At Drury College, in Springfield, Missouri, an undergraduate program in American Studies is presently being launched. . . . The American Studies program at the University of Florida, Gainesville, has been organized to begin in the fall. Arthur Thompson is chairman, and his coordinating committee includes Gordon Bigelow, Donald E. Williams, David Chalmers and Ruth McQuown. Students will major in a regular discipline, with American Studies service as a double major. Along with the regular B.A. requirements, they must take 27 hours in at least three of four specified fields, plus a three-hour senior seminar in American Civilization.

VISUAL HISTORY. A "Slide-Card Portfolio" of forty specially designed and printed 5" by 8" cards accompanied by 40 slides, has been designed by the Wemyss Foundation and Sandak, Inc. The units, which will range widely in subject, will illustrate the historical ad-

vance of a particular school, style or idea in America. The project is under the supervision of Dr. Marshall W. Fishwick, Director of the Wemyss Foundation, and it is expected that units will be ready for distribution and testing in the fall of 1964.

INDIA. The American Studies Association at Punjab collaborated with Oliver I. Reddick, Director of the U. S. Educational Foundation in India, in organizing a Regional AS Conference at the Punjab University Campus at Chandigarh on February 7-9, 1964. . . . On April 1 the American Studies Research Centre began a four-day Inauguration Convention at its new quarters at Hyderabad. The Convention featured addresses by Merle Curti, Merrill Jensen and Richard N. Current, of the University of Wisconsin, Arthur Bestor, of the University of Washington, Everett Carter of the University of California, Napier Wilt of the University of Chicago and John Hope Franklin of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, U. S. A. Joseph Schiffman, Dickinson College, is director of the center.

PERMISSIONS. At the Conference of Editors of Scholarly Literary Journals, held at the MLA meetings in December, the following policy statement was issued: "We believe that material in our journals should be easily available for scholarly purposes, and, whether

the material is under copyright or not, wish to keep restrictions on its reproduction to a minimum. Therefore scholars may, without prior permission, quote from our material to document their own work, but it is their responsibility to make proper acknowledgment and to limit quotation to what is legitimately needed. This waiver does not extend to the quotation of substantial parts of articles or to quotation presented as primary material for its own sake.

Where, in the opinion of the journal's editor, material is to be reproduced in an anthology or collection of essays undertaken in reasonable expectation of profit, permission to reprint must be obtained and a fee will be charged.

Request for permission to reprint should be made to the editor, who will seek the author's concurrence."

IN BRIEF. Charles Boewe, the former ASA Executive Secretary, has been appointed Executive Secretary of the Fulbright Foundation in Pakistan. . . . Robert E. Spiller will attend the Second Nordic Conference of American Studies in Oslo on June 21-26, 1964. He has been awarded an ACLS travel grant for the purpose. . . . The John H. Dunning Prize, of \$300, is awarded biennially in the even-numbered years for the best monograph in manuscript or in print relating to American history. Submit by June 1 to Committee Chairman: Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsyl-

vania. . . . Paul G. Sifton, Historian, Independence National Historical Park, has received a grant from the Eastern National Park and Monument Association for research on the physical history (1774-1800) of the Independence Square buildings in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Archives Nationales, Bibliotheque Nationale and other French repositories. . . . John C. Broderick has moved from his position as Professor of English at Wake Forest College to be Specialist in American Cultural History in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. . . . Donald E. Williams, University of Florida, has been appointed as one of the advisory editors of the *Mississippi Quarterly: A Journal of Southern Culture*. . . . Robert D. Ochs, University of South Carolina, is on leave at Morton College, Oxford. . . . Arlin Turner, Duke University, occupied the chair of American Studies at the University of Bombay during January and February, 1964. . . . James R. Vitelli, chairman of the major program in American Civilization at ASA Institutional Member Lafayette College, at Easton, Pennsylvania, will spend the 1964-65 academic year in India, where he will establish a program in American literature at the University of Bombay. Arlin Turner's two months at Bombay was a preliminary preparation for the program. Dr. Vitelli will be on leave from Lafayette. . . . A new journal, *The East-West Review*, has emerged

from Japan. It features critical essays on Japanese, English, American and other literatures. The first issue was Spring 1964. Correspondence should go to the Managing Editor, Department of English, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan. . . . Colonial Williamsburg, in Virginia, will cooperate with the College of William and Mary in presenting "Life in Early Virginia," a six-week course in social and cultural history, taught at Williamsburg June 15 through July 24, 1964. Further details concerning the three-credit-hour course can be obtained from its coordinator, Dr. John E. Selby, Assistant Director of Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va. . . . At Lawrence College a campaign is underway to endow a chair in American Studies honoring the late Gordon R. Clapp, formerly head of the TVA and a Lawrence alumnus. . . . Abilene Christian College, at Abilene,

Texas, has offered one hundred graduate fellowships to teachers residing in the United States who qualify for the Abilene American Studies Program in the summer of 1964. Further information is available through the program's coordinator, Mr. Edward L. Kirk, "American Studies Program, Station ACC, Box 712, Abilene, Texas. . . . The Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731 and the oldest subscription library in the United States, has sold its Broad and Christian Streets property in Philadelphia to the city, and expects to break ground for a new building in mid-1964 next to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on Locust Street. Full cooperation between the Library Company and the Historical Society is planned, including a physical connection between the two adjacent buildings. R. F. L.

American Quarterly Award

Beginning in 1964 a prize of \$100 will be given annually to the author of the article published each year in *American Quarterly* which best exemplifies its stated aim, "to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present." A committee of judges appointed by the President of the American Studies Association will determine the recipient of the award.

American Quarterly

VOLUME XVI

SUMMER 1964

NUMBER 2 PART 2

SUPPLEMENT

WARREN I. SUSMAN History & the American
Intellectual: Uses of a Usable Past

ARTICLES IN AMERICAN STUDIES, 1963

AMERICAN STUDIES DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

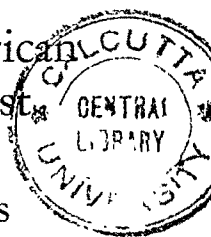
WRITINGS ON THE THEORY & TEACHING OF AMERICAN STUDIES

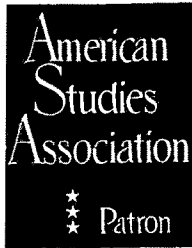
AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

FINANCIAL AID TO GRADUATE STUDENTS, 1965-66

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY

\$1.25 A COPY





INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS
of the AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
1964

ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
CARLETON COLLEGE
CHICO STATE COLLEGE
COLGATE UNIVERSITY
COLORADO COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR
WOMEN
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
DUKE UNIVERSITY
EASTERN NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
HEIDELBERG COLLEGE
HIRAM COLLEGE
HOBART & WILLIAM SMITH
COLLEGES
HOLLINS COLLEGE
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
LAWRENCE COLLEGE
MCLEAN HIGH SCHOOL, VA.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
OLD STURBRIDGE VILLAGE
PACE COLLEGE
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE
COLLEGE

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SIMPSON COLLEGE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
GENESE, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY
TULANE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
RIVERSIDE
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING
WAYLAND BAPTIST COLLEGE
WEMYSS FOUNDATION
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM
YALE UNIVERSITY

American Quarterly

Volume XVI

Summer 1964

No. 2, Pt. 2

SUPPLEMENT

History and the American Intellectual: Uses of a Usable Past	243
WARREN I. SUSMAN	
Articles in American Studies, 1963	264
American Studies Dissertations in Progress	326
Writings on the Theory and Teaching of American Studies	332
American Studies Programs in the United States	340
Financial Aid to Graduate Students, 1965-66	345
American Studies Association Membership Directory	352

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; in the United States and Canada; \$7.00 in other countries; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 188 High St., Nutley, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1964, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Studies Association

Ralph H. Gabriel, *President*
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Russel B. Nye, *Vice President*
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

E. McClung Fleming, *Treasurer*
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

Donald N. Koster, *Bibliographer*
ADELPHI COLLEGE

Myron H. Luke, *Acting Bibliographer*
C. W. POST COLLEGE

Robert F. Lucid, *Executive Secretary*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Executive Council

John Q. Anderson
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY

Bernard Bowton
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Edwin H. Cady
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Wilson Clough
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Hennig Cohen
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

John Hope Franklin
BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Norman H. Pearson
YALE UNIVERSITY

David M. Potter
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Arnold Sio
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Robert E. Spiller
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

Hennig Cohen, *Editor*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Robert E. Spiller, *Chairman*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Editorial Board

Arthur Bestor
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Walter Bezanson
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

David B. Davis
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

John Gerber
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John Higham
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

John Kouwenhoven
BARNARD COLLEGE

Bert J. Loewenberg
SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

Leo Marx
AMHERST COLLEGE

William G. McLoughlin
BROWN UNIVERSITY

Henry B. Parkes
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Stow Persons
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John William Ward
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published by the University of Pennsylvania in cooperation with the American Studies Association. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor and be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. No responsibility is taken for injury or loss.

WARREN I. SUSMAN
Rutgers University

History and the American Intellectual: Uses of a Usable Past

WRITING DURING WHAT MUST NOW APPEAR TO MANY AS HALCYON DAYS OF faith in the possibilities of social studies, Charles and Mary Beard could declare that "The history of a civilization, if intelligently conceived, may be an instrument of civilization."¹ Buried within what was clearly for the Beards a significant normative proposition—the call for a special kind of history—there rests a fundamental truth even more important for the student of a civilization. The idea of history itself, special kinds of historical studies and various attitudes toward history always play—whether intelligently conceived or not—a major role within a culture. That strange collection of assumptions, attitudes and ideas we have come to call a "world view" always contains a more or less specific view of the nature of history. Attitudes toward the past frequently become facts of profound consequence for the culture itself. Many students of historiography, of course, have expended much worthwhile energy in attempting to unearth the cultural causes of various approaches to the study of the past. This paper, however, suggests, with a series of broad hypotheses, the possibilities involved in a full-scale examination of the cultural consequences of special attitudes toward the past and the uses of history within a culture. In order to do so, I first would like to suggest in the most general sense how two kinds of treatments of the past, designated "mythic" and "historical" for purposes of the discussion, are related to each other and to culture. The rest of the essay proposes a basic outline of the history of some of these key relationships throughout American history.²

The idea of "history" itself belongs to a special kind of social and cultural organization. In status or community societies there is no written

¹ This is the first sentence of their introduction to *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), p. vii.

² An earlier version of this paper was read to a joint American Studies Association—American Historical Association luncheon held in New York, December 28, 1960.

"history" (although there may be epics or chronicles).³ Myth predominates in the prevailing world view: a special class—most generally a priesthood—exists in whose hands the monopoly of the interpretation of the myths of the society resides. Few question the nature or kind of social order. The institutional and normative pattern remains relatively static. The myths are sufficient to unify the whole, to answer the largely emotional needs of the members of the community and to provide, when necessary, the collective dreams of the society about the past, the present and the future in the same instant. The myths "explain" all. The function of myth is largely utopian: it provides a vision of the future without providing in and of itself any essential dynamic element which might produce the means for bringing about any changes in the present order of things. Ritual is generally enough to assure the fulfillment of the promise of the myth.

History, however, comes into existence in contract or associational societies. Here the social order is changing in ways which contrast dramatically with the more static nature of a status society. New institutions and values arise; associations become increasingly defended not because they exist but because they fulfill a function which can be more clearly seen and understood. The social order itself must be rationalized; reasoned explanations are called for. It is history which can more reasonably explain the origin, the nature and the function of various institutions and their interaction. Further, history seems able to point the direction in which a dynamic society is moving. It brings order out of the disordered array that is the consequence of change itself. As a result history is often used as the basis for a political philosophy which while explaining the past offers also a way to change the future. History thus operates ideologically. But by the very nature of its enterprise and the very kind of society which calls it into existence, historical interpretation cannot be effectively monopolized for long by any special class or group.⁴ Its study is open to all who can reason and to all who participate in the various contractual or associational aspects of the society.

³ This distinction, so important in modern historiographical discussion, is made effectively in Benedetto Croce, *History: Its Theory and Practice* (London, 1920).

⁴ History arose in an effort to analyze new problems in a changing social order, problems now believed possible of such analysis by rational inquiry. Scientific inquiry had its origins in similar circumstances with the realization that the nature of the physical world was likewise amenable to such analysis. In both instances, of course, a special kind of professionalism developed. But again, in both instances, the existence of a special class of trained inquirers failed to give these men a real monopoly over their fields: others could use the results of such inquiries for their own purposes. This continues to be especially true in the study of history where special technical difficulties such as exist in today's scientific inquiry have really never developed. I am of course aware that there is in fact a kind of sociology of historians; not everyone was interested

Obviously what I have presented in excessively brief form is a contrast of two models of social organization and one significant element in the world view an investigator might be expected to discover in each. In status societies the prevailing attitude toward the past is mythic and its function utopian; in a contract society the past is viewed historically with consequent ideological uses. Probably no such ideal types ever existed. Certainly, for example, a contract society does not surrender its mythic elements; the psychological and social need for myth seems to persist in the most dynamic and rationalized social organizations. For it is in the realm of myth, in my usage, to provide much of the vision, the hopes and the dreams of any group. Myth, therefore, continues as what I call the utopian element in any world view, although I would like to suggest that in a complex contract society the number and kinds of myths are multiplied and frequently conflict more dramatically than they would in an ideal status society.⁵

What is significant, then, about an historical approach to the past in the newer social order is not that it replaces a mythic approach or even that history sometimes finds itself in conflict with myth. I am not proposing only a battle between mythos and logos (although surely this too does exist) but a special interaction between myth and history, utopianism and ideology, which has significant cultural consequences for any society. History is frequently called upon to play a new role in relationship to the older mythic views. Perhaps a metaphor will explain what I have in mind. Myth traditionally provides the central drama of any social order—witness the sacred drama of the Christian myth. But history offers something vastly different in its ideal form. Since it is concerned with change,

in history in every period. In the classical world history was generally written by and for members of the governing classes, for example. My point is simply that history *could* in fact be available to all who could read. It presented no special mysteries. Also, in the discussion that follows I am interested only in professional historians when they have an impact on the more general intellectual community. Obviously, after 1885 the professional historian is an important cultural fact, but I am more interested in the cultural consequences of the uses of history by intellectuals who may indeed not be professional historians.

⁵ I realize that my social categories are "ideal types" that are not perhaps acceptable for more sophisticated social analysis but I believe that they can still be useful in a more general way, a rough background for my analysis. I am sorry, too, to insist on my own usage for the words "myth," "ideology," "history" and "utopia." I am well aware that others use these terms differently and, since precise definition would take more space than I may have, I hope that my meanings are clear from the context. I have been influenced in part by Kenneth Burke, "Ideology and Myth," *Accent*, VII (Summer 1947), 195-205. Mr. Burke sees myth as a way of stating a culture's "essence" in narrative terms. Two very important recent discussions of myth and ideology have been published by Ben Halpern: "The Dynamic Elements of Culture," *Ethics*, LXV (July 1955), 235-49; "'Myth' and 'Ideology' in Modern Usage," *History and Theory*, I (1961), 129-49.

movement, the on-going course of action and ideas, since it is more clearly related to the dynamic aspects of social life, it provides what I have called an ideology as distinguished from a utopian vision. But the two frequently work hand in hand; myth provides the drama and history puts the show on the road. Myths often propose fundamental goals; history often defines and illuminates basic processes involved in achieving goals.

Philosophies of history—attitudes toward history as process—frequently influence the *kind* of action (or retreat to inaction) men adopt as a result of belief in a fundamental myth. If one needed further proof about this important relationship between myth and history, a brief examination of millennialist interpretations of history would prove most illuminating. All Christians believe in the central myth (and therefore promise) of their faith; but this belief clearly has different consequences culturally when coupled with different theories of history. Millennialism, as a special theory of history, is itself of crucial cultural importance. But those who hold a premillennialist view are going to act far differently in the world than those who hold a postmillennialist position, as any student of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century American intellectual and social history can attest, in spite of their fundamentally shared view of the truth of the Christian myth.⁶

In the complex relationship between myth and history within a culture it is clear that there are conditions which frequently lead to the attempt to use each cultural force—myth and history—in ways which emulate the natural function of the other. We are perhaps most clearly aware of the consequences that result from an attempt to make history into myth (or at least make history *perform* mythically). W. Lloyd Warner's extended discussion of the particular uses of American history in his latest *Yankee City* volume provides a most graphic instance. Here history has in fact become myth, complete with ritual, pageant and even a kind of priesthood. A relatively complex contract society is unified, the existing social order justified, basic values reinforced and community goals sanctified—all by resort to major incidents in *Yankee City's* history treated in mythic ways in which all citizens of the town are invited or perhaps socially compelled to share. In the process, however, something significantly different is made from history—and even the history of *Yankee City* and the U.S.A.—than as we usually think of it.⁷

⁶ While this point is obvious it unfortunately escapes too many writers. Stow Persons is consistently excellent in indicating these differences and their significance in his *American Minds* (New York, 1958).

⁷ *The Living and the Dead* (New Haven, 1959), pp. 101-225.

But there is also a drive to make the myth something historically real; that is, to turn the utopian promise into a specific kind of ideology. The nineteenth century began its detailed search for an historical Christ, for example, undoubtedly to provide a rational basis for a belief in the Christian myth. But that very process of putting Christ *in* history has enormous cultural consequences for society and for the nature of Christianity itself. For once the chief mythic character of the Christian religion, the man-god who died and was reborn, became a figure within the limits of rational historical inquiry, he became subject to special interpretations and uses. Jesus became a great "representative man"—an idea which in its very nature was a threat to the mysteries of the Christian myth—who was a great moral teacher and prophet. By the end of the century the American people could be told that if they would truly walk "in His steps" they ought to become Christian socialists. They were presented with a set of immediate social consequences if He came to Chicago. Within a few decades He would become Comrade Christ, the social revolutionary.⁸ Ideological consequences of a striking kind result from the effort to make a mythic vision of the past function as history. But, if only to emphasize the problem, that very act of making history out of myth, the act of treating Jesus as an historical figure shaped by historical conditions and circumstances and shaping in turn his society and world as any great man might, opens the way to a variety of ideological uses, not just one. History is seldom the monopoly of the few as the interpretation of the mystery of myth may indeed be in some cultures. And as a result, it is this same historical Christ who could become in 1925 "The Man Nobody Knows," the eminently successful salesman-businessman of Bruce Barton.

I have selected two extreme examples of history becoming myth and myth becoming history to establish my basic hypothesis. Yet somewhere in between there is a special meeting ground between history and myth that frequently provides a key to the central tensions within a culture. It is in this area of the tensions between established myths and developing ideologies, between the efforts of converting history to mythic ends and of using history in its more traditionally ideological way, where much of the story will have to be told. This conflict is often quite clearly recognized by many intellectuals within the culture. Artists, especially, are able to see and use this important intellectual and cultural fact. Two novels will perhaps indicate the existence of this awareness. In Mel-

⁸ For examples of this transformation see Upton Sinclair's extraordinary anthology of the literature of social protest, *The Cry for Justice* (Philadelphia, 1915). Book VII, 345-82, is called "Jesus" and in it appear many examples of the use of the historical Jesus as a figure of social protest.

ville's *Billy Budd* many commentators have seen the significant use of both the myth of Christ and the myth of Adam. But too few have seen that these mythic representations are put into a very special and carefully defined historical context. For Melville goes to great lengths to set his scene within history—precisely and in some detail, with dates, events and all the trappings of historical reality. We see the mythic enactments against the backdrop of meticulously established historical detail, a particular time and place, a particular series of historically true events. It is the tension between the historical demands (ideology) and the mythic ones (utopia) that gives the novel its tragic pertinence. Sixty years later William Faulkner was to use the same kind of central tension in *A Fable*. The enactment of the Christ myth is again presented against a most specific and realistic historical background. Not only does Faulkner place his tale during the First World War as Melville did his during the aftermath of the French Revolution, but he also uses an amazing number of details that come from the actual history of that war. Thus it is this very tension between the mythic beliefs of a people—their visions, their hopes, their dreams—and the on-going, dynamic demands of their social life recorded by the students of the real past and the actual present (with perhaps an often implied future) which provides many artists with their theme, a theme reflecting a basic conflict within the culture itself. This is in fact one of the basic tensions which helps define the nature and kind of culture that exists.

American civilization begins with a unique set of cultural circumstances. On the shores of New England a group of able intellectuals—some ministers, others reflecting their important university training—established a kind of social order that was clearly, by definition, a contract society. It was organized on the theoretical base composed of a series of major compacts; it was prepared to carry out an on-going mission within history, the task no less than the reformation of the whole world. It was also, however, a social order committed with grave earnestness to a belief in the Christian myth. But intellectually, for its particular kind of organization to survive and its mission to be fulfilled, the myth alone, no matter how interpreted, would not suffice. It is always important to remember that this was a society dominated largely by those we would today call intellectuals. The nineteenth-century image of the alienated intellectual would surely seem strange to these Puritans, even to the Hutchinsons and Williamses and Taylors who were driven from the colony or forced to keep their private thoughts very private indeed. And these intellectuals who functioned as leaders from the very beginnings of the enterprise carried with them a special view of history;

they made the study of history and its interpretation a vital part of the cultural development of the colony. The view of history which the settlers and those who followed brought was one which clearly explained, defined and justified the specific kind of contractual society they proposed to establish and develop. The writing of history, the keeping of journals at least in part for historical purposes, the discussions of history in various sermons and addresses makes clear the central role—second only I would argue to the expounding of the Christian myth itself and its meanings—of historical inquiry to the colonizing efforts. For it is history which provides the ideology, the dynamic view that makes possible the onward movement of the society to its historically appointed task. The tension between the promise of the Christian myth and its obligations upon man and the promise of their special view of history and its demands forms a central theme in any analysis of the culture they built.

By the end of the seventeenth century that brilliant series of covenants and compromises, that essential tension between myth and ideology directed by America's first intellectual elite, had broken down forever. In an almost final gesture, Cotton Mather characteristically resorted again to history in an effort to restore the old order socially and intellectually. But the age was over, the tensions too great; nothing—not even Mather's monumental and most significant history—could save it. Two important groups, both denied an effective place within the old order, were now ready to face each other in a major struggle reflecting again a basic tension in the eighteenth century. Each had its own view of the nature of the process of history, derived in some measure from the original Puritan synthesis but each stressing its special aspects as ideology for its own kind and class.

The revivalists of the Great Awakening took the millennialist and providential elements of the old synthesis as their own. In their frankly supernatural view of history they saw in the revival movement itself the hope of the coming millennium. In their enthusiastic and optimistic view they were committed, then, to a theory of history which might provide an effective threat to the social order and stability in the name of the currently disinherited. On the other hand, the new leaders of the American social order who had taken over after the older Puritan leadership had faltered found it necessary to fight back with a philosophy of history and a view of American development that could be used to defend the newly-arrived-at contractual order in which they were now the elite, intellectually and socially. Stow Persons has shown with acute awareness how these men developed a cyclical theory of history without signi-

ficant reference to the Christian myth and yet without attempting to deny this mythic vision directly. Rather, they stressed the law and order which ruled the universe in terms of clearly discernible moral qualities, qualities reflected most effectively in the accumulation of property and position, in the special moral character exemplified by their own group in society. Thus their theory of history justified the new social order and their place in it and sought to counter the "dangerous" theories of the enthusiasts and millennialists of the revival movement.⁹

The intellectual tensions of the century—and in some sense the real social tensions as well—were reflected in a basic conflict of historical theories, one in which the Christian myth was about to be actualized in time and thus posed a radical threat to the stability of the social order, and the other in which the Christian myth itself had become some sort of regularized goal at the end of history, a goal which might be best achieved through the orderly and moral progress of men under the leadership of those of good character and sound social position. The conservative philosophy of history of the Enlightenment in America largely dominated public policy and the newer intellectuals who espoused it continued to maintain effective control in society as had an earlier elite in Puritan New England.

By the second and third decades of the nineteenth century several important new factors could be witnessed on the American cultural scene. First, the intellectuals in the society could no longer easily assume that through the professions of the ministry or the law social power would be assured to them within the American community. The problem of vocation for the intellectual in America became for the first time a serious issue: for this reason Emerson's soul-searching struggle to find a proper vocation becomes a key symbolic instance for the student of the role of the intellectual in America. Secondly, the emergence of the idea of progress in its variant forms provided an easy view of the nature of history for every man and an all too easy rationalism that engulfed all before it. So much had history taken hold in American society that the very mystical and intuitive nature of fundamental myths seemed to lose place and meaning for many. So easily did the notion of progress adapt all events past and present to its use that the whole social order became too readily (for some) justified—any change, any development, any direction.

⁹ "The Cyclical Theory of History in Eighteenth Century America," *American Quarterly*, VI (Summer 1954), 147-63. This seems to me one of the most important articles on the Enlightenment in America and yet it is not sufficiently well known or used by those who continue to talk about the period in traditional ways, be they the ways of a Becker or a Boorstin.

For those who felt these dislocations there were several courses open. They might reject history in its currently accepted sense and seek beyond it or apart from it some sense of the importance and meaning of life. This, of course, was the path of Emerson and Thoreau who refused to allow rational historical analysis to take away from them the transcendental vision of the basic myths they still wished to and needed to believe in. If history did have a value, it was not the history as on-going process but rather the study of what might be abstracted from the past as a standard in the present—exactly those transcendent virtues and ideas that were unaffected by the relativities of the historical process itself.

This particular use of the past was of course not new nor was it uniquely the property of Emerson and his followers. The eighteenth-century elite had drawn on its studies of the classical world for models of behavior and conduct; the nineteenth century frequently found ideal patterns for society and morals (as well as art and architecture) in a special and static vision of the Middle Ages, Gothic and Romanesque; the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century looked especially to the glories of the Renaissance for standards of taste, virtue and judgment; and in the early twentieth century the American Humanists (following what they believed to be the lead of the Renaissance Humanists) again proposed a vision of the classical world as ideal. But such a use of history—abstract, outside of time and circumstances, detached from the whole process of development—was largely a device to overcome, to halt, to stem the tide of the on-going process itself. It was almost always the tool of a small elite and its effect was seldom widely felt. It was, in my terms, essentially an anti-historical use of history. Its function was mythic in purpose, but it failed too often to elicit a proper mythic response from the mass of society—no matter how monumental and overpowering its architectural representations all over the American landscape.

Perhaps more effective but still limited in appeal was the resort to myths of a purer kind in which more of the community might easily share. R.W.B. Lewis has sketched for us the story of *The American Adam* which deals with a major aspect of that effort. And if Emerson and the transcendentalists generally failed to reaffirm the vital mystery of their particular vision of the Godhead to large numbers of Americans, the continuing revivalist tradition did keep alive a more readily emotional and social response to the Christian myth, although in this case once again usually related to a millennialist historical view whose considerable consequence I have previously suggested. The transcendentalist and revivalist attempts to reassert the value and function of myth in American society are, after all, parts of a single process and in some very real sense tran-

scendentalism can well be considered a kind of revivalism among the intellectuals.

But there were intellectuals in this period who did not turn away from the study of history itself. One of the most significant aspects of the intellectual history of the mid-nineteenth century is the special effort made by American intellectuals to recapture control over the study of history itself as a vehicle of intellectual and social influence and power. Most of these intellectuals had been trained, initially, for either the law or the ministry, the previous career patterns available to those intellectuals who sought power in American society.¹⁰ These intellectuals trained themselves in the best of the methods provided by the newer "scientific" historical scholarship then thriving in Germany. They were, moreover, much admired and much read by a goodly segment of the American community. In an age when a special kind of historical imagination flourished, these intellectuals discovered that through the writing of history itself they might achieve some of the ends their more a-historical fellows were unable to achieve.

But in capturing, in some meaningful sense at least, part of the intellectual leadership through their study of history, what ends were the Bancrofts and the Sparkses, the Prescotts and the Parkmans actually seeking? David Levin ably has shown how they conceived of history as a "romantic art" and how clearly they used the major devices of that art in their works of scholarship.¹¹ They wrote colorful narrative history; they made characters and events come alive. But such history—and it is again being called for in our own age—with all its serious and studied scholarship yields itself to fulfilling the very kind of mythic function (albeit much more popularly received) in a way that the more self-conscious non-historical mythic efforts of the period seemingly failed to do. Almost always narrative history attempts a mythic function and the more carefully analytical history (most characteristic in the monographs and studies in the period from 1890 to 1940) lends itself to ideological uses. In the unstable world of the nineteenth century, filled with change, teeming with developments bent on upsetting the fundamental nature of the social order itself—developments which were to include a civil war—these great historians of the middle of the century produced American epics. They provided, perhaps, a way of understanding what was happening through an almost mystical notion of the divine law of progress,

¹⁰ I have often wondered whether there is any significance in the fact that most of those who were originally headed for a career in law generally selected European history as their field of inquiry while those prepared for the ministry, like Sparks and Bancroft, devoted themselves to the American story.

¹¹ *History as a Romantic Art*, (Stanford, Cal., 1959).

as in the case of Bancroft. Here is history offering hope without program, faith without a searching investigation of basic issues and problems. In the words of R. W. B. Lewis, Bancroft's kind of history was a demonstration "in historical terms of the validity of the hopeful legend, the legend of the second chance."¹² In the case of Parkman, on the other hand, history became a kind of tragedy, the unfulfilled promise of both savagery and civilization. But whether optimistic or pessimistic, the histories of the period provided certain fundamental values, a certain commitment to moral law, certain reinforcement through examples of exemplary social and political behavior. In spite of all their scholarship and science, then, these epic accounts are mythic in consequence in maintaining older social arrangements and values, utopian in essence and objective. These historians try to speak out as high priests in charge of interpreting a newer and more scientifically composed mythology. It is perhaps not surprising that a scholar like R. W. B. Lewis should discover mythic elements in their work similar to that in the work of some of those who rejected traditional historical analysis.

Mid-nineteenth-century American intellectuals adopted an approach to the study of the past that led to a fundamentally utopian outlook; the method of analysis was primarily mythic—no matter what the more formal trappings. This attitude toward history and toward the world itself reached a most dramatic climax in the 1880s—the decade in which more Americans sought to outline in print their utopian visions than perhaps any other decade in our history.¹³ Significantly, however, most of these attempts to devise a utopia were presented without any ideological basis which might indicate how the existing social order could propel itself toward the achievement of such a new and ideal ordering of society.

The intellectual historian fond of dramatic contrasts might delight in comparing the essential utopian outlook of much thought of the 1880s with the fundamental return to the historical vision of the 1890s. Such a contrast might easily, it is true, be overdrawn. But nevertheless, here, amidst a series of basic problems too harsh to be overlooked, too significantly earnest and demanding of immediate attention to be judged on the basis of a mythic view of some distant future, history emerged again as a vehicle for the intellectual with a new and special set of functions significantly in line with the ideological usefulness of certain attitudes toward history.

Many defenders of Frederick Jackson Turner and many critics have tried to sum up his greatness. Many have pointed to a considerable group

¹² *The American Adam* (Chicago, 1955), p. 161.

¹³ V. L. Parrington Jr., *American Dreams* (Providence, 1947) is an account of utopian works with a good checklist of titles.

of forerunners or precursors who held views similar to his. But the genius of Turner was essentially a simple and yet vital one culturally. He took a major American myth and made from it effective history. He took a utopian set of attitudes and beliefs and made them ideologically effective for his own times. First, he compiled no great narrative, used almost none of the current literary conventions. His was an effort in analysis. His starting point was not some vague feeling of instability but a set of specific problems in the American scene which were of significant moment in his own era—labor unrest, the farmers' revolt, the consequences of a vast new immigration, the rise of urban problems, a world-wide depression in the face of a world-wide transportation and communications revolution. He wanted to account for these problems; he wanted to suggest why they had not arisen previously in our history. He made, therefore, the frontier thesis, a long-established myth as many authorities agree, a major tool for social analysis. What is more, since he could reveal *why* America had developed the way she had, since he knew the key ingredient in producing the kind and quality of social institutions and character types that made America unique, his analysis might more easily provide some clues about what must be done to preserve that order. Thus his analysis might make it possible for one to act—not resign oneself to the myth of a second chance with some inevitable progress under God's benign direction nor surrender to the essential tragedy of the human condition nor carry on precisely as one had in the past under the leadership of one's betters.¹⁴

I hope this analysis will not be taken as approval of the kind of approach Turner and his followers undertook, or the kind of ideology that emerged in part because of that approach. Rather, I am suggesting that what followed from this kind of history was precisely that—an ideology and moreover one which was in striking ways to become in part the official American ideology since at least 1893. If from 1893 to 1963 Americans find themselves committed to a search for new frontiers to replace the one Turner announced was no more, they do so in large part because the study of history pointed the way ideologically. It is precisely because this did become a major ideological force, adapted to many ends in the America of the twentieth century, that there has been such a wide-scale

¹⁴ It is important at this juncture to recall Turner's extraordinary essay on "The Significance of History" which antedates his more famous paper of 1893 and which is really one of the earliest statements in the "New History" position that Beard and Robinson were to espouse. This essay is reprinted in *The Varieties of History*, ed. Fritz Stern (New York, 1956), pp. 197-208. For the setting out of which the Turner thesis itself came see Lee Benson, "The Historical Background of Turner's Frontier Essay," *Agricultural History*, XXV (April 1951), 59-82.

public debate on the validity of the so-called Turner thesis and that important groups of American intellectuals found it necessary to discuss the values which followed from a frontier America, values which some were trying to preserve in our century while others equally vigorously were trying to disavow them.¹⁵

Out of the historical awareness that dawned in the 1890s in America came still another example of the importance of history as ideology. This involves another pattern of historical inquiry. If Turner turned a myth into history, others in the period, again for ideological purposes, attempted to take the mythic out of what had previously passed for history. All through the nineteenth century there had been a rumbling of dissatisfaction with the inheritance from seventeenth-century Puritan theology and social organization and values. One can point to many landmarks along the way which reveal the challenge to the Puritan tradition that had become so important a part of official American mythology. But the real explosion occurred in the 1890s—an explosion that was to continue to reverberate throughout American intellectual life until the 1940s.

For any student of culture one question must seem apparent at the outset. Why should anyone bother to attack the life and ideas of men long dead or a social order no longer in existence? Why, after all, in any culture should anyone, save perhaps those professionally involved with the study of the past, care about what the seventeenth century was *really* like? Yet in that great era of historical awareness beginning roughly in the 1890s, American intellectuals *did* care. They cared because they realized the vital ideological importance in a society like ours of history and the “proper” attitudes toward it. They cared because they realized that views held about the past generally had consequences for the present. It was not simply that the past “determined” the present in some rather simple casual order of things, but that the way one viewed the past had significant consequences on the way one acted in the present. It was precisely because in our kind of social order history becomes a key to ideology, a key to the world view that shapes programs and actions in the present and future. At least this was a fundamental view of the majority of American intellectuals in the period between 1890 and 1940. Since current ideology is based on a particular view of the nature of the past, since present problems are frequently solved by reference to the way past experience dealt with similar problems, the control over the

¹⁵ I have discussed this point in my article “The Useless Past: American Intellectuals and the Frontier Thesis, 1910-1930,” *Bucknell Review*, XI (March 1963), 1-20. For ideological consequences of the kind I mean, see, for example, William Appleman Williams, “The Frontier Thesis and American Foreign Policy,” *The Pacific Coast Historical Review*, XXIV (November 1955), 379-95.

interpretation of the nature of that past becomes a burning cultural issue. This is, in effect, the driving force behind the movement James Harvey Robinson called the "New History" in 1913; it colors the achievements of other professional historians like Charles Beard and Carl Becker.¹⁶ And it is not beside the point that these historians, like Turner, played significant roles in the general culture of their era that went way beyond their purely professional responsibilities. These attitudes in fact came generally to be held by a generation or more of intellectuals who were in no sense professional historians.

There is, of course, still a further assumption behind this historic struggle within history itself. Not only is it important that we have the "right" view of the past, the proper attitudes toward history, if we are to operate effectively in the world today and tomorrow, but also the right view, the proper attitudes *can* help us to solve our problems and change the course of the stream of history itself. This is why Van Wyck Brooks' call in 1918 for a "usable past" made sense to American intellectuals all through the period under discussion, no matter how they might agree or disagree about which view of the past was most especially useful. There was a basic agreement that an intelligent reading of the past might make possible man's intelligent direction over the future course of history.

The preoccupation of the brothers Adams with special phases of the American past is well known by students of our civilization. Further, there has been extensive discussion of these remarkable men against the background of the very special problems they faced as intellectuals in a society in which they seemed to have, in the current social order of their day, little place or function. They fit rather easily into the image of the alienated intellectual, that image which began to emerge significantly on the American scene in the nineteenth century. But the special relationship between this seeming lack of function and their interest in the study of the past has not been sufficiently explored. For as "aliens" seeking positions of intellectual authority and power, they did not follow the path of the transcendentalists in turning against the past or the tradition of the historians of the earlier days of the century who would become high priests for society by turning history into a special mythic form, an epic art. Rather, they turned to the study of the past in an effort to find a new ideological position that they could offer in refutation of accepted contemporary ideologies, ideologies justified by a view of the past currently in vogue and for them significantly untrue and dangerous.

¹⁶ See Morton White, *Social Thought in America* (New York, 1949) and Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History* (New Haven, 1958).

If they told the story of the Antinomian controversy, for example, they did so not simply to set the record straight. (How few historians, professional or otherwise, really seem interested in the pastness of the past!) They did so because they believed that the defense of Puritan America, which had become part of the official creed, perpetuated values and social attitudes intolerable to them, impossible for the America they would see develop. If Brooks Adams, more forcefully than any figure before him and in advance of the more sophisticated analysis of the same relation made slightly later by Max Weber, undertook to relate the development of modern capitalism and the Reformation, he did so because he found Puritan values reinforcing capitalist values and the resultant social and economic organization destructive of the kind of culture he wished to see flourish in America. If as a result of the new economic man who emerged as a major social type from the fusion of capitalism and protestantism it was, as he believed, impossible to have a decent art, architecture and literature, and it was unlikely that an effective civilization could endure in the United States, obviously something must be done to modify if not overthrow the ruling ideology that perpetuated this social type. *The Law of Civilization and Decay* was in effect a kind of "new history." The philosophies of history advanced by Brooks and Henry Adams were not simply statements of pessimistic surrender to the world as it was, but a new reading of how the world got that way: an effective, critical beginning of a search for a new ideology that might produce a culture more agreeable. It would not be easy to achieve this reorganization, but the place to begin was clearly with a re-examination of the past and the effort to discover from such study the possible new laws that might provide a new dynamic approach to the world's problems. At the same time, of course, it might provide a new role for the intellectual as agent of discovery, critic of the old history, the old social order and the old ideology, and liaison to the new men of power bringing them a new history, a new ideology, new insights for the development of programs of action. If the older view of the Puritan past sanctified the purging of individualist dissent or the more vicious values and consequences of capitalism, it must give way to a new view, a true view of what the Puritans *really* were.

This form of intellectual activity became common in the period after 1890. The whole of American history and its official version came under the scrutiny of American intellectuals in a way unique in our development. The frontier past and its consequences for culture, the Puritan tradition and its results were but two areas of growing concern on the part of those who sought from a newer version of the American past some

new orientation for American civilization itself.¹⁷ It became especially the function of the intellectual to find a useful past, a version of American history and of the nature of history itself that would propel America on to the road to a desirable culture or at least provide the critical tools with which to overthrow the official view—the view Van Wyck Brooks suggested put a “talmudic seal” on institutions, values and policies repellent to these intellectuals. Brooks and Lewis Mumford, for example, felt they must rewrite our literary history, if only to provide some new basis for literature in their own time and some worthwhile relationship between the artist, the intellectual, and his society. Other intellectuals joined suit; their useful pasts frequently differed and they quarreled about this among themselves. Southern agrarians, for whom the nature of the southern past became a matter of vital concern, an obsession that led literary men to write history and biography, found their view of the past directly challenged, for example, by the views of a growing number of Marxist intellectuals. Some were concerned only with “debunking” the past—a new and rather common pastime, introducing a new word into the language itself; others developed more profound philosophies of history. But the fundamental point remains: during this era in our intellectual development attitudes toward history played a key role in many debates and all seemed to agree that some special view of the past was necessary, some view of history which challenged the assumed truths about the past and the ideological positions based on such “truths.”

The extraordinary importance placed on the control of the past was reflected in all fields of activity. The Social Gospel movement depended upon its special version of history and its special view of Christ's mission in history. Certain factions of the so-called Progressive movement made the “New History” a key ally. It is ironic to think that a book as dry, painfully detailed and scholarly as Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* could become a work of political significance—but it did for some Progressives. The New Criticism in literature (and the new literature itself), while frequently believed to be antagonistic to historical study, was in fact simply antagonistic to special versions of history. Many literary figures found themselves in their battles with the entrenched literary standards of the day forced to rewrite the whole of literary history to support their own critical and creative activities. T. S. Eliot is but one outstanding example of a “New Critic” who gave us, in rough outlines at least, a brand new version of European literary history. The most advanced movements in the arts frequently were based in large part on

¹⁷ This present paper barely suggests one of the major attacks on the Puritan past. I am at work on a fuller analysis of the whole question. But see esp. Frederick J. Hoffman, “Philistine and Puritan in the 1920's,” *American Quarterly*, I (Fall 1949), 247-63.

a profound restudy of the past, be it in painting, in architecture or in music, in an effort to support the newer visions.

It is striking to examine from this perspective some of the major literary figures and their most important works. Here again the artist believed that somehow it was his special function (a function that would afford him special status, a way out of alienation) to make history his own, to offer in his art a vision of that history that would be more meaningful for culture. Ezra Pound became deeply involved in the study of America's past—as well as the past of Europe and China. *The Cantos* represent a major effort to come to grips with historical materials and to use them in a special mythic way. To many students of our civilization it must seem strange indeed to discover in the body of this complex and difficult work not simply allusions to John Adams and Martin Van Buren (two of Pound's special American heroes whom he believes American official history has ignored) but long passages from the writings of these men and other historical figures. For Pound was trying to "make it new" in this as in other areas, to provide for his audience some newer insight into what he believed was the true nature of the American tradition and therefore the special promise of American life. Hart Crane's *The Bridge* likewise insists on a special historical vision. And the career of William Carlos Williams can be assessed in terms of a persistent effort—from his earliest work to the end of his brilliant career—to make meaningful his nation's history in a special mythopoetic way. Williams is especially clear about his objective; he wished to make the past alive and important in the present. Official or "scientific history" was for Williams a lie. It was the kind of history that "portrays us in generic patterns, like effigies or the carving on sarcophagi, which say nothing save, of such and such a man, that he is dead." It is the pastness of the past which is dangerous for a culture. We need history, for when we regret the past, not realizing that "what we are has its origins in what *the nation* in the past has been," we lose immeasurably because of our ignorance. The past, as brought to new and meaningful light by the artist's imagination which makes it present to us all, is "our greatest well of inspiration, our greatest hope of freedom (since the future is totally blank, if not black.)"¹⁸

Thus the culture of America in the period between 1890 and 1940 was based in large measure on a view of the importance of history in solving human problems on every level and on a firm commitment to the special role that the intellectual might develop for himself in a world in which he felt alien as critic of the official ideology and champion of the truer meanings of the nation. Toward the end of this period, it is clear, what

¹⁸ *In the American Grain* (New York, 1925), pp. 188, 109, 189. Italics in the original.

Richard Chase has called *The Quest for Myth* again became a major occupational and imaginative concern for many artists and intellectuals. The need for myth began to reassert itself—be it the Christian myth or any number of mythic visions out of history. As depression and world war engulfed the world, the stabilizing and utopian function of myth again seemed important. But throughout the major portion of the period, leading figures dealt directly with the tensions created between history as myth and history as ideology in a brilliant effort to make a new civilization and to make it move in directions established by a newer historical view. It is this fact which gives special tone to the period and can in part be held responsible for the very special kind of cultural consequences that developed.¹⁹

The last two decades in America have been marked by a singularly anti-historical spirit among the leading figures of our intellectual life. This trend, of course, had existed as a sharp undercurrent during the previous era as part of the ever-present tension between myth and ideology. I have already indicated the beginnings of what were to be a ground swell of interest in and search for (even conscious creation, if that is possible) myth. T. S. Eliot's career can be seen, from one perspective, as a continual lyric battle raging within the poet himself between the mythic and the ideological, between the utopian vision and the historical. The "cunning passages, contrived corridors" of history that Eliot speaks of always presented for him dangerous traps from which man finally must escape. In *Four Quartets* it becomes clear to the poet that "right action is freedom from past and future also," a vision of man in relation to history that stands in effective contrast to the views of his contemporary, William Carlos Williams, cited previously.

In the realm of religion the historically-oriented Social Gospel no longer commands the allegiance of the major Protestant intellectual leaders. The existential eye sees no historic Christ and no Christian mission that can be accomplished within time. The ideology of the Social Gospel depended upon a specific role of Christ in history and a view of the nature of history that made possible the achievement within history of a Christian society. The existential temper sees in the mythic Christ a "concrete absolute" which provided the model for those who would have the "Courage to Be" but who realize that within the relativities of history it is not really possible for man to solve any important problem facing him.

¹⁹ It might be well to recall at this point that the two novels I discussed in the first section of this paper in effect mark the beginning and end of the period under discussion, Melville's novella at the start of the era and Faulkner's novel marking in some real sense the end of an era.

Many of our newer literary vogues—some of them brilliantly evocative of major moral dilemmas of our time to be sure—are deliberately wedded to the present moment alone. For the Beat Generation the past—and even the future—is an enemy, threatening man with a vicious traditionalism (sometimes called conformity) or a series of problems to which there is no solution except individual action. They return to an almost Thoreau-like ritual burning of the past, preferring the immediate sensation, the experience of the moment or the escape into timelessness offered by some oriental philosophies (or their versions of them) which are strictly a-historical. Our leading movements in painting, especially abstract expressionism and “pop” art, offer the most immediate kind of experience, more clearly divorced from any sense of history than any other movement in painting since the Renaissance.

The study of history as a discipline has again become major literature, frequently superbly written and compiled, but often based on an underlying assumption clearly taken from American existential theology and stated most effectively by one of our leading intellectuals who is himself the writer of much admired history:

History is not a redeemer, promising to solve all human problems in time; nor is man capable of transcending the limitation of his being. Man generally is entangled in insoluble problems; history is a constant tragedy in which we are all involved, whose keynote is anxiety and frustration, not progress and fulfillment.²⁰

It is a history, then, which escapes from ideology (in my sense) by returning to the mythic and dramatic. It specifically attacks the ideologies and the theories of history from which they came in the previous era. In its hostility to a Beard or a Turner it offers no new system of analysis, no new theory of the operation of the historical process. Rather, it disapproves of such theories and such ideologies. Once again, as in the middle of the nineteenth century, we return characteristically to the multivolume narrative historical work. In Arthur Schlesinger Jr. we discover our new Bancroft, ironically a pessimistic Bancroft. In Allan Nevins we find our own Parkman, albeit a surprisingly optimistic Parkman. And in Admiral Morison's brilliant and many-volume history of the Navy during the Second World War we have perhaps the greatest literary achievement by any historian in our century. But in these works we look in vain for

²⁰ This is of course from Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s famous *Partisan Review* essay “The Causes of the American Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism,” written in 1949. The essay is most conveniently found in *The Causes of the American Civil War*, ed. E. C. Rozwenc (Boston, 1961). The passage I have quoted appears on pp. 189-90 in that text.

a vision of the past which will enable us to remake the present and the future. Here ideology is specifically rejected. Here we find a history which offers a reinforcement of current moral values and no effective challenge to the decision makers within the social order who *do* most frequently operate in terms of some view of history, some ideology. It is characteristic, in fact, of many American intellectuals these days to talk about how Americans have traditionally solved the problems that faced them—when they were in fact able to solve them at all—pragmatically and without reference to ideology. But the fact remains that there are many ways to solve a given problem and the choice of specific solution is frequently determined by a set of attitudes toward history which may be unarticulated but are within the consciousness. And if this paper has any validity at all, it should be clear that a retreat from ideology to the mythic use of the past has its special cultural consequences as well. Thus our own age retreats from history or derives intense excitement from what is often called “history” in its most brilliant mythic or theological forms (witness the enthusiastic response to the works of Toynbee and Niebuhr). The escape from history leads us to the world of myth. And yet, surprisingly, in terms of my definition of myth, the new mythic vision seems almost anything but utopian, seems to offer no happy goals for man or culture. We are left with a mythic past, an anxious present and an anti-utopian, Orwellian future.

What I have briefly attempted to sketch in roughest and most general terms were five major periods reflecting the relationships between history and myth as they were developed by American intellectuals responding to the circumstances of their own eras. In the first social order, intellectuals led the way in attempting to stabilize the tension between myth and history to protect the very special contract society they had organized and to enable it to fulfill its mission within history. In the eighteenth century, in the wake of the failure of the first position, the newer intellectual and social elite continued to dominate with its own special conservative philosophy of history, highly rationalized and secularized, removed from the power of the Christian myth. This myth, however, supported by a millennialist philosophy of history, continued to galvanize the sons of the Great Awakening who found themselves in intellectual and social battle with the sons of the Enlightenment. With the special conditions and problems of the early nineteenth century came an entirely new approach to the problem and American intellectuals became, through the use of history but with the repudiation of its rational powers, essentially the mythologists of America, the creators and revitalizers of a series of major myths which dominated the culture and determined its signifi-

cantly utopian intellectual quality. In the last decade of the century a new intellectual order was born on the heels of a new social order created in part by the communications revolution, an order in which a special kind of historical awareness contributed a dynamic element and where once again the intellectuals, removed from seats of social or political power but frequently anxious to achieve such power or contribute to its effective use, brought to life for their own present a special new tension between the mythic and the historic, stressing the ideological significance of their work. Finally, in our own day history has become once again the enemy, useful only if it points up the mythic tragedy of our inability to solve our problems in any meaningful sense.

Of course there are still those conscious of history, although ironically it would seem that these days to have some view of the past which has clear-cut ideological consequences for the present and future is generally thought of as a special function of what is left of a radical tradition. But it is not unfair to see in the major intellectual trends of the years since World War II a fundamentally anti-historical view of the world. It is in fact a view which has been praised as marking the end of innocence or the end of ideology. But the cultural consequences of this triumph, so-called, over ideology, so-called, have yet to be assessed. In a world where leading intellectuals become committed to a view that human problems cannot really be solved, where the public ideology therefore too often goes unchallenged in our incredibly bipartisan age, where history flourishes most brilliantly in epic or mythic or theological forms, and yet where enormous problems do continue to confront us, there are grave dangers to the culture itself. But the fundamental tensions between the mythic and the ideological still remain, even though the balance may be tipped more to one side at the moment. Perhaps we are simply re-enacting the plot of our story as it was played out in the middle decades of the nineteenth century where once again great and frightening changes seemed too often more than man could handle. Perhaps there will yet be a reawakening, as there was in the 1890s, to the other real need and function of history in our kind of society. Perhaps there will even be another kind of social order.



ARTICLES IN AMERICAN STUDIES, 1963

THIS IS THE TENTH ANNUAL ANNOTATED INTERDISCIPLINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF current articles in American Studies. Compiled primarily for those persons interested in the broad implications of American Civilization, it does not pretend to be a comprehensive listing of all items in the field that appeared during the year. Rather, it is quite selective, the principal editorial criterion for listing an article being the extent to which it manifests a relationship between two or more aspects of American Civilization. Even so, limitations of space make it impossible to print many items that the editor would otherwise include.

Articles are listed under the single most immediately relevant category although each might appear under at least one other; in consequence the reader interested in a particular field should examine the entire list—or at least the code concluding each entry.

Items for the 1964 bibliography should be sent to Prof. Myron H. Luke, Chairman, Dept. of History & Political Science, C. W. Post College of Long Island University, Greenvale, N. Y. They should be of interdisciplinary character.

The Committee on Bibliography of the American Studies Association of Metropolitan New York is responsible for this work. The Bibliographer wishes to thank all of those who have given so generously of their time as reviewers and advisers as well as those who aided in the final preparation of the manuscript materials.

CHAIRMAN & EDITOR: Myron H. Luke, C. W. Post College of Long Island University.

SECRETARY: Miriam M. Heffernan, Brooklyn College.

ADVISERS: Waldo W. Braden, Louisiana State University; Edmund Chapman, Western Reserve University; Lawrence A. Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia University; James W. Downer, University of Michigan; Sylvia F. Fava, Brooklyn College; George Frick, University of Delaware; John H. Giltner, Howard University; Dennis Porter, Bodleian Library, Oxford University (for the British Association for American Studies); Bayrd Still, New York University; Warren I. Titus, George Peabody College for Teachers.

REVIEWERS:

ART: Edmund Chapman, Western Reserve University.

ECONOMICS: Paul Crosser, Adelphi University.

EDUCATION: Lawrence A. Cremin, Judy Suratt, Teachers College, Columbia University.

FOLKLORE: Warren I. Titus, George Peabody College for Teachers.

HISTORY: Lyman B. Burbank, Vanderbilt University; Vincent P. Carosso, New York University; Richard O. Cummings, Brooklyn College; Robert A. Davison, Hofstra University; Joseph A. Dowling, Lehigh University; John E. Frost, New York University; Frederick D. Kershner Jr., Teachers College, Columbia University; Lawrence H. Leder, Louisiana State University; Edward Lurie, Wayne State University; Dorothea Muller, C. W. Post College of Long Island University; Ransom E. Noble, Pratt Institute; Emil Oberholzer Jr., City College of New York; David L. Sterling, Ohio State University.

LANGUAGE: James W. Downer, University of Michigan; John S. Goodman, Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio; Roger Wykes, University of Michigan.

LITERATURE & DRAMA: John Bell, Adelphi University; Howard Floan, Manhattan College; Philip L. Greene, Adelphi University; Miriam M. Heffernan, Brooklyn College; Oswald LeWinter, Columbia University; Ray C. Longtin, Long Island University; Kathryn A. McEuen, Brooklyn College; Robert A. McGill, Skidmore College; Henry Wasser, City College of New York.

MASS CULTURE: Henry Carsch, Sweet Briar College.

MUSIC: William D. Gettel, City College of New York.

PHILOSOPHY: James D. Wilbur, Adelphi University.

POLITICAL SCIENCE: Dale Fallon, Myron H. Luke, C. W. Post College of Long Island University.

PSYCHIATRY & PSYCHOLOGY: James E. Baxter, Cornell University Medical College.

PUBLIC ADDRESS: Waldo W. Braden, Louisiana State University; Anthony Hillbruner, Los Angeles State College; Edward Rogge, Tulane University.

RELIGION: John H. Giltner, Howard University.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY: George Frick, University of Delaware.

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY: Frank Castro, Indiana University; Michael Lewis, Princeton University; Irene Taviss, Harvard University.

To indicate fields of interdisciplinary relevance, the following symbols have been employed:

A — Art & Architecture	Mu — Music
E — Economics	P — Philosophy
Ed — Education	Pol — Political Science
F — Folklore	Psy — Psychiatry & Psychology
H — History	PA — Public Address
L — Language	R — Religion
Law — Law	Sc — Science & Technology
Lit — Literature & Drama	S — Sociology & Anthropology
MC — Mass Culture	

ART & ARCHITECTURE

Blake, Peter. "The Suburbs are a Mess," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXVI (Oct. 5, 1963), 14-16.

Specific correctives for the faceless monotony and unlivability of suburbia. (MC)

Boe, Roy A. "The Panoramas of the Mississippi," *Miss. Quar.*, XIV (Fall 1963), 203-11.

Survey of the gigantic paintings made to illustrate and illuminate "nature and life along the Mississippi River." (H-S)

Burchard, John E. "Beneath the Visiting Moon," *Progressive Architecture*, XLIV (Dec. 1963), 126-31.

Destructive effects of the new architecture on the character of the older cities. (MC)

Folliard, Edward T. "Escorting Mona Lisa to America," *Nat. Geographic*, CXXIII (June 1963), 838-47.

An illustrated comment on the cultural adventure, a date for America with the "unfathomable" famous lady of western art. (MC)

Folmsbee, Stanley J. & Susan Hill Dillon. "The Blount Mansion, Tennessee's Territorial Capitol," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (June 1963), 103-22.

Mansion in Knoxville, which served originally as residence for Governor of the Southwest Territory, was "first two-storey frame house in the Territory, and one of the first west of the Blue Ridge Mountains."

Getlein, Frank. "'Art: USA: Now,'" *Critic*, XXII (Aug.-Sept. 1963), 22-27.

The success of the industry-supported exhibition of American painting now touring Europe and the need for the Johnson Collection to open the eyes of America to the rich variety of painting produced here. (E-MC-S)

Gower, Herschel. "Belle Meade: Queen of Tennessee Plantations," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Sept. 1963), 203-22.

Nashville plantation noted in the 19th century for its lavish social life, farming and horse breeding, restored as an historic shrine. (H)

Hall, Virginius Cornick Jr. "Notes on Patrick Henry Portraiture," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXI (Apr. 1963), 168-84.

Life portraits, posthumous portraits and lost portraits of Patrick Henry: in oils, miniatures, sketches, clay models, busts and engravings. (H)

Homer, William I. & John Talbot. "Eakins, Muybridge and the Motion Picture Process," *Art. Quar.*, XXVI (Summer 1963), 194-216.

Contributions to the development of the motion picture process by Thomas Eakins, Eadweard Muybridge and Etienne-Jules Marey. So far as Eakins is concerned, "there is no justification for the claim that he played a significant part in the evolution of the motion-picture process." (Sc-H-Lit)

Kirk, Clara M. "Toward a Theory of Art: A Dialogue between W. D. Howells and C. E. Norton," *New England Quar.*, XXXVI (Sept. 1963), 291-319.

Two life-long friends, through their writings and discussions, displayed notable divergences in their attitudes toward art. Norton upheld the necessary conjunction of art with goodness in the achievement of beauty; Howells viewed art as something seen in the here and now, even in the mediocre and the common. (Lit)

Kliwer, Warren. "Art of the Religious Community," *Christian Century*, LXXX (Dec. 25, 1963), 1605-7.

The recent revival of art for religious purposes. (R)

Kubly, Herbert. "The Care and Feeding of Artists," *Horizon*, V (Mar. 1963), 26-33.

Operation of a colony of artists in New Hampshire and the results. (Lit-Mu)

Langsner, Jules. "The Artist and the Scientist, Pt. 2," *Craft Horizons*, XXIII (Jan.-Feb. 1963), 37-38.

The mutuality and complementary relationship between science and art in the modern world. (MC-Sc)

Lynes, Russell. "The Parlor," *Amer. Heritage*, XIV (Oct. 1963), 55-64; 96-100.

Anecdotal and humorous account of the role of the parlor in the domestic culture of the 19th century. (F-H-S)

McBride, Robert M. "Oaklands: A Venerable Host: A Renewed Welcome," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Dec. 1963), 303-22.

Illustrated description of an historic house in Murfreesboro, which, from its simple early structure to its elaborate Victorian additions, gives "something of an architectural history of the South in the nineteenth century." (H)

Moholy-Nagy, Subly. "Architecture and the Moon Age," *Arch. Forum*, (Feb. 1963), 90-92.

The present threat to architectural design by the technological and business aspects of the profession of building. (MC)

Mumford, Lewis. "The Future of the City: Beginnings of Urban Integration," *Arch. Rec.*, CXXXIII (Jan. 1963), 119-26.

Fourth part of five in a series on *The Future of the City* (see 1962 bibliography for first three parts). The influence of Howard's Garden City on later urban design. (MC-S)

———. "The Future of the City: Social Complexity and Urban Design," *Arch. Rec.*, CXXXIII (Feb. 1963), 119-26.

Concluding part of *The Future of the City* series. The organic concept, a modernization of Howard's Garden City ideal, appears the best solution of urban design problems. (MC-S)

Munro, Thomas. "The Psychology of Art: Past, Present and Future," *Jour. of Aesthetics & Art Criticism*, XXI (Spring 1963), 263-82.

Systematic analysis of the effects on art of the many schools of psychology. (MC-P)

Nichols, Frederick Doveton. "A Rococo Victorian House: Bloom Mansion," *Colo. Mag.*, XL (July 1963), 209-11.

Illustrated description of "the first rococo Victorian house in Colorado," built in the frontier town of Trinidad in 1882. (H)

Robison, Dan. "The Carter House, Focus of the Battle of Franklin," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Mar. 1963), 3-21.

Description of a house near Franklin, Tenn., which has been restored as an historic shrine. (H)

Scanlon, John. "Aspen, A New Day for the Humanities," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Dec. 21, 1963), 40-41; 61-62.

Achievements of the Aspen cultural programs and the new Aspen Award for Advancement of the Humanities. (Lit-MC-Mu)

Schonberg, Harold. "The Cultural Explosion is Phony," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXVI (July 20, 1963), 10-14.

Statistics reveal a large volume of consumption but the quality of our art is low.

(MC-Mu)

Shapiro, Meyer. "On David Siquieros: A Dilemma for Artists," *Dissent*, X (Spring 1963), 106-97.

Creative ability does not relieve the artist from adherence to law of the state. (L)

Skelton, R. A. "Raleigh as a Geographer," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXI (Apr. 1963), 131-49.

Raleigh's contributions to geography, the maps and travel accounts available to him, his employment of Hariot and White, and maps produced under his aegis, including those of North America and Guiana. (H-Sc)

Skow, John. "Mona Lisa," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXVI (Feb. 16, 1963), 22-23.

The foolishness and pretentiousness of the exhibition of DaVinci's masterpiece at the National Gallery. (MC)

Sloane, Joseph C. "The Scholar and the Artist," *Art Jour.*, XXIII (Fall 1963), 16-19.

The place of the creative artist in the university world of scholarship and teaching. (E)

Spring, Agnes Wright. "Colorado's Horses in Bronze," *Colo. Mag.*, XL (Jan. 1963), 65-69.

Illustrated account of Colorado's five equestrian statues of Kit Carson and other western subjects by such sculptors as Frederick MacMonnies and Alex Phimister Proctor. (H)

Tunley, Raul. "Tragedy of a Vertical Slum," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXVI (June 29, 1963), 89-93.

Sociological failure of the new housing project developments. (S)

von Eckardt, Wolf. "Washington's Chances for Splendor," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Sept. 1963), 54-64.

Difficulties, promise and possible influence of present planning for urban renewal in the nation's capital. (MC)

Watkins, Arthur M. "Why New Houses Cost Too Much," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXVI (Sept. 19, 1963), 19-24.

The ills of the system which produces housing and the cures therefor. (Sc-E)

Wolff, Robert Jay. "The Dilemma of American Avant-Garde Painting," *Art Jour.*, XXII (Spring 1963), 153-57.

Recent American artistic movements as a new social protest art form. (MC)

ECONOMICS

Armstrong, E. G. A. "Public Policy on Minimum Wage Legislation in Britain and America—A Comparison," *Scottish Jour. of Political Economy*, X (June 1963), 243-52.

Greater need in the United States than in Great Britain for statutory regulation of minimum wages. (Pol)

Boehm, George A. W. "Inexhaustible Riches from the Sea," *Fortune*, LXVI (Dec. 1963), 133-37; 218-29.

A cheap food supplement that could wipe out the world's most serious dietary deficiency. (Sc-S)

Bork, Robert M. & Ward S. Bowman. "The Crisis in Anti-Trust," *Fortune*, LXVI (Dec. 1963), 138-40; 192-201.

The anti-free market forces now have upper hand and are steadily broadening and consolidating their victory. (L-Pol)

Briggs, Asa & others. "Technology and Economic Development," *Scientific American*, CCIX (Sept. 1963), 52-244.

Fourteen articles on various aspects of this subject. (S-Sc-Pol)

Camargo, Alberto Lleras. "The Alliance for Progress: Aims, Distortions, Obstacles," *Foreign Affairs*, XLII (Oct. 1963), 25-37.

Foreign policy does not always have to produce direct material benefits. (S-Sc-Pol)

"Century of Mining, 1863-1963," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Summer 1963).

Issue devoted to the history and economics of mining in Utah. Articles on coal, iron and steel, copper, uranium, petroleum and "the industrial nonmetallic minerals." (H)

Chase, Edward T. "Learning to be Unemployable," *Harper's*, CCXXVI (Apr. 1963), 33-40.

A mordant criticism of current vocational education programs, and of the political lobbies that have kept them archaic. Urges training for real jobs which remain unfilled rather than for obsolete skills. (Ed-Pol-S)

Cooke, Jacob E. "The Whiskey Insurrection: A Re-Evaluation," *Pa. Hist.*, XXX (July 1963), 316-46.

The whiskey insurrection of the 1790s in western Pennsylvania was treated as a flagrant defiance of law that must be met by force. A survey of the extent of the trade, its economic implications as well as that of the insurrection and its suppression, and varying interpretations of the significance of the rebellion. (H-Law)

Crissan, Michael G. "The Perils of Publishing: A Report on American Newspapers and Magazines," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Winter 1963), 65-68.

Despite the mortality rate of publications, the publishers are optimistic because of the power of the printed word and the financial assistance provided by advertising. (MC-S)

Dangerfield, George. "The Steamboat's Charter of Freedom," *Amer. Heritage*, XIV (Oct. 1963), 38-43; 78-80.

A famous U. S. court decision of 1824 freed the steamboat from monopoly control. (H-Law)

Friedman, Saul. "The Rand Corporation and Our Policy Makers," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Sept. 1963), 61-69.

How American scientists and scholars study weaponry, strategy, economics, psychology and politics of conflict. (Sc-Pol)

Froman, Robert. "Our Fellow Immigrants," *Amer. Heritage*, XIV (Feb. 1963), 60-63; 94-96.

From the Old to the New World have come not only men, but multitudes of animal and vegetable "settlers" that have thrived in their adopted land. (H-Sc)

Frye, Alton. "The Military Danger," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Aug. 1963), 46-50.

A military space program is to be pursued by the U. S. in expectation of an international agreement on reserving space for peaceful activities. (Sc-Pol)

Furlong, William Barry. "The Midwest's Nice Monopolists, John and Mike Cowles," *Harper's*, CCXXVI (June 1963), 64-75.

The Cowles are not after money any more; they want power. (S-Pol)

Gettleman, Marvin H. "Charity and Social Classes in the United States, 1874-1900," *Amer. Jour. of Economics and Sociology*, XXII (July 1963), 417-26.

The distinction between "worthy" and "unworthy" poor in regard to providing charity constitutes a recognition of the existence of social classes in the United States. (S-Pol)

Goodman, Paul. "A Few Questions for Mr. Minow," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Mar. 2, 1963), 35-37.

Comments pro and con on recent proposals for extension and regulation of TV. (Ed-MC-S)

Green, Philip. "A Giant Step Forward," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (May 25, 1963), 21-23.

A critical review of *The Paper Economy* by D. T. Bazelon analyzes the policies expounded and sees resemblances in them to Galbraith's and Veblen's. (Pol)

Hamrick, Clifford & Robert Munn. "The Alleghany Highlands: A Socio-economic Portrait," *Jour. of the Alleghanies*, I (Spring 1963), 7-10.

Account of a "problem-ridden" region of the United States; hopes that the inhabitants "will be able to move forward into the mainstream of American life." (Ed-S)

Heilperin, Michael & Robert Lubar. "It's an International 'Farm Mess' Now," *Fortune*, LXVI (May 1963), 210-16.

The drafting of the European community's agricultural policy is running into great difficulties. (E-Pol)

Hughes, J. R. T. & Nathan Rosenberg. "The United States Business Cycle Before 1860: Some Problems of Interpretation," *Economic Hist. Rev.*, XV (Apr. 1963), 476-93.

The American business cycle was "strong and pervasive" in its effects from 1830 to 1860, but the reasons for this remain obscure. A new approach to the problem is needed. (H)

Johnson, Ludwell H. "Contraband Trade During the Last Year of the Civil War," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Mar. 1963), 635-52.

The political separation of the North and South during the Civil War curtailed but never entirely disrupted international commerce. (H-Pol)

Ketchum, Alton. "Miracle on Madison Avenue," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Winter 1963), 55-61.

Significance and value of the advertising business. (A-MC-S)

Kristol, Irving. "Is the Welfare State Obsolete?" *Harper's*, CCXXVI (June 1963), 40-43.

Advocates privately-financed public works projects. (S-H-Pol)

Leder, Lawrence H. "American Trade to China, 1800-1802; Some Statistical Notes," *Amer. Neptune*, XXIII (July 1963), 212-18.

Evidence of the volume and kind of commerce with a detailed abstract of the trade with Canton from June, 1800, to June, 1801. (H)

Lichtheim, George. "Post Bourgeois Europe," *Commentary*, XXXV (Jan. 1963), 1-14.

Western Europe begins to reproduce some of the patterns of a modern industrial democracy with which Americans are familiar. (S-Pol)

Matthews, Donald R. & James W. Prothro. "Social and Economic Forces and Negro Voter Registration in the South," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, LVII (Mar. 1963), 24-44.

Social and economic factors account to a minor extent for the increase in Negro voter registration since 1944. (S-Pol)

Mayer, Kurt B. "The Changing Shape of the American Class Structure," *Social Research*, XXX (Winter 1963), 458-68.

The beginnings of a "classless" society in a modern industrial economy. (S-Pol)

Murphy, Charles T. V. "Foreign Aid: Billions in Search of a Good Reason," *Fortune*, LXVI (Mar. 1963), 126-30; 205-12.

Foreign aid has its points but it is in dire need of developing a consistent policy. (Pol)

Nevins, Allan. "A Set of Mere Money Getters," *Amer. Heritage*, XIV (June 1963), 50-51; 104-8.

The great business tycoons were more than just money getters. (H-S)

Nossiter, Bernard D. "The Troubled Conscience of American Business," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Sept. 1963), 37-43.

Thoughtful executives are becoming increasingly concerned about the factor of public interest in their decision making. (S-Pol)

Petersen, Osloe L. "Medical Care in the United States," *Scientific American*, CCIX (Aug. 1963), 19-27.

The revolution in medical science during the last three decades is creating urgent problems in the organization of medical care. (S-Sc-Pol)

Raskin, A. H. "Walter Reuther's Great Big Union," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Oct. 1963), 85-92.

Reuther is extending the range of activities of the United Automobile Workers beyond the scope of collective bargaining. (H-Pol)

Roosa, Robert W. "Reforming the International Monetary System," *Foreign Affairs*, XLII (Oct. 1963), 107-22.

The Bretton Woods statute has shown an impressive capacity to evolve and develop in response to rapidly changing needs. (Pol)

Ross, Irving. "General Aniline Goes Private," *Fortune*, LXVI (Sept. 1963), 127-29.

The U. S. government is ready to sell General Aniline. (H-Pol)

Seligman, Ben B. "Disarmament and the Economy," *Commentary*, XXXV (May 1963), 367-77.

Military technology has moved farther away from industrial research. (S-Sc-Pol)

Shriver, Sargent. "Two Years of the Peace Corps," *Foreign Affairs*, XLII (July 1963), 694-707.

The accomplishments of the Peace Corps are stated as the teaching of skills and the providing of knowledge and understanding for institution building. (S-Sc-Pol)

Stern, Philip M. "The Slow Quiet Murder of Reform," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Dec. 1963), 63-68.

Over the years the exceptions and preferences in the tax laws have grown rather than diminished. (H-Pol)

Suranyi-Unger, T. Jr. "The Role of Knowledge in Invention and Economic Development," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XXII (Oct. 1963), 463-72.

In the future developments of an already "developed" country, new fundamental scientific knowledge will constitute a highly important factor. (Sc)

Theobald, Robert. "Abundance: Threat or Promise?" *Nation*, CXCVI (May 11, 1963), 387-412.

An Economic Security Plan is offered to solve the "threat of abundance." (Pol)

Weidenbaum, Murray L. "Industrial Impact of Disarmament," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XXII (Oct. 1963), 513-26.

Adjustment to disarmament would be more difficult than the reconversion following World War II. (Sc-Pol)

Whalen, Richard T. "Joseph P. Kennedy: A Portrait of the Founder," *Fortune*, LXVI (Jan. 1963), 111-18; 156-68.

Joseph P. Kennedy had no business in the ordinary sense; his consuming interest was the advancement of the family name and fortune. (Pol-H-F)

EDUCATION

Becker, Carl M. "Freeman Cary and Farmers' College: An Ohio Educator and an Experiment in Nineteenth Century 'Practical' Education," *Bull. of Hist. & Philosophical Soc. of Ohio*, XXI (July 1963), 151-75.

The ill-fated experiment to introduce this vocational concept of collegiate instruction represented not an instrument of "practical" education but "a compromise between idealism and expediency." (H-Sc)

Burgess, Charles. "William Maclure and Education for a Good Society," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, III (June 1963), 78-86.

The social philosophy of the man who sponsored the first Pestalozzian schools in the U. S., in Philadelphia and later in New Harmony, Ind. (H-P)

Brownson, William E. & Joseph J. Schwan. "American Science Textbooks and Their Authors, 1915 and 1955," *School Rev.*, XXXI (Summer 1963), 170-80.

The professional and academic background of the authors of secondary-school science textbooks in use during two "representative" years. (H-Sc)

Cutter, Charles H. "Michael Reese: Parsimonius Patron of the University of California," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLII (June 1963), 127-44.

One of the first major benefactors of the University of California, the San Francisco "millionaire afflicted with avarice" left a bequest of \$50,000 to the university's library. (E-H)

Daniels, Roger. "Workers' Education and the University of California, 1921-1941," *Labor Hist.*, IV (Winter 1963), 32-50.

Describes the California program organized by John Lawrence Kerchen as one of the first practical examples of the extended cooperation between universities and organized labor. (E-H-Pol)

Degler, Carl N. "The South in Southern History Textbooks," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXX (Feb. 1964), 48-57.

Texts dealing with Southern history perpetuate some myths and stereotypes about the Negro in particular and Southern society in general; however, they do quite well considering that their subject is a region that has been notably defensive and unrealistic about itself.

Divett, Robert T. "Utah's First Medical College," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Winter 1963), 51-59.

The *Salt Lake Daily Herald's* vigorous crusade against the short-lived Medical College of Utah may well have delayed the development of an effective medical education program in the state for 25 years. (H-MC-R-Sc)

Doherty, Robert E. "Attitudes Toward Labor: When Blue Collar Children Become Teachers," *School Rev.*, LXXI (Spring 1963), 87-96.

The social and intellectual climate of the teachers colleges is highly conducive to creating in students from "blue-collar" homes an identification with middle-class values; the social and intellectual climate of high schools and universities seems to be less so. (S)

Dumke, Glenn S. "Higher Education in California," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLII (June 1963), 99-110.

An historical analysis of the significance of California's recently enacted Master Plan for Higher Education, an arrangement that has attracted widespread attention. (H-S)

Eaton, Clement. "Student Days with Thomas Wolfe," *Ga. Rev.*, XVII (Summer 1963), 146-55.

Points to the liberating influence of the University of North Carolina faculty on the mind of its most famous student of the World War I period. (H-Lit)

Eisner, Elliot. "Knowledge, Knowing, and the Visual Arts," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXIII (Spring 1963), 208-18.

Identifies several contributions which the visual artisan makes in the improvement of American education. (A-Psy-S)

Engar, Keith M. "The Growth and Function of Educational Television," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Autumn 1963), 104-11.

The results of private, local, state and federal efforts of the Ford Foundation and of individuals in demonstrating the strengths, the possibilities and the steadily increasing influence of educational TV on American life. (MC-Sc)

England, J. Merton. "The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Summer 1963), 191-99.

For the authors of school texts, education meant "indoctrination in the familiar catalogue of moral values of Protestant, agrarian-commercial America; industry, thrift, practicality, temperance, honesty, plain living, patriotism, and piety." (H-MC)

Fey, John T. "Morrill's Concept of Education," *Ver. Hist.*, XXXI (July 1963), 156-60.

Argues that "training" was not the purpose of the land-grant concept but the abuse of its intent; Senator Morrill hoped that the land-grant institutions would bring intellectual instruction to many, providing a liberal as well as a practical education. (H-S)

Friedenberg, Edgar Z. "An Ideology of School Withdrawal," *Commentary*, XXXV (June 1963), 492-500.

To reach the dropouts and give them a reason for staying, the schools will have "to take lower-class life seriously as a condition and a pattern of experience. . ." (Psy-S)

_____. "The Modern American High School: A Profile," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Nov. 1963), 373-80.

The modern high school with its rigid controls "infantilizes adolescence," prohibiting maturation during the years when maturation would naturally occur. (MC-S-Psy)

Gatewood, William B. Jr. "North Carolina and Federal Aid to Education: Public Reaction to the Blair Bill, 1881-1890," *N.C. Hist. Rev.*, XL (Autumn 1963), 465-88.

A political analysis which concludes that the widespread discussion of public schooling engendered by the debate over federal assistance created a public opinion favorable to increased state taxation for educational purposes. (H-Pol)

Goodman, Paul. "Schola Videotica," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Mar. 30, 1963), 26-28.

Points out several weaknesses in educational TV. (MC)

_____. "Don't Disturb the Children," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Mar. 16, 1963), 28-30.

Comments on TV programs for children and the manual *For the Young Reviewer*. (MC)

Gordon, William E. "The Deep South Opposes Federal Law," *Contemporary Rev.*, CCIV (Aug. 1963), 86-90.

Opposition to desegregation in the South arises largely from poor education. (Law-Pol)

Gray, Sister M. Alexander, O.S.F. "Development of the Newman Club Movement, 1893-1961," *Rec. of Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXIV (June 1963), 70-128.

A detailed historical treatment of the effort to provide religious education for Catholic students attending secular colleges and universities. (H-R)

Greene, Maxine. "The Public School: Education in the New 'New World,'" *Amer. Rev.*, III (Autumn 1963), 120-27.

A useful review of the recent literature on popular education in the United States; part of an issue given over entirely to contemporary American education. (MC)

Grinder, Robert E. & Charles E. Strickland. "G. Stanley Hall and the Social Significance of Adolescence," *Teachers Coll. Rec.*, LXIV (Feb. 1963), 390-99.

Aspects of Hall's social philosophy and their bearing on education. (H-Psy)

Gross, John O. "The Bishops versus Vanderbilt University," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Mar. 1963), 53-65.

In the complicated legal struggle over the role of the church in the administration of the university, "Methodism lost Vanderbilt." (H-Law-R)

Higgins, John E. "A Connecticut Schoolboy in the 1850's," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, XXVIII (Apr. 1963), 38-41.

John Fiske's studies at a 19th-century New England academy, emphasizing the high caliber of the teachers under whom he studied. (H)

Hildner, Ernest G. "Higher Education in Transition, 1850-1870," *Jour. of Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, LVI (Spring 1963), 61-73.

The increasing role of the State in determining the development of higher education in Illinois during the decades following 1850. (H)

Hixson, Richard F. "Faithful Guardian' of Press Freedom," *Proc. of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXXI (July 1963), 155-63.

The New Jersey Gazette, particularly under its first editor, Isaac Collins, upheld press freedom, notable instances being the court martial of Charles Lee, and disparaging remarks made with respect to the Governor and Princeton College. (H-MC)

Jencks, Christopher. "Schoolmaster Rickover," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Mar. 2, 1963), 14-16.

Admiral Rickover's educational theories and criticism of some of them. (H-S)

Kerr, Clark. "The Multiversity," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Nov. 1963), 37-42.

An excerpt from President Kerr's much publicized Godkin Lectures at Harvard in which he sketched the outlines of the "federal-grant" university of the 1960s. (Sc-S)

Larsen, Lawrence H. "How Glenn Frank Became President of the University of Wisconsin," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLVI (Spring 1963), 197-205.

The efforts of the progressive-dominated Board of Regents to find a president who would rededicate the university to the promotion of the "Wisconsin Idea." (H-Pol)

Lee, Gordon C. "The Morrill Act and Education," *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Studies*, XII (Nov. 1963), 19-40.

The history of the land-grant colleges established under the Morrill Act of 1862 and their contribution to an ideal of education embracing citizenship, service, utility, diversification and specialization. (H)

Lerner, Max. "Elan, Elite, Ethos," *Colo. Quar.*, XI (Winter 1963), 212-28.

A creative intellectual elite must be fostered by American education with a sense of purpose (elan) and with a spirited desire to achieve this purpose and a sense of commitment to it (ethos). (P)

Mayer, Martin. "Scientists in the Classroom," *Commentary*, XXXV (Apr. 1963), 243-56.

The theory behind the eminently successful reform of the high school physics curriculum by the Physical Sciences Study Committee. (P-Sc)

Messerli, Jonathan C. "Horace Mann at Brown," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXIII (Summer 1963), 285-311.

The profound influences of the informal life at Brown, notably the debating societies, on Mann's outlook and character. (H)

Montgomery, James R. "The Summer School of the South," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Dec. 1963), 361-81.

The summer school at Knoxville, from 1902 until absorbed by the University of Tennessee in 1911, attracted a brilliant array of teaching talent and gave thousands of students a varied program of "Chautauqua-like performers, public school promotion, and teacher training." (H)

Murphy, William P. "Educational Freedom in the Courts," *AAUP Bull.*, XLIX (Dec. 1963), 309-27.

Legal problems and precedents in cases dealing with contracts and tenure, academic freedom and campus censorship. (Law)

Palmer, Evelyn K. & Giles L. Zimmerman. "Helping Foreign Students to Adjust," *Overseas*, III (Sept. 1963), 20-24.

Program in Philadelphia for helping foreign students and for providing contact with American students. (S)

Paul, Anthony. "From Australia 'Down Under' to U.S. 'All Over,'" *Overseas*, II (Jan. 1963), 7-11.

An Australian describes his experiences while in the U. S. attending the 1961-62 World Press Institute and gives his impressions of the country. (E-MC-S)

Polos, Nicholas C. "John Swett: A Stranger in the Southland," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLII (June 1963), 145-53.

The Civil War superintendent of public instruction in California, a New Englander and a Union man, used the war emergency to sell the idea of public support for schools, tying the cause of loyalty to the cause of education. (H)

Porter, Curt. "Chautauqua and Tennessee: Monteagle and the Independent Assemblies," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Dec. 1963), 347-60.

The Chautauqua movement in Tennessee, with special reference to Monteagle, one of the four Chautauquas still in existence in the U. S. (R-H)

Puryear, Paul L. "Equity Power and the School Desegregation Cases," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXIII (Fall 1963), 421-38.

The principal legal defenses against school desegregation since the *Brown* decision. (H-Law-Pol-S)

Radcliffe, Charles W. "Loans to Nonprofit Private Schools," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXIII (Summer 1963), 336-56.

In light of the legislative history of the NDEA and Supreme Court precedents, Federal loans to private and parochial schools are both constitutional and a wise public policy. (E-Law-S)

Rosenthal, M. L. "William Carlos Williams and Some Young Germans," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Winter 1963), 337-41.

Report on a surprisingly responsive curiosity to teaching of Williams as American poet to young German students. (Lit-Pol)

Rothman, Stanley. "The Politics of Catholic Parochial Schools: An Historical and Comparative Analysis," *Jour. of Politics*, XXV (Feb. 1963), 49-71.

Sets current arguments over aid to Roman Catholic schools in an historical context. (H-Pol-R)

Sanford, Nevitt. "Higher Education as a Social Problem," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Autumn 1963), 92-100.

Higher education provides social and economic benefits, is embodied in our culture and society, and, therefore, needs to develop its own profession with its own ethics, "know-how" and scientific basis. (E-S)

Sarratt, Reed. "Educational Segregation-Desegregation in the U.S. (1961-1963)," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Autumn 1963), 48-65.

Traces the steps in desegregation, identifies the difficulties inherent in the problem, shows that it has been slow or nonexistent in some areas though relatively rapid in others, and expresses the realization that it may not be the hoped-for panacea but also that maintaining the status quo is unlikely. (Law-S)

Shugg, Roger W. "The Professors and Their Publishers," *Daedalus*, XCII (Winter 1963), 68-77.

In a discussion of the problems of the rapidly expanding university presses, urges the "professionalization" of their personnel so that "they could be expected to deal more intelligently, effectively and pleasurably with the manuscripts of their scholar-authors." (Lit-Sc)

Smith, Victoria Ann. "A Social History of Marshall University during the Period as the State Normal School, 1867-1900," *W. Va. Hist.*, XXV (Oct. 1963), 32-41.

Academic and administrative aspects, as well as the social life, of the first normal school in West Virginia. (H)

Steamer, Robert J. "Presidential Stimulus and School Desegregation," *Phylon*, XXIV (Spring 1963), 20-33.

The Kennedy administration's activist role in the drama of desegregation, emphasizing the late president's astute awareness of the executive imperatives in the area of civil rights. (Pol-S)

Veysey, Laurence R. "The Academic Mind of Woodrow Wilson," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Mar. 1963), 613-34.

Wilson's academic aims, theories and attitudes in the context of what other university presidents and professors were saying at the same time; Wilson is best understood as an advocate of "liberal culture," and hence an opponent of vocationalism, academic specialization and the elective system. (H-Pol)

Watson, James E. "Bernard Moses' Contribution to Scholarship," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLII (June 1963), 111-26.

Father of Latin American studies in American universities, the Berkeley professor pioneered in the late 19th-century movement to define and classify the social sciences, developing one of the earliest departments of political science in the country. (H-Pol-S)

Webber, Howard R. "The University Presses in the United States; An Opinionated Survey," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Winter 1963), 34-44.

History of the university presses and an account of their function, significance, financing and policies. (E-Sc)

FOLKLORE

Abrahams, Roger. "Folklore in Culture: Notes on an Analytic Method," *Univ. of Tex. Studies in Literature & Language*, V (Spring 1963), 98-110.

Folklore should use "as many methods as possible to illuminate data under study." (S)

Bell, Sandra. "The Legend of Quivira," *West. Folk.*, XXII (Apr. 1963), 113-16.

How the story of Coronado's search for the seven cities illustrates many of the main characteristics of folk legend. (H)

Bigelow, Gordon E., ed. "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' 'Lord Bill of the Suwannee River,'" *So. Folk. Quar.*, XXVII (June 1963), 113-31.

Reprints a story by Miss Rawlings that illustrates the process by which folk stories become legends. (Lit)

Braddy, Haldeen. "Myths of Pershing's Mexican Campaign," *So. Folk. Quar.*, XXVII (Sept. 1963), 181-95.

Folklore surrounding General Pershing's military expedition against Pancho Villa in 1916. (H)

Carranco, Lynwood. "Americanisms in the Redwood Country," *West. Folk.*, XXII (Oct. 1963), 263-67.

How the lumber industry has influenced the popular speech. (E-L)

Cheney, Thomas E. "Facts and Folklore in the Story of John Wilkes Booth," *West. Folk.*, XXII (July 1963), 171-77.

Fanciful accounts of how Booth escaped his pursuers and became a traveling celebrity as a corpse. (H)

Clarke, Mary Washington. "As Jesse Stuart Heard It in Kentucky," *Ken. Folk. Rec.*, IX (July-Sept. 1963), 75-86.

Folk speech recorded in Stuart's writings. (L-Lit)

_____. "Jesse Stuart Reflects Kentucky Lore of Tokens and Ghosts," *Ken. Folk. Rec.*, IX (July-Sept. 1963), 41-50.

Death lore drawn from Stuart's poems and stories. (Lit)

Cohen, Hennig. "Twain's Jumping Frog: Folktale to Literature to Folktale," *West. Folk.* XXII (Jan. 1963), 17-18.

A newspaper article of 1867 illustrates how Twain's story, derived from folklore, returned to the folk in variant forms after its literary success. (Lit)

Dorson, Richard M. "Current Folklore Theories," *Current Anthropology*, IV (Feb. 1963), 93-112.

Summarizes comparative folklore, national folklore, anthropological, psycho-analytical and structural theories. (S)

Dundes, Alan. "The President's Statue and the Promised Land," *Midcontinent Amer. Studies Jour.*, IV (Spring 1963), 52-55.

Political anecdotes and parodies employed in current American folklore. (H-Pol)

Fife, Austin E. "Folklore and Local History," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Fall 1963), 315-23.

Sees the historian as "a disciplinarian of myth," and urges him to use some of the materials and techniques of the folklorist. (H)

Fischer, J. L. "The Sociopsychological Analysis of Folktales," *Current Anthropology*, IV (June 1963), 235-95.

Emphasis on the symbolism, structure and psychological functions of folktales. (S-Psy)

Fowke, Edith. "American Civil War Songs in Canada," *Midwest Folk.*, XIII (Spring 1963), 33-42.

Civil War ballads surviving in Canada focus greater attention on individuals than on events. (Mu-H)

Horowitz, Floyd R. "Ralph Ellison's Modern Version of Brer Bear and Brer Rabbit in *Invisible Man*," *Midcontinent Amer. Studies Jour.*, IV (Fall 1963), 21-27.

Folklore motifs as imagery. (Lit)

Loomis, C. Grant. "American Limerick Traditions," *West. Folk.*, XXII (July 1963), 153-57.

A brief history with many examples. (L-Lit)

Milledge, Luetta U. "Light Eternal: An Analysis of Some Folkloristic Elements in Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses*," *Tenn. Folk. Soc. Bull.*, XXIX (Dec. 1963), 86-93.

Folk humor, colloquial diction, dialect, folk speech, legend and ritual found in the short story collection. (L-Lit-S)

Monteiro, George. "The Unhistorical Uses of Peter Francisco," *So. Folk. Quar.*, XXVII (June 1963), 139-59.

Traces the burgeoning lore surrounding "the only soldier of Portuguese origin who served under Washington" in the American Revolution. (H-S)

Morris, Robert L. "The Success of Kit, the Arkansas Traveler," *Ark. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Winter 1963), 338-50.

A fixture on the stage 1870-1900, this play traveled the western states and reached Boston and New York. (H-Lit)

Rennick, Robert M. "The Pretty Fair Maid in the Garden," *So. Folk. Quar.*, XXVII (Sept. 1963), 229-46.

Lyrical variants of one of the best-known and most wide-spread folk ballads. (Mu)

Sackett, S. J. "Simile in Folksong," *Midwest Folk.*, XIII (Spring 1963), 5-12.

Though less common in folksong than in poetry, the simile plays an important musical role. (L-Lit-Mu)

Tamony, Peter. "'Hootenanny': The Word, Its Content and Continuum," *West. Folk.*, XXII (July 1963), 165-70.

Traces some supposed origins of the word. (L)

Wellborn, Grace P. "Plant Lore and *The Scarlet Letter*," *So. Folk. Quar.*, XXVII (June 1963), 160-67.

Hawthorne's use of plant folklore in implementing "his version of the Eden story." (Lit)

Wilson, Gordon. "Studying Folklore in a Small Region—IV: Regional Words," *Tenn. Folk. Soc. Bull.*, XXIX (Dec. 1963), 79-86.

Compilation from the Mammoth Cave region of Kentucky. (L)

Ziegler, Arthur P. Jr. "The Worthy Vexation," *Jour. of the Alleghenies*, I (Spring 1963), 3-7.

Emphasizes the folklore, economy and sociological background of the Allegheny Highlands. (E-H-S)

HISTORY

Abernathy, Lloyd. "Insurgency in Philadelphia, 1905," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVII (Jan. 1963), 3-20.

The overthrow of the Penrose machine and the beginning of reform. (Pol)

_____. "The Washington Race War of July, 1919," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Dec. 1963), 309-24.

Negro-white hostility which produced violence in the nation's capital. (S)

Adams, Eleanor B. "Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi," *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1963), 97-138.

Abortive attempts of a young Franciscan missionary to convert apostate Hopi Indians in the 1770s. (R-S)

Alexander, Charles C. "Defeat, Decline, Disintegration: The Ku Klux Klan in Arkansas, 1924 and After," *Ark. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Winter 1963), 311-31.

With the failure of Grand Dragon James A. Comer to unite the expanding Arkansas Klan behind his candidate for governor in 1924, that body declined as a political force in the state. (Pol)

Bailey, Kenneth K. "Southern White Protestantism at the Turn of the Century," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXII (Apr. 1963), 618-35.

The elements of fundamentalist religion remained strong in the South after the Civil War—"a fountain of weakness and strength, of cohesion and strife." (R-S)

Beisel, Suzanne. "Henry Clay 'Dirty' Dean," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Winter 1963), 505-24.

Anecdotal sketch of an Iowa minister and lawyer who served as Chaplain of the U. S. Senate, denounced the Civil War and was imprisoned as a "rebel" sympathizer. (R-Law)

Bell, Daniel. "A Moralizer's Tale," *Kenyon Rev.*, XXV (Winter 1963), 156-61.

Holds that Daniel Boorstin has failed to adequately present the reality underlying the "pseudo-events" he finds so abundant in our culture. (MC)

Best, G. F. A. "Church Parties and Charities: The Experiences of Three American Visitors to England, 1823-1824," *English Hist. Rev.*, LXXVIII (Apr. 1963), 243-62.

The visits to England of Bishops John H. Hobart and Philander Chase and the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton to solicit funds for theological colleges in the United States. (R-Ed)

Brown, Dorothy M. "Embargo Politics in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Sept. 1963), 193-210.

The conflict over the embargo results in a partial resurgence in Federalist strength in the election of 1808. (Pol)

Brown, Lawrence L. "The Rev. G. MacLaren Brydon, D.D., and the Historiography of the Episcopal Church," *Hist. Mag. of Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Dec. 1963), 287-88.

A tribute to the late historian of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, with a bibliography of his writings. (R)

Burr, Nelson R. "The Church Historian: His Craft and His Responsibility," *Hist. Mag. of Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Sept. 1963), 275-82.

Urges church historians "to write not merely denominational chronicles, but popular Christian history for general reading." (R)

Cantor, Milton, "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature," *New England Quar.* XXXVI (Dec. 1963), 452-77.

The Negro was viewed as different and inferior in colonial literature; "it appears that the foundation of pro-slavery and anti-slavery thought was laid in the colonial period." (S-Lit)

Cardon, A. F. "Senator Reed Smoot and the Mexican Revolution," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Spring 1963), 151-63.

Smoot's effort to protect the lives of Mormon colonists in northern Mexico during the revolution of 1910 to 1914. (R)

Carter, Paul. "The Campaign of 1028 Re Examined: A Study in Political Folklore," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLVI (Summer 1963), 263-72.

The importance of prohibition and anti-urbanism as issues in the campaign and optimism about toleration in America since two leading candidates for the Democratic nomination were Catholic and one was nominated. (Pol)

Cecil, Robert. "Oligarchy and Mob Rule in the American Revolution," *Hist. Today*, XIII (Mar. 1963), 197-204.

The significant part played by urban mobs, a cause of alarm to the oligarchic element in colonial society. (Pol-S)

Chyet, Stanley F. "Aaron Lopez: A Study in Buenafama," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (June 1963), 295-309.

An 18th-century American-Jewish merchant who engaged in whaling and slave-trading. (E-S)

Clark, Thomas D. "The Mississippi River in History," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Fall 1963), 181-90.

The historical importance of the river in the development of the country and certain aspects of American culture. (A-S)

Clebsch, William A. "A New Historiography of American Religion," *Hist. Mag. of Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Sept. 1963), 225-57.

Recent historical studies of American Christianity are synthesizing "previously baffling multiplicities" into "universal narratives," and creating "a new, synoptic, literally synthetic, or universal interpretation" of America's religious experience. (R)

Coad, Oral S. "The Barnegat Pirates in Fact and Fiction," *Proc. of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXXI (July 1963), 183-203.

Appraises the evidence that ships were lured to disaster along the shore of Barnegat Bay, together with the use of this tradition in literature. (Lit)

Conant, James B. "The Advancement of Knowledge in the United States in the Nineteenth Century," *Colo. Quar.*, XI (Winter 1963), 229-44.

Concludes that the American approach to natural sciences and technology tended to be an empirical inductive one and that as this applied to law and the behavioral sciences it reflects the attitudes of 19th-century American inventors. (Sc)

Corner, Betsy C. "Dr. John Fothergill and the American Colonies," *Quaker Hist.*, LII (Autumn 1963), 77-89.

Influenced by his father's concern for his coreligionists in America, Dr. John Fothergill, the English Friend, aided the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital and used his influence with Lord Dartmouth and Lord Hyde to further Franklin's unsuccessful peace efforts in 1775. (R)

Cosmas, Graham A. "The Democracy in Search of Issues: The Wisconsin Reform Party, 1873-1877," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLVI (Winter 1962-63), 93-108.

Attention to rural discontent by a progressive element in the Democratic Party was responsible for its political success. (Pol)

Covington, James W. "Federal Relations with the Apalachicola Indians, 1823-1838," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLII (Oct. 1963), 125-41.

When Andrew Jackson became President, Indians living in Florida lost all chance of remaining in their original homes. (Pol)

Crockett, Norman L. "A Study of Confusion: Missouri's Immigration Program, 1865-1916," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVII (Apr. 1963), 248-60.

States that Missouri's immigration program "might have been more effective had it been more closely organized, carefully timed, and more truthful." (S)

Dick, David B. "Resurgence of the Chicago Democracy, April-November, 1861," *Jour. of Ill. Hist. Soc.*, LVI (Summer 1963), 139-49.

The rise of the Democrats including the May 1, 1861, speech of Stephen A. Douglas. (PA-Pol)

Dobyns, Henry F. "Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Arizona," *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1963), 163-81.

Attributes the almost complete extinction of Piman Indians in this area between 1700 and 1800 to disease as well as Apache raids. (S)

Duffy, John. "Hogs, Dogs, and Dirt: Public Health in Early Pittsburgh," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXVII (July 1963), 294-305.

Disease problems in pre-Civil War period. (Sc)

Eisenstadt, Abraham. "Redefining the American Experience," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Autumn 1963), 134-60.

Surveys the attitude of several eminent historians toward the wars the United States has fought from the Revolution to World War I. (Lit-Pol-R-S)

———. "American History and Social Science," *Centennial Rev.*, VII (Summer 1963), 255-72.

Cites several reasons "why history does not use the social sciences," and concludes that although history is *with* the social sciences, it is not one of them. (S)

Ellsworth, S. George. "Utah's Struggle for Statehood," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Winter 1963), 60-69.

Political, economic and religious complications in Utah's efforts to become a state.

(R-Pol-E)

Farnham, Wallace D. "The Weakened Spring of Government': A Study in Nineteenth Century American History," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (Apr. 1963), 662-80.

Indicates, through a case study of the Union Pacific railroad, the disastrous consequences of the weakened and warped government of 19th-century America. (Pol-E)

Fisher, Sidney George. "The Diaries of . . . 1858-1860," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVII (Jan. 1963), 63-88.

Life of well-to-do scion of a distinguished Philadelphia family. A continuation of extracts published from 1952 to 1955. Continued in April, July and October issues. (S-Pol)

Flynt, Wayne. "Florida's 1926 Senatorial Primary," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLII (Oct. 1963), 142-53.

Primary reflected growth of industrialism in Florida as 21 brotherhoods raised money for Jerry Carter to oppose Duncan U. Fletcher. (Pol)

Gold, Robert L. "Politics and Property during the Transfer of Florida from Spanish to English Rule, 1763-1764," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLII (July 1963), 16-34.

Although the British accepted the principle of property exchange between Spanish and English subjects, they approved only those sales which would not disturb their colonial plans. (Pol)

Green, Fletcher M. "On Tour with President Jackson," *New England Quar.*, XXXVI (June 1963), 209-28.

Jackson's triumphal tour of 1833 in the interest of national unity degenerated into partisan politics that caused its abandonment, but it helped set the pattern of a political institution and instrument. (Pol-PA)

Gunderson, Robert G. "'Stoutly Argufy'; Lincoln's Legal Speaking," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XLVI (Winter 1962-63), 109-17.

The rural influence on Lincoln's legal approach.

(Law-PA)

Halliday, E. M. "Nature's God and the Founding Fathers," *Amer. Heritage*, XIV (Oct. 1963), 4-1; 100-6.

The importance of "natural religion" in the genesis of democratic liberty as evidenced in the ideas of Jefferson and Madison. (R)

Hamil, Fred Coyne. "The French Heritage of the Detroit Region," *Mich. Hist.*, XLVII (Mar. 1963), 41-46.

Discusses the folklore of the recent past among the French descendants of Detroit.

(F-L)

Hanley, Thomas O'Brien. "The State and the Dissenters in the Revolution," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Dec. 1963), 325-32.

Policies of the Maryland government demonstrated a respect for religious dissent and pacifism. (R)

Harrison, Lowell H. "A Young Virginian: John Breckenridge," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXI (Jan. 1963), 19-24.

Biographical sketch of a farmer, businessman and lawyer who migrated from Virginia to Kentucky, where he long served in state and federal political office and was instrumental in passing the Kentucky Resolutions, 1798 and 1799. (Pol)

Hartz, Louis. "Individualism in Modern America," *Tex. Quar.*, VI (Summer 1963), 100-10.

Development of and changes in individualism and the possibility of a synthesis of the new individualism with the old Progressivism. (Pol-S)

Holso, Paul S. "The Farmer-Labor Association: Minnesota's Party Within A Party," *Minn. Hist.*, XXXVIII (Sept. 1963), 301-9.

A unique farmer-labor association was established in 1924 which became a vital force in the long career of the Farmer-Labor Party. (Pol-E)

Houf, Walter R. "American Home Missionary Society Letters from Iowa," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVII (Summer-Fall 1963), 45-76; 95-120.

Reports of religious conditions and attitudes on the frontier, 1839-44. (R)

Hubbard, George U. "Abraham Lincoln as Seen by the Mormons," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Spring 1963), 91-108.

Mormons became Lincoln's supporters by the end of his first term because of the "tolerance and impartiality which was consistent with his stated policy as President to 'let them alone.'"

(S-R)

Jackson, W. Turrentine. "British Impact on the Utah Mining Industry," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Fall 1963), 347-75.

British companies organized to develop Utah mines in the 1870s were uniform failures, but British capital returned in the 1890s to profit from gold and copper mining. (E)

Jones, Gordon W. "The First Epidemic in English America," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXI (Jan. 1963), 3-10.

Diagnoses fever that struck the Virginia colony of 1607 as beriberi. (Sc)

Jones, James P. "John A. Logan, Freshman in Congress, 1859-1861," *Jour. of Ill. Hist. Soc.*, LVI (Spring 1963), 36-60.

Ideas and speaking of a partisan postwar Republican who was an equally partisan Democrat in the 36th Congress. (PA-Pol)

Jordan, Robert Paul. "Gettysburg and Vicksburg: The Battle Towns Today," *Nat. Geographic*, CXXIV (July 1963), 4-57.

An authoritative centennial article on these two campaigns, the history, the drama and the present-day remains. (MC)

Karp, Abraham J. "What's American about American Jewish History: The Religious Scene," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (June 1963), 283-94.

The influence of freedom, frontier and immigration on American-Jewish life in the 19th century. (S-R)

_____. "Solomon Schechter Comes to America," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (Sept. 1963), 44-62.

The reason why the Cambridge University scholar came to head the Jewish Theological Seminary. (R-Ed)

Kelley, Brooks M. "Simon Cameron and the Senatorial Nomination of 1867," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVII (Oct. 1963), 375-92.

Cameron's ability as opposed to the legend of bribery and corruption in securing the nomination. (Pol)

Kelly, Lawrence C. "The Navaho Indians: Land and Oil," *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (Jan. 1963), 1-28.

The struggle to preserve and extend the lands of the Navahos in Arizona and New Mexico in the face of pressure from grazers and oil prospectors in the period from 1901 to 1934. (Pol-E-S)

Klement, Frank L. "The Hopkins Hoax and Golden Circle Rumors in Michigan: 1861-1862," *Mich. Hist.*, XLVII (Mar. 1963), 1-14.

Maintains that "not a shred of evidence" can be found to prove that secret leagues or Golden Circles existed in Michigan during the war years. (Pol)

Lambert, George R. Jr. "The Autobiographical Writings of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (June-Sept. 1963), 93-122; 233-46.

Diaries and memoranda of a Democratic senator who espoused imperialism, conservatism and Negro disenfranchisement. (Pol)

Large, John Jr. "A Scientist Observes Florida: 1870," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLII (July 1963), 48-54.

Jared Potter Kirkland, graduate of Yale Medical College in 1815 and an Ohio doctor of some note, moved to Florida at the age of 77. (Sc)

Lerner, Robert E. "Turner and the Revolt Against E. A. Freeman," *Arizona & the West*, V (Summer 1963), 101-8.

In Frederick Jackson Turner's revolt against the historical philosophy of Edward Augustus Freeman, the medievalist, that "history is past politics," the suggestion is made that Turner's thesis was part of a wide intercontinental trend, a fact that a majority of his disciples seem to have ignored. (P)

Lewis, W. David. "New-Gate of New York: A Case History (1796-1828) of Early American Prison Reform." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVII (Apr. 1963), 137-72.

Humanitarianism and experimentalism in prison management and organization. (S)

Lindquist, Emory. "The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas," *Kans. Hist. Quar.*, XXIX (Spring 1963), 1-24.

The situation created by the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854 and events prior to and during the Civil War were determining factors in migration. (S)

Long, Durward. "Florida's First Railroad Commission," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLII (Oct. 1963), 103-24.

The Commission's first report in 1888 showed that difficulties in determining policy and rates resulted from pressures from special interests. (E-Law)

———. "Political Parties and Propaganda in Alabama in the Presidential Election of 1860," *Ala. Hist. Quar.*, XXV (Spring 1963), 120-35.

The crisis forced little change in political behavior and voters chose their candidates in the tradition of the American two-party system. (Pol)

Louis, James P. "Sue Shelton White and the Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, 1913-20," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (June 1963), 170-90.

A militant woman's rights advocate broke with Carrie Chapman Catt over tactics and played a determining role in securing Tennessee's crucial ratification of the 19th amendment. (Pol)

McClellan, Keith. "The Morrison Electric: Iowa's First Automobile," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Spring 1963), 561-68.

Biographical sketch of the inventor of a storage battery and the first automobile reputedly to be driven in Chicago. (Sc)

Mothershead, Harmon. "Negro Rights in Colorado Territory (1859-1867)," *Colo. Mag.*, XL (July 1963), 212-23.

The successful effort to secure the Negro's right to public schooling and the franchise, and its connection with Radical Republican policies in Washington. (Pol-S)

Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. "The Irish in New York," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Aug. 1963), 93-107.

Traces various aspects and activities of the Irish from the middle of the 19th century and speculates about their future role. (Pol-R-S)

Muniz, José R. "Tampa at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Apr. 1963), 332-42.

Special emphasis on the successful efforts of the Cuban and Spanish immigrants to establish the tobacco industry in Tampa. (E)

Murphy, Paul L. "Time to Reclaim: The Current Challenge of American Constitutional History," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXIX (Oct. 1963), 64-79.

Castigates constitutional historians for failure to develop field which has exciting contemporary relevance. (Pol)

Overmyer, Grace. "The Baltimore Mobs and John Howard Payne," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Mar. 1963), 54-61.

The American actor's role in the defense of the freedom of the press. (Lit)

Palmer, William R. "Early Merchandising in Utah," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXXI (Winter 1963), 36-50.

Successful efforts of the Mormon Church to alleviate the shortage of goods in Utah by organizing the Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) with co-op stores in almost every community. (E-R)

Parsons, Stanley B. "Who Were the Populists?" *Neb. Hist.*, XLIV (June 1963), 83-99.

Nebraska's Populists reveal many of the characteristics of groups living on the fringe of society. (Pol-S)

Renshaw, Patrick. "Trade Unions in America and Britain," *Quar. Rev.*, CCCI (Oct. 1963), 413-22.

Lessons which British trade unions can learn from America. (Pol-E)

Richardson, Joe M. "An Evaluation of the Freedman's Bureau in Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Jan. 1963), 223-38.

The Bureau, failing in the attempt to establish good relations between white and Negro, should not be condemned for attempting the impossible. (Pol)

Schmidlein, Gene. "Truman's First Senatorial Election," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVII (Jan. 1963), 128-55.

Truman deserves "some credit" for his victory "in that he overcame the stigma of the Pendergast machine" by his judgeship record, his popularity in rural areas and his energetic campaign. (Pol)

Schonfeld, Robert G. & Spencer Wilson. "The Value of Personal Estates in Maryland, 1700-1710," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Dec. 1963), 333-43.

Study of 18th-century inventory and account books reflects the status and growth of the tobacco economy. (E)

Sherman, Roger B. "Johnstown v. the Negro: Southern Migrants and the Exodus of 1923," *Pa. Hist.*, XXX (Oct. 1963), 454-64.

Racial tensions in Johnstown which caused a state investigation in the early 1920s with its political implications. (S)

Shofner, Jerrell H. "The Constitution of 1868," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Apr. 1963), 356-74.

Though many conservative Floridians had been disenfranchised, they were influential in the writing of the 1868 constitution. (Pol)

Sifton, Paul G. "What a Dread Prospect': Dolly Madison's Plague Year," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVII (Apr. 1963), 182-88.

Her reaction to the plague in Philadelphia and the problems it created for her. (Sc)

Sklar, Robert. "The Great Awakening and Colonial Politics: Connecticut's Revolution in the Minds of Men," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, XXVII (July 1963), 81-95.

Develops the implications from a political point of view of the Great Awakening as well as the Great Awakening itself. (PA-R)

Steen, Ivan D. "America's First World's Fair: The Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations at New York's Crystal Palace, 1853-1854," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVII (July 1963), 275-87.

An examination of evidences of America's "coming of age." (MC-Sc-A)

Stern, Malcolm H. "New Light on the Jewish Settlement of Savannah," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (Mar. 1963), 169-99.

Despite resistance of the Georgia trustees, a small group of Jews settled as farmers in the colony during the 1730s. (E-S)

Still, Bayrd. "New York's Mayoralty: The Formative Years," *N. Y. Hist. Quar.*, XLVII (July 1963), 239-56.

An examination of the power and influence of the Mayor's office in the 17th century. (Pol)

Strickland, Alice. "James Ormond, Merchant and Soldier," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Jan. 1963), 209-22.

The trading firm of McNaught and Ormond, founded in Florida in 1839, flourished for over 40 years. (E)

Strickland, Arvarh E. "The Illinois Backgrounds of Lincoln's Attitudes Towards Slavery and the Negro," *Jour. of Ill. Hist. Soc.*, LVI (Autumn 1963), 474-94.

The development of the "Great Emancipator's" views. (PA-Pol-Law)

Tebbel, John. "Presidents and the Press," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Sept. 14, 1963), 68-70; 77.

Survey of the attitudes of the Presidents from Washington to Kennedy toward the press. (MC)

Thompson, Thomas Gray. "Early Development of Lake City, Colorado," *Colo. Mag.*, XL (Apr. 1963), 93-105.

The growth of Lake City as the economic center of a mining area in the 1870s with special emphasis on the role of churches. (R-E-S)

Wilmerding, Lucius Jr. "The United States Lottery," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVII (Jan. 1963), 5-40.

Effort of the Second Continental Congress to finance the war by means of the lottery of November 1776. (E-Pol)

Venable, Austin L. "The Public Career of William Lowndes Yancey," *Ala. Rev.*, XVI (July 1963), 200-12.

Brief summary of activities of the Alabama fire-eater. (PA)

Villiers, Alan. "Ships Through the Ages: A Saga of the Sea," *Nat. Geographic*, CXXIII (Mar. 1963), 496-545.

Illustrated cultural and economic survey of the role of ships through human history with much attention given to the American scene. (Sc-F-MC)

Zahniser, Marvin R. "Edward Rutledge to his Son, August 2, 1796," *S. C. Hist. Mag.*, LXIV (Apr. 1963), 65-72.

Rutledge's wish that his son, Henry, be able to observe the ways of European governments was fulfilled when the latter, acting as secretary to Charles Pinckney, was in France during the XYZ Affair. (Pol)

LANGUAGE

Arnold, Thurman W. "The Folklore of Capitalism Revisited," *Yale Rev.*, LII (Winter 1963), 188-204.

The continuity of semantic models in value thought processes despite changes in referents, an extension on the author's earlier analysis of socio-semantic phenomena in America. (H-Pol)

Baumhoff, M. A. & D. L. Olmsted. "Palaihnihan: Radiocarbon Support for Glottochronology," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LXV (Apr. 1963), 278-84.

Reporting a "startling" correlation between archeological and glotto-chronological findings in dating the separation of two northeastern California Indian peoples. (Sc-S)

Coles, William E. Jr. "The Way Johnny Can't Read," *AAUP Bull.*, XLIX (Sept. 1963), 240-42.

The need for levels higher than minimal in reading and reading comprehension. (Ed)

Dean, Christopher. "Is There a Distinctive Literary Canadian English?" *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Dec. 1963), 278-82.

Vocabulary and syntax analyses of short stories by Canadian authors reveal no type of Canadian literary English distinct from American literary English in general. (Lit)

Deiningner, R. L. "Verbal Behavior in Retrieving Telephone Information," *Human Factors*, V (Aug. 1963), 405-11.

Linguistic redundancy and its psycholinguistic effects in one kind of closely defined situation, through description of verbal behavior. (Psy)

Dundes, Alan & C. Fayne Porter. "American Indian Student Slang," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Dec. 1963), 270-77.

Slang expressions of Indian students at Haskell Institute have much in common with slang in general, but some expressions appear to be unique. (F-S)

Dykema, Karl W. "Cultural Lag and Reviewers of Webster III," *AAUP Bull.*, XLIX (Dec. 1963), 364-69.

In the form of a defense of the methodologies upon which Webster III was based, this article amounts to a more general description of cultural lag in attitudes toward language. (Ed-MC)

Fearing, Franklin. "The Problem of Metaphor," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXIX (Fall 1963), 47-55.

Metaphor is embedded in the very process of human perception and cognition; "it becomes man's most important tool in control and interpretation of his world." (Psy)

Finnie, W. Bruce. "Ohio Valley Localisms: Topographical Terms, 1750-1800," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Oct. 1963), 178-87.

A glossary, early citations and an explanation of principal sources of topographical terms. (H)

Flanagan, John T. "Faulkner's Favorite Word," *Ga. Rev.*, XVII (Winter 1963), 429-34.

Perhaps "implacable" is Faulkner's most characteristic word among his obsessively wide spectrum of strong negative adjectives. (Lit)

Galbraith, J. K. "The Language of Economics," *Advancement of Science*, XX (May 1963), 23-27.

An analysis of the misfortunes and necessities of the *Berufssprache* of economists, with implications of the similar problems in other learned disciplines, in special linguistic developments and in willful obscurantism. (E-Sc)

Glaser, Rosemarie. "Neuworter im politischen Englisch," *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, XI (Heft 3, 1963), 229-47.

New words and uses of words in English and American political life appear, circulate and change rapidly. (Pol)

Hayakawa, S. I. "Communication: Interracial and International," *ETC*, XX (Dec. 1963), 395-410.

The need for communication between white and Negro Americans and the inadequacy of mere words for achieving that communication. (S-Pol)

Hench, Atcheson L. "Notes on Reading Webster III," *Coll. English*, XXIV (May 1963), 613-18.

Of articles produced in the "Third Controversy," this is typical of the better efforts to balance an appraisal of the values and shortcomings of the work. (Ed-MC)

Kariel, Henry S. "Negative Thinking about Politics," *Mass. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1963), 115-22.

A survey of the pertinence of political thinking and theory in the writings of social, journalistic, literary and religious leaders and writers, who seek a willingness to deal with the larger range of political behavior. (Pol-R)

Kimball, Arthur G. "Sears-Roebuck and Regional Terms," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Oct. 1963), 209-13.

The histories of several terms showing the mail-order catalogue as a sensitive recorder of regional vocabulary and changing terminology. (H-S)

Lasher-Schlitt, Dorothy. "Language Teaching Around the World," *Improving Coll. & Univ. Teaching*, XI (Summer 1963), 126-33.

Intuitive survey of general contrasts in pedagogical techniques, with telling details on points of specific comparison and on differences described. (Ed)

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "The Value Patterns of Democracy: A Case Study in Comparative Analysis," *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, XXVIII (Aug. 1963), 515-31.

This study suggests strong and provocative extrapolations with linguistic usage as it reflects the value systems described. (Pol)

Lloyd, Donald. "The Quietmouth American," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Sept. 1963), 101-5.

The typical American suffers in contacts with other peoples because of his culturally founded reserve about what he really thinks, and this reluctance to verbalize often suggests (wrongly) that his mind is empty. (Psy-S)

Lowenherz, Robert J. "The Beginnings of Huckleberry Finn," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Oct. 1963), 196-201.

In the first paragraph, Twain establishes the vernacular speech of Huck, characterizes the main personality and foreshadows the theme and structure of the entire novel. (Lit)

Newman, John B. "The Semantic Analysis of Ordinary Language," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLIX (Dec. 1963), 410-16.

An effort at a more operational analysis of processes of meaning with some grammatical addenda. (Psy-MC)

Newman, Thomas Stell. "Air Refueling Words," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (May 1963), 117-20.

The special vocabulary devoted to "a mental picture of the idea, object, or technique" of air refueling. (Sc)

Pearce, Ruth L. "Welsh Place-Names in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Names*, XI (Mar. 1963), 31-43.

Ascribes the popularity of Welsh names originating here long after Welsh immigration and tradition had died out primarily to the social and cultural prestige of the immigrants and their descendants. (F-H-S)

Read, Allan Walker. "The First Stage in the History of 'O.K.,"' *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Feb. 1963), 5-27.

A well-documented explanation of the emergence of "O.K." in 1839 from the fad of humorous misspelling ("oll korrekt") and of playful juggling of initials. (H-F)

_____. "The Second Stage in the History of 'O.K.,"' *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (May 1963), 83-102.

The political use of "O.K." in 1840 and the spread of the term into national currency. (H-Pol)

Rogers, P. Burwell. "Naming Protestant Churches in America," *Names*, XI (Mar. 1963), 44-51.

None of the major denominations have rules governing name selection and their names fall mostly into three categories: poetic-picturesque, religiously significant and local. (H-R)

Schell, Ruth. "'Swamp Yankee,'" *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (May 1963), 121-23.

Derivation and meaning of the term, found in only a portion of New England and rapidly becoming unfamiliar as the mores of the section change. (S)

Utley, Francis E. "The Linguistic Component on Onomastics," *Names*, XI (Sept. 1963), 145-76.

Identifies characteristics and significance of American naming. (F-H)

Voegelin, C. F. & F. M. Voegelin. "On the History of Structuralizing in 20th Century America," *Anthropological Linguistics*, V (Jan. 1963), 12-37.

Traces and reflects upon trends and interchanges in the development of anthropological and linguistic science, emphasizing the role of the notion of levels, and pointing to "four fundamental differences in current linguistic and socio-linguistic practice." (H-Sc-S)

Weathers, Winston. "Melville and the Comedy of Communications," *ETC*, XX (Dec. 1963), 411-20.

Melville's development of simple, natural and limited techniques in his early writing as he sought for perfect communication. (Lit)

Wood, Gordon R. "Dialect Contours in the Southern States," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVIII (Dec. 1963), 243-56.

The interplay of Midland and Coastal language features in the formation of dialects of the interior and Gulf Coast South. (S-H)

"Writers, Writing, and the Written," *Bull. of Atomic Scientists*, XIX (Nov. 1963), 13-28; (Dec. 1963), 19-33.

Symposium containing a series of articles on the general problems of language and writing in modern scientific discourse. (Sc-S)

LITERATURE & DRAMA

Abel, Lionel. "Beyond the Fringe," *Partisan Rev.*, XXX (Spring 1963), 109-12.

Suggests that although *Naked Lunch* is not literature it satisfies a widespread craving in our culture for "utterness." (MC)

Abramson, Doris E. "'It'll Be Me': The Voice of Langston Hughes," *Mass. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1963), 168-76.

Plays by Negroes in general and by Hughes in which he "records for us the speech and the dreams, the agonies and the compensating joys alive in that city [Harlem] within a city." (L-S)

Adams, Percy G. "The French Image of the United States," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Winter 1962-63), 35-46.

Lessons to be kept in mind in creating the proper image of America in France.

(Ed-H-MC-S)

Allen, Gay Wilson. "Editing *The Writings of Walt Whitman*," *Arts & Sciences*, I (Winter 1962-63), 7-12.

Describes the problems inherent in such a great undertaking but thinks that the editors "are erecting a monument to academic courage, faith, generosity, and scholarly work."

(E)

Ames, Evelyn. "Eric Barker: Figure in a Landscape," *Lit. Rev.*, VII (Autumn 1963), 40-50.

Critical appraisal of Barker's poetry and account of the poet as a man living close to and loving nature. (L-S)

Anderson, John Q. "Lowell's 'The Washers of the Shroud,' and the Celtic Legend of the Washer of the Ford," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXV (Nov. 1963), 361-63.

The poem is topical, having to do with the inhumanity of war, and is "an imaginative blending of ancient mythology and contemporary ideas." (F-H)

Angoff, Charles. "Van Wyck Brooks and Our Critical Tradition," *Lit. Rev.*, VII (Autumn 1963), 27-35.

Despite his minor faults, "The achievement of Van Wyck Brooks—as a critic, as a writer, as a critical influence, as a historian, as a biographer, as a cultural beacon—is truly stupendous." (H-S)

Appel, John J. "Historiography and the Study of the American Image," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Winter 1963), 23-34.

The part played by literature as well as by other disciplines in creating the American image. (E-H-MC-S)

Barry, Joseph. "Miss Toklas on Her Own," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Mar. 30, 1963), 21-23.

Critical review of *What Is Remembered* contains much information about both Gertrude Stein and Miss Toklas and their views on several topics. (A-L-S)

Baumgartner, Paul R. "Jonathan Edwards: The Theory behind His Use of Figurative Language," *PMLA*, LXXVIII (Sept. 1963), 321-25.

"The justification and true beauty of metaphor, simile, and analogy in human expression are to be explained in terms of two of Edwards' metaphysical . . . theories": the relation between God and the created universe, and the nature of man and his way of receiving truth from God. (L-P-R)

Bellow, Saul. "The Writer as Moralist," *Atlantic*, CCXI (Mar. 1963), 58-62.

The novelist presents some of the current problems faced by a professional writer and concludes that he "bears the burdens of priest and teacher," for he believes that "the moral function cannot be divorced from art." (R-S)

Bermel, Albert. "How to Treat the Broadway Malady of 1963," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Dec. 1963), 56-62.

Suggestions for improving the offerings on Broadway, particularly emphasizing the need for *good* plays. (E)

Björk, Lennart. "Ancient Myths and the Moral Framework of Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXV (May 1963), 196-204.

Faulkner's artistic use of Greek mythology, legends of Hebrew or Christian origin, and the evil of slavery in creating the character of Sutpen, a "tragic hero." (R-S)

Blackall, Jean Frantz. "The Sacred Fount as a Comedy of the Limited Observer," *PMLA*, LXXVIII (Sept. 1963), 384-93.

A reading of the novel as "high comedy wonderfully sustained" because "the narrator, with his head perpetually in a theoretic psychological cloud, commits some remarkable faux pas" (Psy)

Blau, Herbert. "Decentralization: New Frontiers and Old Dead Ends," *Tulane Drama Rev.*, VII (Summer 1963), 55-85.

A grim, but hopeful, view, based on an historical survey of the late "little theater" movement, of the new impulse provided by the Ford Foundation to create a new, regional, decentralized theater. (E-H)

Bode, Carl. "Columbia's Carnal Bed," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Spring 1963), 52-64.

Examples of fiction and books on various topics that have raised the problem of pornography. (Law-Med-S-Se)

Bone, Robert A. "Irving's Headless Hessian: Prosperity and the Inner Life," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Summer 1963), 167-75.

Interprets "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" as a conflict between materialism, rationalism and common sense, and the literary imagination. (E-R-S)

Boroff, David. "Beach, Bohemia, Barracks—Brooklyn," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 29, 1963), 64, 66, 70, 72, 74, 77.

Brooklyn is, among several other things, the home and/or the birthplace of many distinguished writers. (L-S)

Boyer, Paul S. "Boston Book Censorship in the Twenties," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Spring 1963), 3-24.

History of the censorship and reasons for its especial severity in Boston. (H-R-S)

Bradford, Robert W. "Thoreau and Therien," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 499-506.

References in the *Journal* and in *Walden* to Thoreau's friendship with and attitude toward the woodchopper. (R-S)

Brown, John Mason. "What's Right with the Theatre," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (May 11, 1963), 19-21.

Despite weaknesses in contemporary drama, such as in the "Theatre of the Absurd," there are signs of strength which point to survival. (R-S)

Browne, R. B. "Billy Budd: Gospel of Democracy," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, XVII (Mar. 1963), 321-37.

The book affirms Melville's belief in the triumph of the Rights of Man and of democracy. (P-Pol-S)

Carleton, William G. "Troubadour of Democracy," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXIX (Spring 1963), 319-22.

Review essay on *My Life: The Memoirs of Claude Bowers* pays tribute to the man and the writer and his significant role. (E-H-Pol-S)

Cecil, L. Moffitt. "Hawthorne's Optical Device," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Spring 1963), 76-84.

Character is revealed in the tales and romances through an almost scientific representation of *what* and *how* an individual sees. (Psy-Sc)

Charney, Maurice. "James Baldwin's Quarrel with Richard Wright," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Spring 1963), 65-75.

Account of the quarrel and the reasons for it—chiefly regarding the aims, intention and values of a Negro writer. (S)

Giardi, John. "Dialogue with an Audience: The First Seven Years," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Sept. 14, 1963), 27-29, 79-80.

Comments on the nature of poetry, his experience in trying to teach it, and the reception of it by the "general audience." (Ed-L-MC-S)

Connelly, Thomas Lawrence. "The Vanderbilt Agrarians: Time and Place in Southern Tradition," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Mar. 1963), 22-37.

The Agrarians called attention to the evils of laissez-faire industrialism, questioned the definition of progress and warned of the pressures of conformity in a supranational state. (H-S)

Cook, Bruce. "Writers in Midstream," *Critic*, XXI (Feb.-Mar. 1963), 35-40.

Discusses the work of John Williams and James Baldwin and identifies the difficulties Negro writers have to face. (Pol-S)

Cooperman, Stanley. "Utopian Realism: The Futurist Novels of Bellamy and Howells," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 464-67.

In Howells' *A Traveler from Altruria*, "the Dynamo is despised, while in Bellamy's [*Looking Backward*] it is worshipped—alternatives which have indeed shaped much of American culture for the past century." (E-Pol-S)

Coursen, Herbert R. Jr. "Nature's Center," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 467-69.

The concept of evil in Nature as presented by Melville, Dickinson and Henry Adams. (P-R)

Cowley, Malcolm. "Van Wyck Brooks: A Career in Retrospect," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (May 25, 1963), 17-18, 38.

Survey of Brooks' contribution to the recognition and evaluation of American literature. (H-S)

_____. "Laforgue in America: A Testimony," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXXI (Winter 1963), 62-74.

A personal reminiscence illustrating the importance of French symbolism to Harvard students of the 1890s and to young New York writers of the 1920s. (H)

Cox, James M. "The Muse of Samuel Clemens," *Mass. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1963), 127-41.

Discusses the image Twain presented of being repressed by his wife and the respectable society she represented, and concludes that the idea of repression was merely an illusion invented as "a motive and means of expression." (S)

Curley, Thomas F. "Catholic Novels and American Culture," *Commentary*, XXXVI (July 1963), 34-42.

Regards Farrell as "the most representative of the American 'Catholic' novelists" and surveys the work of Catholics who have left the Church and those who have remained in it. (Ed-R-S)

Daniel, Bradford. "Faulkner on Race," *Ramparts*, II (Dec. 1963), 43-49.

Cites many of Faulkner's utterances on the race problem in the South, chiefly to the effect that the Negro wants equality, but not necessarily integration. (Ed-S)

Dempsey, David. "The Space Race in Paperbacks," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Feb. 16, 1963), 33, 36.

The growth of the paperback business. "Books are at last a mass commodity." (E-MC)

Dickey, John S. "Robert Frost: Teacher-at-Large," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Feb. 23, 1963), 21-22.

Frost's theories on and demonstrated techniques of teaching—particularly, of course, poetry. (Ed)

Diggins, John P. "Dos Passos and Veblen's Villains," *Antioch Rev.*, XXIII (Winter 1963-64), 485-500.

"In our age of affluence and leisure John Dos Passos remains the social conscience of the gospel of work." (E-H-Pol-S)

Dillingham, William B. "Insensibility in *The Red Badge of Courage*," *Coll. English*, XXV (Dec. 1963), 194-98.

Provides a "naturalistic" interpretation of the novel and traces the psychological change occurring in Henry Fleming during the course of the story. (Psy)

Drew, Fraser B. "A Teacher Visits Robert Frost," *N. Y. State Ed.*, LI (Dec. 1963), 20-21.

"Don't teach them a lesson—show them a lesson" was Frost's injunction while discussing various topics with his visitors. (Ed-Pol)

Duggan, Francis X. "Paul Elmer More and the New England Tradition," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 542-61.

More's predilections are attributed to Puritan ancestry, attraction of New England and religious and philosophical interests. (R-P)

Duprey, Richard A. "Where Are Our Playwrights?" *America*, CVIII (Jan. 5, 1963), 10-12.

Deplores the dearth of good dramatists and hopes for the day when we shall have a playwright combining the estimable qualities of several writers. (S)

Faulkner, Seldon. "The Octoroon War," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (Mar. 1963), 33-38.

How legal battle waged by Boucicault over rights to his play's profits clarified authors' legal rights in copyright law. (H-Law)

Fiedler, Leslie A. "The Anti-War Novel and the Good Soldier Schweik," *Ramparts*, I (Jan. 1963), 43-48.

Novels by Crane, Hemingway, Faulkner and others perpetuate the genre, started principally following World War I. (H-S)

_____. "The Jew as Mythic American," *Ramparts*, II (Autumn 1963), 32-48.

Discusses various Jewish writers, the assimilation of the Jew and his present self-identification as an *American*, "a mythic Gentile." (Psy-R-S)

Fishwick, Marshall W. "Diagnosing the American Dream," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Dec. 21, 1963), 8-11.

Describes the United States as he sees it at present and concludes that ". . . we must comprehend our uniquely American heritage and still be prepared to supersede it." (Ed-H-Pol-S)

_____. "Everything Nailed Down Is Coming Loose," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (June 29, 1963), 11-14.

Identifies five fixed entities in a changing country. (E-Ed-F-H-S)

_____. "The Evolution of Monsters," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Sept. 14, 1963), 32-63.

Cites outstanding examples of science fiction and accounts for the popularity of the tale of horror. (MC-Sc)

Fitch, James Marston. "The Forms of Plenty," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, VI (Summer 1963), 4-9.

The mass-production and wide distribution of material culture has brought about the need for a *conscious* socio-cultural program for maintaining standards. (A-MC-S)

Folsom, James K. "Social Darwinism or Social Protest? The 'Philosophy of the Octopus,'" *Modern Fiction Studies*, VIII (Winter 1962-63), 393-400.

"The argument of *The Octopus* . . . is not over Force," and the solution is in the appeal for social justice. (P-S)

Gaylin, Willard M. "Psychoanaliterature: The Hazards of a Hybrid," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, VI (Spring 1963), 11-16.

Although there have been abuses in the psychoanalytic approach to literature, "the union between psychoanalysis and literature is *still* promising." (Psy)

Geismar, Maxwell. "Henry James: The Psychology of the Key Hole," *Ramparts*, I (Mar. 1963), 57-64.

Freudian interpretation of *The Sacred Fount*. (L-Psy-S)

_____. "The Jewish Heritage in Contemporary American Fiction," *Ramparts*, II (Autumn 1963), 5-13.

Categorizes various types of Jewish novelists and explains his own "literary, social and human position," which puts him with the nonconformists of all kinds. (P-R-S)

_____. "*The Wings of the Dove*: or, False Gold," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Aug. 1963), 93-98.

Treatment of James' novel in terms of the economic and social problems presented—"a special and unique fantasy of civilization and culture . . ." (E-S)

Gelfant, Blanch. "Language as Moral Code in *A Farewell to Arms*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, IX (Summer 1963), 173-76.

When Hemingway uses the cliché, he makes it a moral standard to reveal character. (L)

Goetzman, William H. "The Mountain Man as Jacksonian Man," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Fall 1963), 402-15.

The "Mountain Man" as portrayed in literature and history. (H-Pol)

Gold, Joseph. "The Two Worlds of 'Light in August,'" *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Summer 1963), 160-67.

Analysis of the chief characters in the novel in terms of their significance and their place in society. (R-S)

Grigsby, Gordon K. "Hart Crane's Doubtful Vision," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Apr. 1963), 518-23.

Emphasizes the influence of Spengler's *Decline of the West* on *The Bridge*. (H-P-Psy)

Gross, Robert Eugene. "Hawthorne's First Novel: The Future of a Style," *PMLA*, LXXXVIII (Mar. 1963), 60-68.

Analysis of *Fanshawe* (1828) indicates that the diction and syntax as well as the themes and devices adumbrate those of *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Marble Faun*. (L)

Gross, Theodore L. "Albion W. Tourgee: 'Reporter of the Reconstruction,'" *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Summer 1963), 111-27.

Gives several reasons why Tourgee is a significant writer of fiction dealing with the Reconstruction era. (E-H-Pol-S)

Guthrie, Tyrone. "So Long as the Theater Can Do Miracles —," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Apr. 28, 1963), 24-25, 29, 34, 39-40.

The distinguished director does not think that the theater is so sick as frequently represented and cites *Great Moments* to prove his point. (MC)

Hahn, Herbert F. "The Education of Henry Adams Reconsidered," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 444-49.

"What Henry Adams accomplished in his *Education* was not only to describe remorselessly what kind of a world the modern world had become—philosophically, as well as politically and economically; he also provided a point of view with which to face that world without despair." (E-H-P-Pol-S-Sc)

Hall, Joan Joffe. "Nick of the Woods: An Interpretation of the American Wilderness," *Amer. Lit.*, XXV (May 1963), 173-82.

Analysis of the novel by Robert Montgomery Bird in terms of the nature of the wilderness, concept of the "noble savage" and struggle between good and evil. (H-P-R-S)

Halverson, John. "The Shadow in *Moby-Dick*," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Fall 1963), 436-46.

Jungian overtones and theories explain some of the perplexing events and personal relationships in the novel. (Psy-R)

Hansen, Chadwick. "The Character of Jim and the Ending of *Huckleberry Finn*," *Mass. Rev.*, V (Autumn 1963), 45-66.

Suggests a connection between the phrase about Huck's heading "out for the territory" and a Negro folk song with a similar phrase in its refrain. (F-S)

Hart, John E. "The Commonplace as Heroic in *The Rise of Silas Lapham*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VIII (Winter 1962-63), 375-83.

"The reality of his version shows an informed and accurate knowledge of the social, economic, and moral thought of his time." (E-R-S)

Hassan, Ihab. "Modern Literature: A Review for the Teacher," *NEA Jour.*, LII (Jan. 1963), 23-25.

Despite the difficulties which modern literature presents, it is a great literature, with "no built-in obsolescence," and an examination of it should be attempted. (Ed-R-S)

Hatlen, Theodore. "The Independent Theatre Movement in New York, 1890-1900," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (May 1963), 136-42.

Reviews this energetic and stormy stage period with its performances of Ibsen, Hauptmann and assorted American playwrights. (H-E)

Havard, William C. "The Burden of the Literary Mind: Some Meditations on Robert Penn Warren as Historian," *South Atlantic Quar.*, LXII (Autumn 1963), 516-31.

Tribute to Warren as a combination of historian and philosopher in his novels. (H-P)

Haworth, J. D. S. "Villains of the Silver Screen," *Critic*, XXI (June-July 1963), 7-10.

After describing various types of villains concludes: "It is only in being allowed his true status that the villain can flourish in the cinema so that his message is universal in time and place." (E-MC-Psy-S)

Heimert, Alan. "Moby-Dick and American Political Symbolism," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Winter 1963), 498-534.

During the time that Melville was writing his book, he was stirred by political developments; hence, part of its greatness is derived from the author's "personal and intellectual engagement in the fortunes of the Democracy." (H-Pol)

Hicks, Granville. "A Critic to Remember," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (July 13, 1963), 21-22.

Tribute to Newton Arvin and an evaluation of his critical biographies of several American authors. (H-L-Psy-S)

_____. "A Weekly View of Reel Fiction," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (July 6, 1963), 21-22.

Praises the television program *Camera Three*, in which works of or about American authors have been presented. (MC)

_____. "Dreiser to Farrell to Wright," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Mar. 30, 1963), 37-38.

Shows the connection among the three writers and accounts for the failure of Wright to fulfill his promise. (P-Pol-S)

_____. "The Thirties: A Reappraisal," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (May 4, 1963), 27-28.

A re-examination of the fiction "would make the decade seem much less simple than we tend to suppose and much richer in literary achievement." (Pol-S)

_____. "What to Be After Poughkeepsie," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Aug. 31, 1963), 19, 30.

Mary McCarthy's *The Group* will live as social history. (S)

Hicks, John. "Exploration of Value: Warren's Criticism," *South Atlantic Quar.*, LXII (Autumn 1963), 508-15.

Evaluation of Warren's critical essays, with their emphasis on "the existentialist problem of alienation and communion." (P)

Hill, Hamlin. "Mark Twain: Audience and Artistry," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Spring 1963), 25-40.

Reasons for Twain's involvement with subscription books, aimed at appealing to the masses. (E-MC)

_____. "Modern American Humor: The Janus Laugh," *Coll. English*, XXV (Dec. 1963), 170-76.

There is no decline in American humor but, rather, a dual trend: "demotic laughter" and "a neurotic anti-hero with a neurotic culture . . . modern humor releases itself in both the hearty guffaw and the neurotic giggle; it reacts to both the bang and the whimper." (MC-Psy-S)

Hoffman, Frederick J. "Dogmatic Innocence: Self-Assertion in Modern American Literature," *Tex. Quar.*, VI (Summer 1963), 152-62.

"The great literature of this generation comes from the . . . minority groups," and their persistence testifies to the strength of the dogma that "the self is and must be strong enough to stand up to and against society . . ."
(P-R-S)

Hoffman, Theodore. "Dispatch from Academia: Hark! a Trend!" *Tulane Drama Rev.*, VIII (Fall 1963), 5-10.

The particularly American pattern in the development of the resident professional theaters and their contribution.
(E-Ed-S)

_____. "Talent Admissions, Attrition: A Contribution to the 'Lowry Debate,'" *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (Oct. 1963), 212-18.

" . . . an effective advanced training program must needs be attached to a professional theatre," to save valuable talent which might otherwise be lost.
(Ed)

Holland, Robert B. "Dialogue as a Reflection of Place in *The Ponder Heart*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXV (Nov. 1963), 352-58.

Shows "how the structure of the dialogue of her [Eudora Welty's] characters is a vocalization . . . of the culture in which they move."
(L-S)

Hopkins, Robert. "Simon Suggs: A Burlesque Campaign Biography," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Fall 1963), 459-63.

Presents evidence of burlesque qualities in *Some Adventures of Simon Suggs*, dealing with events in the life of Jason.
(H-Pol)

Hughes, Catherine. "Edward Albee: Who's Afraid of What?" *Critic*, XXI (Feb.-Mar. 1963), 16-19.

Evaluates the plays to date, pointing out both strengths and weaknesses.
(S)

_____. "Eugene O'Neill: The Great Influence on American Theatre," *Critic*, XXII (Oct.-Nov. 1963), 49-51.

Identifies strengths and weaknesses in O'Neill's plays, the various ingredients in them, the dramatist's concern with all aspects of production, and the debt of other playwrights to him.
(L-Psy-R-S)

Hunter, Jim. "Mark Twain and the Boy-Book in 19th-Century America," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 430-38.

Evaluation of the "boy-book" (a book about boys written for adults) of Twain and several other American writers.
(Psy-S)

Huxley, Aldous. "The Only Way to Write a Modern Poem about a Nightingale," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Aug. 1963), 62-66.

The contemporary man of letters writing about Nature must confront the problem of harmonizing "the old, beloved raw materials" and the new scientific findings.
(Sc)

Irwin, W. R. "Robert Frost and the Comic Spirit," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXV (Nov. 1963), 299-310.

Describes the sources and workings of the comic spirit and illustrates various aspects of it.
(L-F-R-S)

Jerome, Judson. "For Summer, a Wave of New Verse," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (July 6, 1963), 30-33.

Critical analysis of some current volumes of verse.
(L)

"John O'Hara at 58: A Rage to Write," *Newsweek* (June 3, 1963), 53-57.

Analysis of O'Hara's production to date and of the background which he portrays with "precise sociological insight."
(S)

Johnston, Dennis. "What's Wrong with the New Theatres," *Theatre Arts Mag.*, XLVII (Aug.-Sept. 1963), 16-18, 70-71.

Assesses the many architectural shortcomings of the newer (and older) theaters. (A)

Jones, Madison. "The Novels of Robert Penn Warren," *South Atlantic Quar.*, LXII (Autumn 1963), 488-98.

Warren's practice is to tie in "the public thing with the private thing" and thereby to enrich the texture. (H-S)

Kanfer, Stefan. "The Yiddish Theater," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Oct. 1963), 104-6, 109.

Account of the Yiddish Theater in New York and its contribution to the theater in general. (S)

Kaplan, Charles. "Two Depression Plays and Broadway's Popular Idealism," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Winter 1963), 579-85.

The analysis of Odets' *Awake and Sing!* and Kaufman and Hart's *You Can't Take it with You* concludes with the idea that the underlying theme is identical: "individual dignity and freedom must be reckoned as a criticism of existing conditions and as an American ideal too important to be lost sight of." (S)

Kazin, Alfred. "The First and the Last: New England in the Novelist's Imagination," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Feb. 2, 1963), 12-15, 45.

Comments on the work of several of the New England writers and accounts for their attacks on the culture. (H-R-S)

Kearns, Francis E. "Salinger and Golding: Conflict on the Campus," *America*, CVIII (Jan. 26, 1963), 136-39.

Identifies the different traditions represented in *Catcher in the Rye* and *Lord of the Flies* and the problems encountered in dealing with the idea of evil. (Ed-R-S)

Kempton, Murray. "Impurities in Yorkville," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Mar. 16, 1963), 13-15.

Describes attempts in Yorkville to prevent the sale of salacious literature. (R-S)

Kennedy, William V. "War by Accident?" *America*, CVIII (Jan. 26, 1963), 144-45.

Identifies the errors in *Fail-Safe* which make the book "a hodgepodge of emotion and pseudoscience." (H-P)

Klaw, Spencer. "Harvard's Skinner: The Last of the Utopians," *Harper's*, CCXXVI (Apr. 1963), 45-51.

Discussion of *Walden Two*—a Utopian novel describing an ideal community which may be established by "proper behavioral engineering"—and an account of its author, the inventor of teaching machines. (Ed-Psy-S-Sc)

Knebel, Fletcher. "Scarlett O'Hara Millions," *Look*, XXVII (Dec. 3, 1963), 39-40, 42.

The phenomenal financial success of *Gone with the Wind* as book and film and of Scarlett's "guardian," Stephens Mitchell, brother of Margaret. (E-MC-S)

Lehan, Richard. "Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*," *Coll. English*, XXV (Dec. 1963), 187-93.

The novel in terms of Clyde's psychological state of mind, the author's mechanistic philosophy and the part physical attraction plays in breaking down social barriers. (P-Psy-S)

Le Roy, Gaylord G. "American Innocence Reconsidered," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Summer 1963), 623-46.

Examines several prominent applications of the American innocence motif in literature and decides that the notion of American innocence functions in the same way as does Philosophic idealism. (H-MC-P-S)

Lewis, R. W. B. "Hart Crane and the Clown Tradition," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Summer 1963), 745-67.

The link between Crane and the Clown tradition as embodied for Crane in Charlie Chaplin. (MC)

Lid, Richard W. "Hemingway and the Need for Speech," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VIII (Winter 1962-63), 402-7.

"... The barriers to speech seem insuperable but they add dimension to the characters in both novels and the stories." (L)

Lown, Charles R. Jr. "The Businessman in Early American Drama," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (Mar. 1963), 47-54.

Typical characteristics of the businessman as portrayed in the American drama to 1810. (H-S)

Lukac, George J. "Literary Foreign Aid from Rutgers Press," *Overseas*, III (Sept. 1963), 8-10.

Program of the Rutgers University Press to send needed books in English to college libraries overseas. (Ed)

Mailer, Norman. "Some Children of the Goddess," *Esquire*, LX (July 1963), 63-69, 105.

Adverse reactions to nine contemporary writers, including Styron, Baldwin and Salinger. (MC-S)

Manly, William M. "The Importance of Point of View in Brockden Brown's *Wieland*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXV (Nov. 1963), 311-21.

The novel is less in the Richardson sentimental tradition than in "those peculiarly American explorations of the tormented psyche" (P-Psy)

Mathewson, Ruth. "The Vassar Joke," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, VI (Fall 1963), 10-16.

Evaluation and analysis of Mary McCarthy's *The Group* by a Vassar graduate. (Ed-S)

Mayer, Arthur. "The New Film Frontier," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Oct. 5, 1963), 20-21, 67.

Optimistic view of the current state of the American film industry, which is having a "cultural explosion" with repercussions. (E-MC-S)

McNaughton, William. "Ezra Pound's Meters and Rhythms," *PMLA*, LXXVIII (Mar. 1963), 136-46.

Identifies and illustrates analogies between Pound's (and Whitman's) verse and music. (L-Mu)

Mee, Charles L. Jr. "Theatres—Not THEATRE," *Tulane Drama Rev.*, VII (Summer 1963), 86-95.

Analyzes the economic crisis of the New York theater, its sociology and possibilities, and sees no hope for genuine drama being produced there. (S-E)

Miller, Douglas T. "Faulkner and the Civil War: Myth and Reality," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Summer 1963), 200-9.

When Faulkner defends the Old South of legend, he is praising the portion of a moral order of which he could approve. (F-H-S)

Milton, John R. "The Western Novel: Sources and Forms," *Chicago Rev.*, XVI (Summer 1963), 74-100.

Describes three categories of the Western novel, analyzes outstanding examples and indicates its significance in American literature. (E-H-Psy-S)

Moers, Ellen. "The Angry Young Women," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Dec. 1963), 88-95.

Women writers of today are more conservative and less passionately outspoken than were their predecessors, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Gertrude Stein, Willa Cather, and other regionalists. (S)

_____. "Teddy Roosevelt: Literary Feller," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, VI (Summer 1963), 10-16.

Roosevelt's many literary friends and associations and their influence on him. (H-Pol-S)

Noon, William T. "Astronauts of the Spirit: The Poet and the Scientist," *Critic*, XXI (June-July 1963), 11-13.

Because of certain inherent similarities in the poet and the scientist, understanding should be established between them. (Sc)

O'Connor, Edwin. "For Whom the Novelist Writes," *Critic*, XXI (Apr.-May 1963), 13-17.

Identifies types of readers of fiction but ". . . the novelist knows that with his own work, he comes first." (E-MC)

Parsons, Coleman O. "Mark Twain: Sightseer in India," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Spring 1963), 76-93.

Accounts of Twain's secular and religious experiences, lionizing and "At Homes," when he recreated the Mississippi for his spellbound listeners. (R-S)

Patterson, Samuel White. "The Centenary of Clement Clarke Moore—Poet of Christmas Eve," *Hist. Mag. of Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Sept. 1963), 211-20.

Remembered as the author of "A Visit from St. Nicholas," Moore was for many years professor at General Theological Seminary and trustee of Columbia. (F-R-Ed-H)

Pearce, Roy Harvey. "Literature, History, and Humanism," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Feb. 1963), 364-72.

Literature must be read and taught in its historical context as a manifestation of the culture in which it was produced. (Ed-H-S)

Perényi, Eleanor. "Wilson," *Esquire*, LX (July 1963), 80-85, 118.

Tribute to Edmund Wilson the man as well as the critic, the sheer bulk of whose work is "staggering." (H-Pol-S)

Phillips, William L. "The Imagery of Dreiser's Novels," *PMLA*, LXXXVIII (Dec. 1963), 572-85.

Identifies dominant images in five novels, shows how they help to differentiate incidents and characters, and indicates how they shifted with Dreiser's changing philosophical preoccupations. (L-P)

_____. "University Drama Education: A Modest Proposal," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (May 1963), 219-23.

Suggests new approach to settle the educational conflict between the academic art student and the semi-professional artist-student within the university. (Ed)

Pizer, Donald. "Synthetic Criticism and Frank Norris; Or, Mr. Marx, Mr. Taylor, and *The Octopus*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 532-41.

Disapproves of synthetic criticism and favors critical eclecticism, so that the whole meaning of the novel can more validly be arrived at by a combination of approaches and different types of knowledge about Norris. (E-L-S-Sc)

Randel, William. "The American Search for an Image Abroad," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Winter 1962-63), 15-22.

Cites examples of 19th-century writers who had a positive effect in creating an image of America abroad and stresses the need today to express our "essential character, as Americans." (S-Pol)

Rao, K. S. Narayana. "T. S. Eliot and the *Bhagavad-Gita*," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Winter 1963), 572-78.

The relatively unknown poem, "To the Indians Who Died in Africa," is "one poem of Eliot's which appears to have been almost wholly inspired by and permeated with Indian religious and philosophic thought." (P-R)

Reeve, F. D. "Robert Frost Confronts Khrushchev," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Sept. 1963), 33-39.

Eye-witness account of the meeting and a summary of the remarks exchanged on various topics. (E-H-Pol)

Reiss, Edmund. "Whitman's Debt to Animal Magnetism," *PMLA*, LXXVIII (Mar. 1963), 80-88.

Influence of interest in animal magnetism on Whitman's phraseology and "conception of the relationship between all created things" is demonstrated in many quoted passages. (L-P-Psy)

Ribalow, Harold U. "The Jewish Side of American Life," *Ramparts*, II (Autumn 1963), 23-31.

Defines "Jewish book" and deals with several authors who have made significant contributions to American Jewish literature. (R-S)

Riddel, Joseph N. "*A Streetcar Named Desire*: Nietzsche Descending," *Modern Drama*, V (Feb. 1963), 421-30.

Much of the play's confusion and disorder is due to undigested Nietzschean conflict between Apollonian and Dionysian attitudes. (P)

Ringe, Donald A. "Chiaroscuro as an Artistic Device in Cooper's Fiction," *PMLA*, LXXVIII (Sept. 1963), 349-57.

Cites many examples of the use of the device in the novels and shows how chiaroscuro, an integral part of the style, contributed to the artistic success of the works. (A)

Robinson, E. Arthur. "The Vision of Goodman Brown: A Source and Interpretation," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXV (May 1963), 218-25.

Cites a passage from Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* and definitions of "goodman" from the *O.E.D.* to substantiate the interpretation, which emphasizes sex. (H-R)

Rogoff, Gordon. "The Juggernaut of Production," *Tulane Drama Rev.*, VIII (Fall 1963), 130-56.

The war between Mammon and Art in the American theater and an assessment of current productions. (E-P-S)

Rosenberg, Charles E. "Martin Arrowsmith: The Scientist as Hero," *Amer. Quar.* XV (Fall 1963), 447-58.

"Arrowsmith is not only an indictment of the handicaps placed in the scientist's path by American society, it is a rejection . . . of the scientific community whose values justify this indictment." (S-Sc)

Rosenberg, Marvin. "The Languages of Drama," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (Mar. 1963), 1-6.

Suggests that movement, gesture and visual symbol be interpreted as part of dramatic meaning. (Psy)

Ruland, Richard. "The American Plays of Bertolt Brecht," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Fall 1963), 371-89.

Brecht's disillusionment with capitalism and the America it dominates, interest in Communism, the influence of Upton Sinclair and the use of the jazz music of Kurt Weill are identified as the chief ingredients in the plays. (E-Pol-Mu-S)

San Juan, Epifanio. "Vision and Reality: A Reconsideration of Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXV (May 1963), 137-55.

Examines Anderson's method of characterization and other techniques to indicate use of experiences in the world to convey reality. (S)

Sandoz, Mari. "Outpost in New York," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXVII (Summer 1963), 95-100.

The novelist of the West pictures the New York of World War II and subsequent years. (S)

Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. "The Historian as Artist," *Atlantic*, CCXII (July 1963), 35-41.

Good history writing is not a science but is literature. (H)

Schuman, William. "Have We 'Culture'? Yes—and No," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 22, 1963), 82-84.

The president of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts evaluates present achievements and indicates future needs. (E-Ed-MC-Mu-S)

Seelye, John D. "The American Tramp: A Version of the Picaresque," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Winter 1963), 535-53.

The importance of hobo life as lived by writers and as presented by them. (S)

———. "Timothy Flint's 'Wicked River' and *The Confidence-Man*," *PMLA*, LXXVIII (Mar. 1963), 75-79.

Possible source of materials pertaining to the Mississippi River used in *The Confidence-Man*. (H-S)

Seiden, Melvin. "Faulkner's Ambiguous Negro," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Summer 1963), 675-90.

"... he has spoken to us with truth and power about the contraband disease, racism" and the fear of miscegenation. (Law-Psy-S)

Shapiro, Samuel. "Fidel Castro and John Brown," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, VI (Winter 1963), 22-28.

Points out several analogies, including the way in which American authors have defended the two men. (H-S)

Shroder, Maurice Z. "The Novel as a Genre," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Winter 1963), 291-308.

Shroder sees that "as the novel becomes more thoroughly comic or more thoroughly tragic, it passes beyond realism into . . . more cosmic and more reflective visions of the world." (P-MC)

Simon, John. "What Are You Laughing At, Darl? Madness and Humor in *As I Lay Dying*," *Coll. English*, XXV (Nov. 1963), 104-11.

"If there is any affirmation in Darl's madness or in his laughter, it is not addressed to the traditional virtues of kinship and rustic folklore, any more than his condemnation is limited to the particular phenomenon of the Bundren tribe." (P-Psy-S)

Smith, Bradford. "Mark Twain and the Mystery of Identity," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 425-30.

Twain's humor "is a philosophy and an act of faith." Its flavor is unmistakably American, in the voices, recognizable scenes and search for identity. (P-S)

Smith, Goldie Capers. "The Overland Monthly: Landmarks in American Literature," *N. Mex. Quar.*, XXXIII (Autumn 1963), 333-40.

In its half-century of publication this journal gave a cultural atmosphere to the people of the early West. (H)

Spiller, Robert E. "Is Literary History Obsolete?" *Coll. English*, XXIV (Feb. 1963), 345-51.

A plea for literary history and for the realization that any literary work has a history. (Ed-H)

Sowder, William J. "Melville's 'I and My Chimney': A Southern Exposure," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Summer 1963), 128-45.

Interprets the work as an illustration of Melville's "deep concern with political, social, and economic questions of his day" and as an allegorical representation of historical events having to do with slavery and the Negro question. (E-H-Pol-S)

Stamm, Edith Perry. "Emily Dickinson: Poetry and Punctuation," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Mar. 30, 1963), 26-27, 74.

Dickinson's "eccentric" punctuation was designed for rhetorical clues to oral reading. (PA)

Stanford, Derek. "Violence in the Modern Novel," *Critic*, XXII (Aug.-Sept. 1963), 32-36.

Includes such American novelists as Salinger, Huxley and Faulkner in the group which portrays in fiction today "a world in which the individual does not suit society, nor society the individual." (Psy-R-S)

Steiner, George. "On Paul Goodman," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Aug. 1963), 158-63.

Goodman aimed to be real "man of letters" but his involvements in "too many urgent jobs" has prevented his doing finished literary work. (P-Psy-R-S)

Stevenson, Dorothy, "The Battle for Buckshot Basin," *N. Mex. Quar.*, XXXIII (Autumn 1963), 315-24.

Discusses the feud between the Ned Buntline hell-for-leather school of Western fiction and the Charles Fletcher Lummis school that advocates accuracy and truth in presenting Western materials. (H-F)

Suits, Barnard. "Billy Budd and Historical Evidence: A Rejoinder," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, XVIII (Dec. 1963), 288-91.

Disagrees with the view of Ray B. Browne in "Billy Budd: Gospel of Democracy," *supra*. (S-Pol)

Talese, Gay. "Looking for Hemingway," *Esquire*, LX (July 1963), 44-45, 106-8, 110.

Describes the former group of expatriate American writers at a party in New York, comments on many of the writers and the use of social background in fiction, and provides reminiscences. (S)

Taylor, Harold. "Education by Theatre," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (Dec. 1963), 299-310.

Sees discipline in the arts as an antidote to the educational and cultural crisis America now faces. (A-Ed)

Taylor, Nancy Dew. "The River of Faulkner and Mark Twain," *Miss. Quar.* XVI (Fall 1963), 191-99.

Analogies between *Huckleberry Finn* and "Old Man" in the use of the Mississippi River as background for presenting society and as a symbol of freedom. (S)

Tebbel, John. "Behind the Publishing Scene," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Jan. 19, 1963), 15-16.

The effect of the newspaper strike on authors, the publishing business and mass media. (MC)

———. "They Never Left Home," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (May 11, 1963), 56, 58.

Account of books written by newspaper editors and columnists. (MC-S)

Tyler, Parker. "An American Theater Motif: The Psychodrama," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Summer 1963), 140-51.

Analyzes the good aspects of and the dangers inherent in films using "The Method." "In our midst on two kinds of stages, the clinic's and the theater's, it brings 'acting' into attunement with life." (Psy-S)

———. "The Sacred Fount: 'The Actuality Pretentious and Vain' vs. 'The Case Rich and Edifying,'" *Modern Fiction Studies*, IX (Summer 1963), 127-38.

Psychological reading of the novel which "might well be a parable of Henry James's own erotic experience" (Psy)

Von Eckardt, Wolf. "Changing Our Natural Habitat," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (June 1, 1963), 20-22.

Critical review of Lewis Mumford's collection of essays, *The Highway and the City*, calls attention to the author's emphasis on the "social purpose of architecture." (A-S)

Warfel, Harry R. "Metaphysical Ideas in *The Scarlet Letter*," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 421-25.

"The renovation of society . . . must move in the direction of freeing the individual from institutions so that he may make the most of himself." (P-R-S)

Warren, Robert Penn. "Elizabeth Madox Roberts: Life Is from Within," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Mar. 2, 1963), 20-21, 38.

Presents the historical and the sociological backgrounds used by Miss Roberts in her novels and asks for a renewed reading and evaluation of them. (H-S)

———. "The World of Daniel Boone," *Holiday*, XXXIV (Dec. 1963), 162, 164, 166-67, 169-74, 176-77.

Biography of Daniel Boone, emphasizing his role in American history and literature. (F-H-S)

Weimer, David. "Anxiety in the Golden Day of Lewis Mumford," *New England Quar.*, XXXVI (June 1963), 172-91.

Lewis Mumford's book *The Golden Day* treats early 19th-century American literature in terms of a regional culture theory: "that the arts flourished best when artists had deep roots in an integrated society of small size." (S)

Weiss, Daniel. "William Faulkner and the Runaway Slave," *Northwest Rev.*, VI (Summer 1963), 71-79.

Interprets "Was" and "Dry September" as parallel considerations of "Faulkner's use of the Negro as ritual object." (F-Psy-S)

Wellek, René. "Philosophy and Postwar American Criticism," *Amer. Rev.*, II (Mar. 1963), 167-84.

Discusses several outstanding critics, whom he categorizes, and concludes with the expressed desire that literary criticism and philosophy remain distinct. (R-P-Psy-S)

Wellwarth, George E. "Hope Deferred—The New American Drama," *Literary Rev.*, VII (Autumn 1963), 7-26.

Analyzes and evaluates the plays of Albee, Richardson, Gelber and Kopit, seeing in them (except for those by Gelber) promises for a movement that will be lasting and influential. (E-S)

Whiting, Frank M. "W. McNeil Lowry's 'The University and the Creative Arts': A Reply," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XV (May 1963), 158-62.

A reply to Lowry's comments on the state of the teaching and status of the creative arts (*ETJ* May 1962) in American higher education. (Ed)

Wright, Louis B. "Intellectuals in a Democracy," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXIX (Autumn 1963), 651-56.

Review essay on *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* shows the difficulty in defining the "intellectual" and demonstrates his participation in many aspects of our life despite suspicions about him. (Ed-H-Pol)

MASS CULTURE

Alpert, Hollis. "Cinema: The Global Revolution," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Oct. 5, 1963), 18-19; 67-68.

Changing styles and intentions of motion picture making. (Lit)

Baldwin, Hanson. "Managed News," *Atlantic*, CCXI (Apr. 1963), 53-61.

Administration interference with news reportage. (Pol)

Christoph, James B. "The Press and Politics in Britain and America," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (Apr.-June 1963), 137-50.

Some differences between British and American political journalism, particularly with regard to lack of national dailies and closer connection of the press with the government in the United States. (Pol)

De Roos, Robert. "The Magic Worlds of Walt Disney," *Nat. Geographic*, CXXIV (Aug. 1963), 159-207.

Illustrated appreciation and assessment of the varied talents and interests of Disney in transforming techniques of cartooning the natural and human worlds as entertainer, educator and enterpriser. (Sc-F)

Gessner, Robert. "On Teaching Cinema in College," *Film Culture*, No. 31 (Winter 1963-64), 47-50.

Strongly urges that American universities seriously teach this modern medium of visual art and communication; cites I. A. Richards' interest in doing so at Harvard. (Ed)

Goodman, Paul. "Sick Beside the Screen," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (June 8, 1963), 28-30.

"... writing about TV is not criticism but sociology, economic analysis and political rage." (S)

———. "Susskind and Severeid," *New Republic*, CXLVIII (Feb. 23, 1963), 24-26.

Criticism of two "high-level intellectual programs" on TV. (Ed)

Goodman, Walter. "Mass Media: The Generation of the Lie," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Winter 1963), 71-76.

The role of TV in mass culture and the difficulties of the TV producers' job. (E-Sc)

Hechinger, F. M. "The Book Burners," *Reporter*, XXVIII (June 6, 1963), 42-44.

Review of book by that name dealing with censorship. (Lit)

- Hill, Ed. "The American Daily," *Amer. Rev.*, III (Winter 1963), 5-7.
The influence of the daily newspaper and the impact of distinguished editors. (S)
- Jacobs, J. "Fraud or Freud," *Reporter*, XXVIII (Jan. 31, 1963), 48-49.
The motion picture *Lawrence of Arabia*. (Lit)
- Kelman, Ken. "Film as Poetry," *Film Culture*, No. 29 (Summer 1963), 22-27.
Discusses formal parallels between the film and lyric poetry. (Lit)
- Kendall, Elaine. "Art without Artists," *Reporter*, XXVIII (Jan. 1963), 45-49.
Critical evaluation of popular art. (Lit)
- Mannes, Marya. "The Half World of American Drama," *Reporter*, XXVIII (Apr. 25, 1963), 48-50.
Current status of American drama is very critical. (Lit)
- Mayer, Arthur. "The Film Frontier," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Oct. 5, 1963), 19-21.
Changing modes of motion picture production. (Lit)
- Markel, Lester. "The 'Management' of News," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Feb. 9, 1963), 50-51; 61.
Selectivity and modifications in news reportage. (Pol)
- Meyer, Karl E. "Kennedy and the Press," *New Statesman*, LXV (Apr. 12, 1963), 513.
The Kennedy Administration's policy of news management. (Pol)
- . "The Culture Machine," *New Statesman*, LXV (Jan. 11, 1963), 38.
The intrusion of mass culture in supposedly high cultural activity in the nation's capitol (before the assassination). (Pol-S)
- Morton, C. W. "The Peanut Butter World," *Atlantic*, CCXI (Apr. 1963), 129-30.
A critical discussion of TV commercials. (E)
- Muggeridge, Malcolm. "What Am I Trying To Say?" *New Statesman*, LXV (Apr. 1963), 491.
Coming Kiplingism in the United States. (Lit)
- Packard, Vance. "New Kinds of TV," *Atlantic*, CCXII (Oct. 1963), 69-74.
The spokesman for mass culture evaluates mass culture. (S)
- Petschek, Willa. "WNDT," *New Statesman*, LXV (May 17, 1963), 740-41.
On educational TV in New York City. (Ed)
- "Poetry and Film: A Symposium," *Film Culture*, No. 29 (Summer 1963), 55-63.
Transcript of a major part of a 1953 symposium sponsored by Cinema 16 with Maya Deren, Parker Tyler, Dylan Thomas, Arthur Miller, and with Willard Maas as chairman. (Lit)
- Sarris, Andrew. "Directorial Chronology," *Film Culture*, No. 28 (Spring 1963), 52-68.
A yearly directorial chronology of important American films from 1915 to the present. (Lit)

Schulberg, Budd. "How Are Things in Panicsville?" *Life*, LV (Dec. 20, 1963), 79-82, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 101-2.

A professed "Hollywoodologist" reminisces about his experiences, performers, directors, tycoons and various attitudes. (E-S)

Shayon, Robert L. "Chairman Henry on Target," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Oct. 19, 1963), 43.

Listener and viewer dissatisfaction with commercials and the absence of any results whatsoever. (E)

———. "Commercial or Educational TV," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Sept. 31, 1963), 47-49.

Levels of ignorance and integration in Georgia's TV system. (S-Ed)

———. "Congress and the Cosa Nostra," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Nov. 9, 1963), 34.

TV's handling of the Valachi hearings. (Pol-Law)

———. "Innocent Jeremiah," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Jan. 5, 1963), 32.

Evaluation of TV program, "Beverly Hillbillies." (Lit)

———. "Where Was the Glory of Greece?" *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Sept. 28, 1963), 43.

TV tours of the world fail often both as drama and as a tour. (A-Lit)

Tebbell, John. "How Europe Fights Commercial TV," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Aug. 10, 1963), 46-47.

Why can't we too? (E)

———. "Newspapers and the Culture Beat," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Apr. 13, 1963), 61-66.

The nature of daily press reportage of high culture. (S)

Tobin, R. L. "1963: Subscription TV's First Vintage Year," *Sat. Rev.*, XLVI (Jan. 12, 1963), 85-86.

Detailed description and evaluation. (E)

Trachtenberg, Alan. "Brooklyn Bridge and the Master of Nature," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Summer 1963), 731-41.

The completion of the bridge as a final cultural symbol of America's triumph over the wilderness: the symbol "for all the roads in America." (Lit-H-Sc)

MUSIC

Asbell, Bernard. "'A man ain't nothin' but a man,'" *Amer. Heritage*, XIV (Oct. 1963), 34-37, 95.

The ballad about John Henry is valid as machine-age allegory if not as history. (F-S)

Brown, George Boylston. "Ethnomusicology in the Lower South," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Fall 1963), 200-3.

The valuable contribution made by the ethnomusicologist to the knowledge of virtually every aspect of the culture of the South. (H-R-S)

Epstein, Dena J. "Slave Music in the United States before 1860; A Survey of Sources," *Notes*, XX (Spring & Summer 1963), 195-212, 377-90.

An extensive collation of quotations from travel accounts, slave narratives, missionary reports, letters, memoirs, fiction, etc., with substantial connective and explanatory notes. (F-H-R-S)

Fowells, Robert M. "Public School Music in San Francisco, 1848-1897," *Jour. of Research in Music Ed.*, XI (Spring 1963), 63-74.

Background, staff material, program and degree of public support. (Ed)

Kane, Harold. "Jazz and the Liturgy," *Colo. Quar.*, XII (Autumn 1963), 117-25.

Summarizes important developments in the relationships between jazz and liturgy from the evangelical gospel singers to more recent sophisticated attempts to relate jazz and religion, concluding that "certain jazz men will continue to be drawn to religion as an area of artistic activity." (R)

Kraft, Ivor. "Music for the Feeble-Minded in Nineteenth Century America," *Jour. of Research in Music Ed.*, XI (Fall 1963), 119-22.

Brief notes on early therapeutic practices in various institutions. (Ed)

Kurath, Gertrude P. "Afro-Wesleyan Liturgical Structures," *Midwest Folk.*, XIII (Spring 1963), 29-32.

The North American Negro Holiness Church has blended African and Protestant elements in its ritual dance cults. (F-S)

Levine, Stuart. "Some Observations on the Concert Audience," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Summer 1963), 152-66.

Advice to crusaders for new music based upon analysis of the complex preferences and motivations of concert-goers. (MC-S)

Molnar, John W. "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory," *Musical Quar.*, XLIX (Apr. 1963), 150-62.

Traces Cuthbert Ogle to London, describes his activities there and adduces titles and editions of music that were (certainly or probably) in the inventory of 1755. (H)

Stoutamire, Albert L. "Musical Life in Late Eighteenth Century Richmond," *Jour. of Research in Music Ed.*, XI (Fall 1963), 99-109.

Data on dancing, merchandise, instruction, concerts and music for church and theater. (Ed-Lit-R)

Tuckman, William. "Sigmund and Jacob Schlesinger and Joseph Bloch: Civil War Composers and Musicians," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LIII (Sept. 1963), 71-75.

Contributions of the three American-Jewish composers to the music of the Confederacy. (H)

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Alger, Chadwick F. "Comparison of Intranational and International Politics," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, LVIII (June 1963), 406-19.

A study of the politics of the developing countries might suggest a number of variables which could prove useful in the study of international politics. (S)

Brewer, Helene Hooker. "A Man and Two Books," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (Aug. 1963), 221-34.

How Francis J. Heney, active in the Progressive era, used ideas, quotations and data from J. Allen Smith's *The Spirit of American Government* and Frédéric Clemson Howe's *Privilege and Democracy* in his crusade against the "interests." (E-H-S)

Crabb, Cecil B. Jr. "American Diplomatic Tactics and Neutralism," *Pol. Quar.* LXXVIII (Sept. 1963), 418-43.

An analysis of American diplomatic responses to the increasingly influential neutralist movement since 1955. (H)

Cranston, Maurice. "Pope John XXIII on Peace and the Rights of Man," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (Oct.-Dec. 1963), 380-90.

A discussion of the various aspects of the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* outside the context of Vatican politics. (R-S)

Drinnon, Richard. "Keeping U. S. Reds at Bay," *Twentieth Cent.*, CLXXII (Spring 1963), 61-70.

Anti-communism has become a vested interest institutionalized in some areas of American life but the academic world is moving away from it. (Ed-H)

Edinger, Lewis J. "Military Leaders and Foreign Policy-Making," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, LVII (June 1963), 392-405.

An attempt to determine some factors which may affect the extent and intensity of military leaders in foreign policy decisions. (H)

Germino, Dante. "The Revival of Political Theory," *Jour. of Pol.*, XXV (Aug. 1963), 437-60.

Refutes Cabban's argument that political theory is on the verge of extinction. (H-P)

Greene, Marc T. "American Kinship with Britain," *Quar. Rev.*, CCCI (Oct. 1963), 383-93.

An increasingly close accord and understanding between the U. S. and Britain politically, culturally and economically is vital for the preservation of world democracy. (H-Ed-E)

Halperin, Morton H. "The Limiting Process in the Korean War," *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, LXXVIII (Mar. 1963), 13-39.

The manner in which the great powers applied the theory of limited war in the nuclear age. (H)

Henkin, Louis. "The U. N. and Its Supporters: A Self-Examination," *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, LXXVIII (Dec. 1963), 504-36.

Why uncertainties seeped into the attitudes of American internationalists toward the U.N. and the principles of the U.N. Charter. (S)

Kelly, George A. "The Global Civil-Military Dilemma," *Rev. of Pol.*, XXV (July 1963), 291-308.

An examination of the civil-military relations within Western or non-communist countries attempting to explain some of the key tensions existing between them in regard to national defense. (H)

Lijphart, Arend. "The Analysis of Bloc Voting in the General Assembly," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, LVII (Dec. 1963), 902-17.

Questions reliability of analyzing bloc voting on the basis of predetermined groups. (S)

Nef, Joseph. "Truth, Belief and Civilization: Tocqueville and Gobineau," *Rev. of Pol.*, XXV (Oct. 1963), 460-82.

Contrasts political theory concerning civilization of Tocqueville and his contemporary, Gobineau. (R)

Pol. Quar., XXXIV (Jan.-Mar. 1963), *passim*.

Issue is devoted to a discussion of the consequences of Britain's joining the Common Market both as to external and internal policy. (E-H)

Roche, John P. "Entrepreneurial Liberty and the Fourteenth Amendment," *Labor Hist.*, IV (Winter 1963), 3-31.

After examining pertinent legal decisions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, author concludes that "a new principle became entrenched in American constitutional law: the doctrine of entrepreneurial liberty" and that "essentially this doctrine was a break with the common law and the common law premise of the overriding interest of the community, or police power." (Law-H-E-S)

———. "The Curbing of the Militant Majority," *Reporter*, XXVIII (July 18, 1963), 34-38.

In analyzing the status of civil liberty in the American past, the author concludes that "the contemporary American, despite the existence of a huge centralized state, is today free to enjoy a range of personal liberty unknown to our ancestors." (Pol-Law-S)

Rousseas, Stephen & James Farganis. "American Politics and the End of Ideology," *Brit. Jour. of Soc.*, XIV (Dec. 1963), 347-62.

Examines the Bell-Lipset theory that democracy in the West has achieved the good society in operation and that ideology has therefore outlived its usefulness. (P-S-H)

Royle, P. "Historical Inevitability and the Sino-Soviet Debate," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (July-Sept. 1963), 292-99.

Philosophical aspects of historical inevitability in the communist dispute. (P-H)

Ruis, Ramon Eduardo. "Cuba's Shadow over the Americas," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Spring 1963), 455-75.

Whatever his fate, what Castro represents for the Americas will continue to have the effect in many areas of representing the ideal of revolt for reform. (E-MC)

Sontag, Raymond J. "The Origins of the Second World War," *Rev. of Pol.*, XXV (Oct. 1963), 497-508.

Sketch of the causes leading to the outbreak of hostilities. (H)

Stambuk, George. "Foreign Policy and the Stationing of American Forces Abroad," *Jour. of Pol.*, XXV (Aug. 1963), 472-88.

The political implications of America's unprecedented network of overseas bases. (H)

Thornberry, Cedric. "The Soblen Case," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (Apr.-June 1963), 162-73.

A criticism of Britain's Alien Restriction Acts of 1914 and 1919 with a demand for reform in the area. (Law)

Torres, Jose Arsenio. "The Political Ideology of Guided Democracy," *Rev. of Pol.*, XXV (Jan. 1963), 34-63.

Explores the terms which some of the "philosopher-politicians" of the new states use to state the aspirations of their backward communities looking toward a life of freedom and social justice. (S)

Verrier, Anthony. "Defence and Politics after Nassau," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (July-Sept. 1963), 269-78.

The possibility of fundamental change in British defence policy and strategy as a result of British acceptance of dependence upon the United States for nuclear weapons. (Sc-H)

Viner, Jacob, George Meany, Fowler Hamilton, Otto Passman & Paul Hoffman. "The Report of the Clay Committee on Foreign Aid: A Symposium," *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, LXXVIII (Sept. 1963), 321-61.

The philosophy and economics of America's foreign aid program. (E)

Watt, D. C. "The American Impact on Europe," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (Oct.-Dec. 1963), 327-38.

Causes of current European antipathy toward the United States and its lack of justification, especially in view of the debt owed by European recovery to American aid. (E-H)

_____. "America and the British Foreign Policy-making Elite, from Joseph Chamberlain to Anthony Eden, 1895-1956," *Rev. of Pol.*, XXV (Jan. 1963), 3-33.

Primarily a sociological essay upon the attitudes toward the United States of the elite guiding the British Foreign Office. (S)

Wrong, Dennis H. "Canadian Politics in the 60's," *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, LXXVIII (Mar. 1963), 1-12.

Discerns possible liberal vs. conservative trend in Canadian politics similar to that occurring in the U. S. (H)

Xydis, Stephen G. "America, Britain and the USSR in the Greek Arena, 1944-1947," *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, LXXVIII (Dec. 1963), 581-96.

How the Truman Doctrine became the basis for a new postwar balance of power in the Balkan area, replacing the equilibrium which existed in 1939. (H)

Yacobson, Sergius. "The Soviet Union and Ethiopia, A Case of Traditional Behavior," *Rev. of Pol.*, XXV (July 1963), 329-42.

Claims the contemporary *modus operandi* of the Soviets in Ethiopia merely a refined and refurbished position of pre-revolutionary days. (H)

PSYCHIATRY & PSYCHOLOGY

Auerback, Alfred. "The Anti-Mental Health Movement," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXX (Aug. 1963), 105-11.

Attacks by right-wing groups in the name of patriotism represent ideological struggle between ethnocentric and critical philosophies. (Pol)

Bettelheim, Bruno. "Class, Color, and Prejudice," *Nation*, CXC VII (Oct. 1963), 231-34.

White attitudes toward the Negro stem from economic differences rather than racial differences. (S)

Brody, Eugene B. & Robert L. Derbyshire. "Prejudice in American Negro College Students," *Archives of Gen. Psychiatry*, IX (Dec. 1963), 619-28.

While being members of an oppressed minority did not contribute to greater tolerance, significant contact with whites did. (S)

Clinebell, Howard J. Jr. "Philosophical-Religious Factors in the Etiology and Treatment of Alcoholism," *Quar. Jour. of Studies on Alcohol*, XXIV (Sept. 1963), 473-88.

Role of existential anxiety on alcoholism and suggestion that etiological factor is vain attempt of alcoholic to satisfy deep religious needs with alcohol. (R-P)

Duhl, Leonard J. "The American Character: Crisis, Change and Complexity," *Jour. of Nervous & Mental Disease*, CXXXVII (Aug. 1963), 124-34.

Emphasizes ability to deal with crisis, to adapt, to volunteer, to work, and dedication to freedom. (S-Pol)

Edgerton, Robert B. & Harvey F. Dingman. "Tattooing and Identity," *International Jour. of Social Psychiatry*, IX (Spring 1963), 143-53.

In modern American society, as in others, tattooing is related to "deprivation of the opportunity to acquire and display the usual and desirable means of identification." (S)

Finney, Joseph C. "Psychiatry and Multi-culturality in Hawaii," *International Jour. of Social Psychiatry*, IX (Winter 1963), 5-11.

Attempt to correlate ethnic groups with kinds of psychological sickness to which they are prone and to test stereotypes of groups' behavior. (S)

Golden, Juses S., Reuben J. Silver & Nathan Mandel. "The Wives of 50 'Normal' American Men," *Archives of Gen. Psychiatry*, IX (Dec. 1963), 614-18.

Indicates striking parallel with husbands: "healthy individuals select healthy spouses." (S)

Humphrey, Hubert H. "War, Peace and the Behavioral Sciences," *Amer. Jour. of Orthopsychiatry*, XXXIII (Oct. 1963), 779-87.

Plea for more and better research in behavioral sciences to increase chances for peace. (Pol)

Miller, Milton H. & Seymour L. Halleck. "The Critics of Psychiatry: A Review of Critical Attitudes," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXIX (Feb. 1963), 705-12.

Representative contemporary criticisms of psychiatry. (S-R-P)

Mulford, Harold A. & Donald E. Miller. "The Prevalence and Extent of Drinking in Iowa, 1961," *Quar. Jour. of Studies in Alcohol*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 39-53.

Replication of 1958 study shows 59% of population are drinkers, higher with more education, city-dwelling and Roman Catholics. (S)

Perry, Stewart E. "The Conflict for the News Editor in Desegregation Disturbances," *Psychiatry*, XXVI (Nov. 1963), 352-67.

Newspapers in affected city played down disturbances, reflecting editors' anxieties. (S-Pol)

Prange, Arthur J. & M. M. Vitols. "Jokes Among Southern Negroes: The Revelation of Conflict," *Jour. of Nervous & Mental Disease*, CXXXVI (Feb. 1963), 162-67.

Cites overriding preoccupation with race relations, covert defiance of white, conflict about whether whites should be envied. (S-F)

Rinder, Irwin D. "Mental Health of American Jewish Urbanites," *International Jour. of Social Psychiatry*, IX (Spring 1963), 104-9.

Sets forth social and cultural assets and liabilities of U.S. Jews, said to have a higher rate of neurosis and lower rate of psychosis than non-Jews. (S)

Simmons, Donald C. "Protest Humor: Folkloristic Reaction to Prejudice," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXX (Dec. 1963), 567-70.

It conserves mental health through subliminating anger and anxiety felt when group image is attacked. (S-F)

Volkan, Vamik. "Five Poems by Negro Youngsters who Faced Sudden Desegregation," *Psychiatric Quar.*, XXXVII (Oct. 1963), 607-17.

Poems reveal conflict between white ego-ideal and "inferior" black identity, precipitated by unexpected desegregation. (Lit-S)

Whittaker, James O. "Alcohol and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe," *Quar. Jour. of Studies on Alcohol*, XXIV (Mar. 1963), 80-90.

Psychodynamic and cultural factors among group more of whom drink than in nearby white population, and among whom social sanctions against the heavy drinker do not exist. (S)

Winick, Charles. "The Psychiatrist in Fiction," *Jour. of Nervous & Mental Disease*, CXXXVI (Jan. 1963), 43-57.

Generally disparaging image found in fiction is consonant with image found in data from polls. (Lit)

PUBLIC ADDRESS

Auer, J. Jeffery & Jerild L. Banninga. "The Genesis of John Quincy Adams' Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLIX (Apr. 1963), 119-32.

The literary history of the published lectures on rhetoric delivered at Harvard. (H)

Baskerville, Barnett. "The Flag and the Cross: Evangelists of the Far Right," *West. Speech*, XXVII (Fall 1963), 197-206.

Author concentrates "upon three far-right evangelists: Dr. Frederick Schwarz, Dr. Billy Hargis and Dr. Carl McIntire." (H-MC)

Braden, Waldo W. "The Concept of Southern Oratory: A Selected Bibliography," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXIX (Winter 1963), 141-45.

Included are "items which generalize about groups of speakers or reflect upon the class designated as 'Southern.'" (H)

Ching, James C. "Campaign Speaking in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1891," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLIX (Dec. 1963), 395-402.

Campaign pronouncements, addresses and "some effects of cultural mores on campaign speaking in the Hawaiian Kingdom." (H)

_____. "Fisher Ames' 'Tomahawk' Address," *Speech Monographs*, XXX (Mar. 1963), 306-40.

Rhetorical analysis of speech delivered April 28, 1796, in House of Representatives. (H)

Edgerton, Kathleen. "The Lecturing of Edgar Allan Poe," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVIII (Summer 1963), 268-73.

Account of the poet's lecturing between 1843 and 1849. (Lit)

Emmons, David M. "Morton Frewen and the Populist Revolt," *Annals of Wyo.*, XXXV (Oct. 1963), 155-73.

Populism in Wyoming in the 1880s and 1890s and the role of Frewen as speaker and propagandist. (H-Pol-E)

Flynt, Wayne & William Warren Rogers. "Reform Oratory in Alabama, 1890-1896," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXIX (Winter 1963), 94-106.

Material devoted largely to the speaking of Reuben F. Kolb in his campaigns for the governorship. (H)

Gravlee, G. Jack. "Stephen T. Early: The 'Advance Man,'" *Speech Monographs*, XXX (Mar. 1963), 41-49.

Describes how Early analyzed speaking situations for FDR in 1920. (H)

Grover, David H. "Borah and the Haywood Trial," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (Feb. 1963), 65-77.

Re-examination of Borah's role in the Haywood trial and its meaning for Borah's election to the Senate. (H-Law-P)

Hemmer, Joseph J. Jr. "Robert A. Toombs Speaks for the South," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVIII (Summer 1963), 251-59.

Considers the speaking of the fire-eater for the Southern cause. (H)

Hillbruner, Anthony. "Word and Deed: Jefferson's Addresses to the Indians," *Speech Monographs*, XXX (Nov. 1963), 328-34.

Considers 26 addresses which Thomas Jefferson delivered to Indian audiences. (H)

Jacobs, Wilbur R. "Francis Parkman's Oration 'Romance in America,'" *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVIII (Apr. 1963), 692-97.

Parkman's oration on the occasion of his graduation from Harvard gives new insights into his romantic concept of history. (H)

Kelleghan, Thomas C. "Was There an 'Eighth Debate?'" *Jour. of the Ill. Hist. Soc.*, LVI (Spring 1963), 74-77.

Refutation of the idea that an eighth Lincoln-Douglas debate was held in Turner Junction (West Chicago) on August 28, 1858. (H-P-L)

Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve. "Lincoln's 'Failure' at Gettysburg," *Life*, LV (Nov. 15, 1963), 118-30.

Summary of the details concerning the delivery of the famous address. (H)

Lazenby, Walter. "Idealistic Realist on the Platform, Hamlin Garland," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLIX (Apr. 1963), 138-45.

Analysis of lecturing on the single tax from 1887 to 1892. (E-Lit-H)

Lerner, Gerda. "The Grimké Sisters and the Struggle Against Race Prejudice," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVIII (Oct. 1963), 277-91.

The activities of the only Southern white women in the abolitionist movement. (H)

Linkugel, Wil A. "The Woman Suffrage Argument of Anna Howard Shaw," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLIX (Apr. 1963), 165-74.

Arguments and speaking of a famous suffragette. (H-Pol)

Luckingham, Brad. "The Pioneer Lecturer in the West: A Note on the Appearance of Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Louis, 1852-1853," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVIII (Oct. 1963), 70-88.

Reception, topics and impact of Emerson's appearance. (Lit)

McCurdy, Frances L. "The Genius of Liberty," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVII (July 1963), 331-43.

Fourth-of-July celebrations in frontier Missouri, with particular attention to the speeches of the occasion. (H)

McPherson, James M. "The Fight Against the Gag Rule: Joshua Leavitt and Antislavery Insurgency in the Whig Party, 1839-1842," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVIII (July 1963), 177-95.

Describes the fight to have anti-slavery petitions received by Congress, the fight carried on by those outside of Congress, such as Leavitt, and those in Congress, such as John Quincy Adams. (H)

Reed, John Q. "Artemus Ward's First Lecture Tour," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 571-73.

A description of Artemus Ward's early speaking. (H-Lit)

Ruetten, Richard T. "Showdown in Montana, 1938," *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, LIV (Jan. 1963), 19-29.

Burton Wheeler's speaking and role in the defeat of Jerry O'Connell in the congressional campaign of 1938. (H-Pol)

Schruben, Francis W. "The Return of 'Alfalfa Bill' Murray," *Chronicles of Okla.*, XLVI (Spring 1963), 38-65.

Return from Bolivia and the speaking and victory in 1930 gubernatorial race. (H-P)

Warner, J. J. "California & Oregon: A Speech," *So. Cal. Quar.*, XLV (Dec. 1963), 337-53.

Introduction to and text of Warner speech, given in August and October 1840, at Rochester and Middletown, N. Y. propagandizing California and Oregon. (H-Pol)

Wrage, Ernest J. "The Little World of Barry Goldwater," *West. Speech*, XXVII (Fall 1963), 207-15.

Analysis of Goldwater as a leader of the conservative movement.

(Pol)

Tyson, Raymond W. "Henry Winter Davis: Orator for the Union," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Mar. 1963), 1-19.

Analysis of the speaking of the "fiery and eloquent Baltimore congressman of the Civil War era."

(H-Pol)

RELIGION

Batchelder, Robert C. "Charles Inglis, First British Colonial Bishop," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Mar. 1963), 17-35.

Bishop of Nova Scotia (1787-1816), who had previously served as rector of several Anglican parishes in the American colonies until driven from his post by the American Revolution.

(H)

Baumgartner, A. M. "'The Lyceum is My Pulpit': Homiletics in Emerson's Early Lectures," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 477-86.

The effect of Emerson's lyceum experience on the writing of his later works.

(H-Lit-PA-R)

Bell, John L. Jr. "The Presbyterian Church and the Negro in North Carolina During Reconstruction," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XL (Jan. 1963), 15-36.

Holds that separation of Negro communicants from white congregations and their formation into separate congregations was one of the most significant developments in the North Carolina Synod of the Presbyterian Church.

(S)

Camp, Leon R. "Roger Williams v. 'The Upstarts': The Rhode Island Debates of 1672," *Quaker Hist.*, LII (Autumn 1963), 69-76.

The Quakers heckled Roger Williams and made religious statements that were anathema elsewhere, but suffered no reprisals after the Rhode Island Debates in 1672.

(H)

Frantz, John B. "John C. Guldin, Pennsylvania-German Revivalist," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVII (Apr. 1963), 123-38.

A minister who used revivalistic techniques on the local level.

(H-PA)

Geffen, Elizabeth M. "Philadelphia Protestantism Reacts to Social Reform Movements before the Civil War," *Pa. Hist.*, XXX (Apr. 1963), 192-211.

Leading Philadelphia Protestants "had no objections to social reform movements as such" but if "controlled by the right people."

(H-S)

Gotlieb, Howard B. "The Friendship and the House: Phillips Brooks and Edwin Hale Abbot," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Mar. 1963), 37-48.

The long and finally successful efforts of Abbot, head of the Wisconsin Central Railway System, to erect a house for religious societies at Harvard in memory of his classmate, Bishop Phillips Brooks.

(Ed-H)

Griffin, John Howard. "Journal of a Trip South," *Ramparts*, II (Dec. 1963), 35-42.

First-hand, day-by-day account of the difficulties encountered when a white visits a Negro priest.

(S)

Gustafson, James M. "Religion in America," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXIX (Autumn 1963), 645-51.

Review essay of *Religion in American Life* shows that religion crosses the "wavy line," some of the essays in the collection having been written by distinguished literary critics and those in other fields.

(A-Lit-Mu-Pol-S)

Hamant, Nancy R. "Religion in the Cincinnati Schools, 1830-1900," *Bull. of the Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio*, XXI (Oct. 1963), 239-51.

The gradual secularization of Cincinnati's public school system, highlighting some of the bitter controversies that occasioned the removal of religious instruction from the schools. (Ed-H)

Hughes, John E. "Catholic Scientist and Sociologist: A Question of Identity," *Amer. Cath. Sociological Rev.*, XXIV (Winter 1963), 285-301.

Identifies the special validity of Catholic functioning in sociology. (S-Sc)

Linder, Suzanne C. "William Louis Poteat and the Evolution Controversy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XL (Apr. 1963), 135-57.

As a teacher of biology and president of Wake Forest College from 1905 to 1907, Poteat maintained an eminent position in the Baptist Church and sought to lead the people of the South to a more enlightened religion. (H-Sc)

McBride, Robert M. "A Camp Meeting at Goshen Church," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (June 1963), 137-42.

The lasting camp meeting tradition at "Old Goshen" Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Franklin County, for more than 150 years a focal point for Scotch-Irish families of that area. (H-S)

Merton, Thomas. "The Black Revolution: Letters to a White Liberal," *Ramparts*, II (Dec. 1963), 4-23.

Spells out for himself (a white) the "message" which the Negro is trying to give white America. (H-Lit-S)

Obenhaus, Victor & W. Widlick Schroeder. "Church Affiliation and Attitudes Toward Selected Public Questions in a Typical Midwest County," *Rural Soc.*, XXVIII (Mar. 1963), 35-47.

Attitudes toward the UN, labor unions and farm organizations among members of different denominations in a Corn Belt county which show that economic and educational levels are more related to these attitudes than religious denomination. (Pol)

Rainey, Homer P. "Our Judeo-Christian Heritage," *Colo. Quar.*, XI (Winter 1963), 198-211.

Ideals of American democracy stem from the Bible as key to "our Judeo-Christian heritage." (Pol)

Salmons, Mary Blake. "Mrs. Blake's Sunday School," *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Oct. 1963), 312-22.

A woman's attempt to bring religious instruction to a tough frontier town (Deming, N. Mex.) in the 1880s. (H-S)

Schaeffer, Claude E. "William Brooks, Chinook Publicist," *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, LXIV (Mar. 1963), 41-54.

The speaking tours of William Brooks, a Chinook Indian, in 1837-39 and their contribution to an early development of Methodism in the Pacific Northwest. (PA-H)

Shoemaker, Robert W. "The Diocese of Chicago and the Movement to Change the Name of the Church," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (Dec. 1963), 349-59.

The long (1877 to the present) and so far unsuccessful effort to change the name "Protestant Episcopal," with special reference to the role of the Diocese of Chicago. (H)

Smith, Warren. "The Imperceptible Arrows of Quakerism': Moncure Conway at Sandy Spring," *Quaker Hist.*, LII (Spring 1963), 19-26.

Suggests that this 19th-century religious radical left Methodism and dogmatic theology for abolitionism and skepticism because of an early but lasting Quaker influence. (H)

Spangenberg, Bradford. "Vestrymen in the House of Burgesses: Protection of Local Vestry Autonomy during James Blair's Term as Commissary (1690-1743)," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXII (June 1963), 77-99.

How the high correlation between membership in the House of Burgesses and in local vestries helped the latter to defeat Blair's attempts to assert hierarchical control. (H-Pol)

Stendahl, Krister. "Religion in the University," *Daedalus*, XCII (Summer 1963), 521-28.

Selected issues related to the study of religion on the contemporary American university scene. (Ed)

Thompson, Father August & John Howard Griffin. "Dialogues," *Ramparts*, II (Dec. 1963), 24-33.

Through the question-and-answer method, the plight of the Negro, particularly in the Deep South, is presented, along with the attitude of the Church toward racism. (S)

Webster, Helen. "The Chinese School of the Central Presbyterian Church of Denver," *Colo. Mag.*, XL (Jan.-Apr. 1963), 57-63; 132-37.

Partially successful attempt to bring a knowledge of the English language and Christian religion to Denver's Chinese population in the 1870s and 1880s. (Ed-S-H)

White, Eugene E. "Cotton Mather's *Manuductio Ad Ministerium*," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLIX (Oct. 1963), 308-19.

Discusses the last *urbi et orbi* statement of Matherian policy. (H-P)

White, Leslie. "Individuality and Individualism: A Culturological Interpretation," *Texas Quar.*, VI (Summer 1963), 111-27.

In the philosophy and social science of American scholars, there is a "coherent philosophy of reality," with the individual either the only or the foremost reality. (P)

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Berry, Theodore J. "A Letter to Professor Samuel D. Gross From Julius S. Thebaud, M.D.—Lithotomist," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVIII (Jan.-Feb. 1963), 72-77.

Deals with Gross, the subject of a Thomas Eakins painting, and with other leading 19th-century surgeons. (H-A)

Bundy, McGeorge. "The Scientist and National Policy," *Science*, CXXXIX (Mar. 1, 1963), 805-9.

Scientists have a place in virtually all aspects of government. (Pol)

Carrigan, Jo Ann. "Impact of Epidemic Yellow Fever on Life in Louisiana," *La. Hist.*, IV (Winter 1963), 5-34.

Epidemics retarded Louisiana development but aided growth of public health services. (H-E-Ed-R-Pol)

Chase, Edward T. "Politics and Technology," *Yale Rev.*, LII (Mar. 1963), 321-39.

How can political institutions cope with the effects of technology to replace the inadequacies of the market system? (Pol-E)

Commoner, Barry. "Scientific Statesmanship," *Bull. of Atomic Scientists*, XIX (Oct. 1963), 6-10.

Science requires statesmanship and statesmen require scientific discipline to deal with products of science. (P)

_____ *et al.* "Science and the Race Problem," *Science*, CXLII (Nov. 1, 1963), 558-61.

Evidence of racial differences cannot support inequality. (S)

Dansereau, Pierre. "The Barefoot Scientist," *Colo. Quar.*, XII (Autumn 1963), 101-15.

Emphasizes the continued role of field work in biological education and research. (Ed-P)

De Rosier, Arthur H. Jr. "William Dunbar, Explorer," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXV (July 1963), 165-85.

At Jefferson's request, Dunbar made an early survey of the Louisiana Territory. (H)

Eisele, Carolyn. "Charles S. Pierce and the Problem of Map-Projection," *Proc. of Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, CVII (Aug. 15, 1963), 299-307.

As an employee of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the philosopher developed several new projections. (P-H)

Emme, Eugene M. *et al.* "The History of Rocket Technology," *Tech-nology & Culture*, IV (Fall 1963), 377-528.

An entire issue devoted to this subject. (H)

Glaser, Barney G. "The Local-Cosmopolitan Scientist," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, LXIX (Nov. 1963), 249-59.

Finds dual orientation among highly-motivated scientists. (S)

Greenfield, Meg. "Science Goes to Washington," *Science*, CXLII (Oct. 18, 1963), 361-67.

Stresses the ambiguity of the role of government scientists and scientific advisers. (Pol)

Gross, Paul M. "R & D, and the Relations of Science and Government," *Science*, CXLII (Nov. 8, 1963), 645-50.

Appropriations for scientific research and education should be separated into their components for easier evaluation. (Ed)

Grosvenor, Gilbert H. "The Romance of the Geographic," *Nat. Geo-graphic*, CXXIV (Oct. 1963), 516-85.

A personal recounting of the Society's history and the cross-currents of its activities during 66 years. (H)

Hunter, Robert. "Turnpike Construction in Antebellum Virginia," *Technology & Culture*, IV (Spring 1963), 177-200.

By better state management, Virginia could have had a better turnpike system. (H-Pol)

James, Bartlett C. "Prohibition and Eugenics," *Jour. of Hist. of Medicine*, XVIII (Apr. 1963), 158-72.

Alcohol was variously credited as a positive and negative agent in natural selection. (S-H)

Jellison, Richard M. "Dr. John Tennent and the Universal Specific," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVII (July-Aug. 1963), 336-46.

This Virginia physician advocated the use of Seneca snakeroot and was widely known on both sides of the Atlantic. (H)

Jones, Gordon W. "The Medical History of the Fredericksburg Campaign: Course and Significance," *Jour. of Hist. of Medicine*, XVIII (July 1963), 241-56.

Jonathan Letterman's reorganization of the medical service of the Army of the Potomac. (H)

Lacy, Virginia Jayne & David Edwin Harnell Jr. "Plantation Home Remedies: Medicinal Recipes from the Diaries of John Pope," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXII (Sept. 1963), 259-65.

Remedies for both human and animal ills, 1840-65. (MC-H)

Maddox, John. "Is the Literature Worth Keeping?" *Bull. of Atomic Scientists*, XIX (Nov. 1963), 14-16.

Calls for better scientific writing. (Lit)

McCormick, Richard P. "The Royal Society, the Grape, and New Jersey," *Proc. of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXXI (Apr. 1963), 75-84.

Edward Antill, Lord Stirling and 18th-century viniculture. (H)

Nash, Gerald D. "The Conflict between Pure and Applied Science in Nineteenth-Century Public Policy: The California State Geological Survey, 1860-1874," *Isis*, LIV (June 1963), 217-28.

The Survey foundered because it was unwilling to act as a mineral prospecting agency. (Pol-H)

Neisser, Ulric. "The Imitation of Man by Machine," *Science*, CXXXIX (Jan. 18, 1963), 193-97.

The assumption that machines can think mistakes the nature of thought. (Psy)

Payne, Melvin M. "75 Years Exploring Earth, Sea, and Sky," *Nat. Geographic*, CXXIII (Jan. 1963), 1-43.

Illustrated history of the Society and a calendar of its varied achievements. (H)

Schenck, Jerome M. "Benjamin Rush, Intemperate Drinking, and the Common Council of the City of New York," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVII (July-Aug. 1963), 377-79.

The council recommended distribution of Rush's temperance pamphlet. (H)

Scriven, George B. "Doctors, Drugs, and Apothecaria of Seventeenth Century Maryland," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVII (Nov.-Dec. 1963), 516-22.

Lists known physicians, apothecaries and drugs. (H)

Stark, Rodney. "On the Incompatibility of Religion and Science: A Survey of American Graduate Students," *Jour. for Scientific Study of Religion*, III (Fall 1963), 3-20.

Finds high rate of apostasy among graduate students. (R-S)

Stone, Julius. "When Politics is Harder than Physics," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXII (Summer 1963), 431-44.

Deals with the responsibility of the scientist for what he discovers. (Pol)

Storer, Norman W. "The Coming Changes in American Science," *Science*, CXLII (Oct. 25, 1963), 464-67.

Strains will develop as recognition moves from the scientific community to the larger community and as science becomes more fragmented. (S)

Uyeki, Eugene S. & Frank B. Cliffe Jr. "The Federal Scientist-Administrator," *Science*, CXXXIX (Mar. 29, 1963), 1267-70.

Analysis of education and background.

(Pol-S)

Welch, Peter C. "A Craft that Resisted Change: American Tanning Practices to 1850," *Technology & Culture*, IV (Summer 1963), 299-317.

A discussion of an old American industry.

(H-E)

Wilkinson, Norman B. "Brandywine Borrowings from European Technology," *Technology & Culture*, IV (Winter 1963), 1-13.

Early Delaware industry borrowed European devices to improve its mills.

(H)

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY

Abrams, Charles. "The Housing Order and Its Limits," *Commentary*, XXXV (Jan. 1963), 10-14.

An analysis of the executive order banning discrimination in housing concludes that "the principal mortgage lenders in the country feel themselves free to discriminate."

(Pol)

"American Political Extremism in the 1960's," *Jour. of Social Issues*, XIX (Apr. 1963).

Symposium on this subject.

(Pol)

Babow, Irving. "Restrictive Practices in Public Accommodations in a Northern Community," *Phylon*, XXIV (Spring 1963), 5-12.

Restrictive practices are aimed predominantly at Negroes, and Chinese and Japanese Americans have recently not been singled out in this way.

(H)

Bazon, Daniel T. "Non-Rule in America," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Dec. 1963), 438-45.

Congress wields negative power and is unresponsive to the demands of present-day technological society.

(Pol)

Berger, Bennett M. "On the Youthfulness of Youth Cultures," *Social Research*, XXX (Autumn 1963), 319-42.

An analysis of youthfulness and its implications in society is of major interest because it rejects the "necessary" relationship between youthfulness and adolescence.

(Ed-Psy)

Bloch, Herbert A. "The Juvenile Gang: A Cultural Reflex," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Social Sciences*, CCCXLVII (May 1963), 20-29.

American sociologists seem to be minimizing significant facts of intergenerational struggle in explaining youthful deviance.

(Ed-MC)

Bolino, A. C. "American Socialism's Flood and Ebb," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XXII (Apr. 1963), 287-301.

Discusses the rise and decline of the Socialist Party in the U. S., 1901-12.

(Pol-H)

Brown, Thorvald T. "Narcotics and Nalline: Six Years of Testing," *Federal Probation*, XXVII (June 1963), 27-32.

Use of the drug Nalline to detect and control narcotics addiction.

(Sc-Psy)

Cain, Arthur H. "Alcoholics Anonymous: *Cult or Cure?*" *Harper's*, CCXXVI (Feb. 1963), 48-52.

A.A. is presently not as effective as it was.

(Psy-R)

Carter, Launor F. "Survey Results and Public Policy Decisions," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXVII (Winter 1963), 549-57.

A discussion of how survey research may be of use in making policy decisions points out that the latter rest on matters of basic philosophy. (Pol)

Casstevens, Thomas W. & Charles Press. "The Context of Democratic Competition in American State Politics," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, LXVIII (Mar. 1963), 536-43.

There is a relationship between the degree of interparty competition and the health, education and welfare expenditure levels in the states. (Pol)

Chinoy, Ely. "Popular Sociology," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Summer 1963), 771-82.

The fad of "sociologizing" in best-sellers and from popular platforms has the danger of glib dismissal of acute social problems and the blurring of economic and political factors of these problems. (MC)

Coser, Lewis A. "The Dysfunction of Military Secrecy," *Social Problems*, XI (Summer 1963), 13-22.

"Secrecy protects from observation, it shields the power holder, and this ability to keep the adversary guessing is a major weapon in his armory; but this secrecy also contributes to lack of stability" (Pol)

Cowles, Wylda, Steven Polgar, Leonard Simmons & John Switzer. "Health and Communication in a Negro Census Tract," *Social Problems*, X (Winter 1963), 228-36.

Interpersonal influence and popular health culture among Negroes in the city of Berkeley. (Ed-MC)

Cramer, M. Richard. "School Desegregation and New Industry: The Southern Community Leaders' Viewpoint," *Social Forces*, XLI (May 1963), 384-89.

A study of white leaders in five Southern communities shows no correlation between moderation on the school desegregation issue and degree of favorableness to new industry. (E-Pol-Ed)

Curley, Thomas F. "Catholic Novels and American Culture," *Commentary*, XXXVI (July 1963), 34-42.

How Catholicism "affected the imaginations, social attitudes, and art of those who grew up as Catholics, whether they later left the Church or not." (Lit-R)

Decter, Midge. "Growing Old in America," *Commentary*, XXXV (Jan. 1963), 22-27.

Western man's attitudes toward aging and the resultant meaninglessness of activities offered to fill the bitter leisure of retirement. (Psy)

Desmond, Annabelle. "The American Farmer," *Population Bull.*, XIX (May 1963), 53-79.

Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the American farmer. (E)

Epstein, Jason. "'Good Bunnies Always Obey': Books for American Children," *Commentary*, XXXV (Feb. 1963), 112-22.

A criticism of literature for children which the author maintains makes it "possible to alienate children from childhood." (Lit-Ed)

Fiedler, Leslie A. "Race: The Dream and the Nightmare," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Oct. 1963), 297-304.

An examination of (1) the burden of guilt carried by whites in their relations with Negroes, and (2) the paradoxical cultural victory of the Negro, as white youth tend to emulate the Negro rather than their own ancestors. (Psy-Lit-MC)

Friedenberg, Edgar Z. "An Ideology of School Withdrawal," *Commentary*, XXXV (June 1963), 492-500.

American schools represent middle-class culture which repels lower-class youth. (Ed)

Friedman, Murray. "The White Liberal's Retreat," *Atlantic*, CCXI (Jan. 1963), 42-46.

The "pull-back" of American liberals in the face of the problems and the paradoxes of the civil rights revolution. (Pol)

Gettleman, Marvin B. "Charity and Social Classes in the United States, 1874-1900," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XXII (Apr. 1963), 313-29 and (July 1963), 417-26.

The organization and ideology of the Charity Organization Movement. (H-E)

Glazer, Nathan. "The Good Society," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Sept. 1963), 226-34.

The usurpation of the critical edge of American reformers by the growth of organizational complexity in contemporary society. (H)

_____. "The Puerto Ricans," *Commentary*, XXXVI (July 1963), 1-9.

Puerto Rican status as *stranger* and some of the reasons why Puerto Ricans are unlikely to be assimilated to the same degree as older minorities have. (H)

Glenn, Norval D. "Some Changes in the Relative Status of American Nonwhites, 1940-1960," *Atlantic Univ. Rev. of Race & Culture*, XXIV (Summer 1963), 109-22.

Future occupational advancement depends greatly upon continued economic growth and upward changes in the occupational structure. (H-E)

Guttmann, Allen. "Jewish Radicals, Jewish Writers," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXII (Fall 1963), 563-75.

Many radicals and writers of Jewish origin drew very little from the essence of Judaism as a community of faith. (H-R)

Haag, William G. "The Geography and Cultural Anthropology of the Mississippi," *Miss. Quar.*, XVI (Fall 1963), 171-80.

The significance of the geographical location, the rich archeological sites and the historical accounts to our knowledge of the cultural development of the lower Mississippi. (A-H)

Helmer, William J. "New York's 'Middle Class' Homosexuals," *Harper's*, CCXXVI (Mar. 1963), 85-92.

"This article . . . concerns itself with what might be called the homosexual bourgeoisie—people who are community-oriented, provincial, critical of undesirables." (Psy)

Hertzberg, Arthur. "Church, State, and the Jews," *Commentary*, XXXV (Apr. 1963), 277-88.

In a society in which religion is "neither established nor completely disestablished . . .," the author maintains that Jews want "a truly equal status in American culture." (R)

Herzog, Elizabeth. "Some Assumptions about the Poor," *Social Service Rev.*, XXXVII (Dec. 1963), 389-401.

A critical examination of three assumptions about poverty: (1) there is a culture of poverty; (2) the family and sex patterns of the poor differ from those of the middle class; (3) the family and sex patterns of poor Negroes differ from those of whites on the same socio-economic level. (Psy)

Hill, Forest G. "The South's Role and Opportunity in Prospective National Growth," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XXII (Jan. 1963), 141-48.

The major structural changes facing the Southern economy, and the necessity of taking a long-range and constructive approach to economic development. (E)

Hurley, Charles T. "Anti-Narcotics Testing: A Physician's Point of View," *Federal Probation*, XXVII (June 1963), 32-38.

The anti-narcotics testing program instituted in East Los Angeles in 1959. (Sc)

Jordan, Millard L. "Leisure Time Activity of Sociologists, Attorneys, Physicists, and People at Large From Greater Cleveland," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLVII (Apr. 1963), 290-97.

The differences in the way leisure time is spent. (MC)

Kammeyer, Kenneth C. W. "Community Homogeneity and Decision Making," *Rural Sociology*, XXVIII (Sept. 1963), 238-45.

A study of the decision-making process in 110 small Iowa communities shows that ethnically homogeneous communities showed less opposition to the loss of their schools than did heterogeneous communities. (Pol-Ed)

Leggett, John C. "Working-class Consciousness, Race, and Political Choice," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, LXIX (Sept. 1963), 171-76.

Among Detroit blue-collar workers, class consciousness and union membership had a significant impact on voting for white voters while almost all the Negro voters supported the reform candidate. (Pol)

Marshall, Ray. "Some Factors Influencing the Upgrading of Negroes in the Southern Petroleum Industry," *Social Forces*, XLII (Dec. 1963), 186-95.

Examines the efforts to eliminate segregated seniority lines. (E-Pol)

McCall, George J. "Symbiosis: The Case of Hoodoo and the Numbers Racket," *Social Problems*, X (Spring 1963), 361-70.

An examination of the relationship between hoodoo and the numbers racket concludes that the relationship between the two is one of mutualism. (F)

McDill, Edward & James Coleman. "High School Social Status, College Plans, and Interest in Academic Achievement: A Panel Analysis," *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, XXVIII (Dec. 1963), 905-18.

"In this freshman-to-senior panel analysis of data obtained from students of six mid-western high schools, the relations between status in adolescent social systems, college intentions, and academic achievement orientations are explored." (Ed-Psy)

Merritt, Richard L. "Public Opinion in Colonial America: Content Analyzing the Colonial Press," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXVII (Fall 1963), 356-71.

A discussion of the importance of the 18th-century press as a reflection of political attitudes. (H-Pol)

Moers, Ellen. "The Angry Young Women," *Harper's*, CCXXVII (Dec. 1963), 88-95.

Talented female writers of the present lack the kind of vitality that characterized American literary women of the 19th and early 20th centuries. (Lit-H)

Morland, J. Kenneth. "Racial Self-Identification: A Study of Nursery School Children," *Amer. Cath. Sociological Rev.*, XXIV (Fall 1963), 231-42.

Negro nursery school children in Lynchburg, Va., did not readily identify themselves racially but the white youngsters did. (Psy-Ed)

Neufeld, Edward. "Zionism and *Aliyah* on the American Jewish Scene," *Jew. Jour. of Sociology*, V (June 1963), 111-37.

Disinclination of American Jews to emigrate to Israel. The benefits that such emigration would bestow upon both Israel and American Jewry. (Pol)

Osgood, Charles E. "Questioning Some Unquestioned Assumptions About National Security," *Social Problems*, XI (Summer 1963), 6-12.

A critical examination of seven basic assumptions which form a rigid framework of national policy. (Pol)

Patterson, Samuel C. "Legislative Leadership and Political Ideology," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXVII (Fall 1963), 399-410.

Contradictory hypotheses regarding the presence of extreme or moderate views among legislative leaders as compared to rank-and-file legislators. (Pol)

Podhoretz, Norman. "My Negro Problem—And Ours," *Commentary*, XXXV (Feb. 1963), 93-101.

The author sees miscegenation as "... the most desirable alternative for everyone concerned." (Psy)

Robson, William A. "America Revisited," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIV (Oct.-Dec. 1963), 339-53.

A summary of recent changes in the U. S., making the American people more questioning, modest and self-critical, while retaining traditional energy, friendliness and readiness to learn. (Ed-Pol-E-Sc)

Schreiber, Daniel. "Juvenile Delinquency and the School Dropout Problem," *Federal Probation*, XXVII (Sept. 1963), 15-19.

The school must "incorporate the child of lower-class origins ... into the continuity of the American experience and opportunity." (Ed-Psy)

Schwartz, David T. & Norbett L. Mintz. "Ecology and Psychosis Among Italians in 27 Boston Communities," *Social Problems*, X (Spring 1963), 371-75.

The relationship between population density of an ethnic group and the incidence of psychosis. (Psy)

Schwartz, Morris S. "The Uses of Sociology in the Mental Hospital," *Social Problems*, X (Winter 1963), 219-27.

Social process in a mental ward is studied in order to identify social patterns that produce or maintain illness in order to effect changes. (Psy)

Scott, John F. & Howard E. Freeman. "The One Night Stand in Mental Health Education," *Social Problems*, X (Winter 1963), 277-84.

The effectiveness of one-session mental health programs is questionable. (E-Psy)

Sherman, C. B. "Emerging Patterns and Attitudes in American Jewish Life," *Jew. Jour. of Sociology*, V (June 1963), 47-54.

The changes wrought by the fact that most American Jews are of recent settlement upon their religious life, social relations and attitudes towards Israel and Jews overseas. (R)

Silberman, Charles E. "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, LXVIII (Sept. 1963), 97-99, 184, 186, 191-92, 194.

An analysis of (1) the economic situation of the Negro in contemporary American society, (2) what businessmen have done and left undone with regard to this problem and (3) a prescription for action by the American business community. (E)

Simpson, Richard L. & Max H. Miller. "Social Status and Anomia," *Social Problems*, X (Winter 1963), 256-64.

The hypotheses of status inconsistency and social failure as explanations of anomia are questioned. (E-Ed)

Steamer, Robert J. "Presidential Stimulus and School Desegregation," *Phylon*, XXIV (Spring 1963), 20-33.

The Kennedy record on civil rights: active, but falling short of "solving America's most urgent domestic problem." (H-Pol)

Tarver, James D. "Ecological Patterns of Land Tenure, Farm Land Uses, and Farm Population Characteristics," *Rural Sociology*, XXVIII (June 1963), 128-45.

The significance of city size, proximity and soil type in explaining the variation in farm size, land use and farm population characteristics of a sample of U. S. Counties. (E)

Vander Zanden, James W. "The Non-Violent Resistance Movement Against Segregation," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, LXVIII (Mar. 1963), 544-50.

The non-violent resistance movement of the Southern Negroes is seen as an effort to mediate between the conflicting roles of the accommodating Negro and the new militant Negro. (Pol)

Vickery, John B. "The Golden Bough: Impact and Archetype," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXIX (Winter 1963), 37-57.

Impact of Frazer's book on 20th-century literature. (Lit-Psy)

Vincent, Clark E. "The Family in Health and Illness: Some Neglected Areas," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Social Science*, CCCXLVI (Mar. 1963), 109-16.

The merits of emphasizing the total family, both nuclear and extended in relation to health and illness by educators and researchers. (Psy-Ed)

Wakefield, Dan. "In Hazard," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Sept. 1963), 209-17.

The strife and the lack of understanding of that strife in the economically depressed coal fields of Appalachia. (E-H)

Weber, Arnold R. "The Rich and the Poor: Employment in an Age of Automation," *Social Service Rev.*, XXXVII (Sept. 1963), 249-62.

The contemporary labor market—its relation to automation and remedial programs for unemployment. (E)

Westin, Alan F. "Anti-Communism and the Corporations," *Commentary*, XXXVI (Dec. 1963), 479-87.

Types of programs of political education in wide use by American corporations range from responsible analysis to the extremist demagoguery of the far right. (Pol)

Yinger, J. Milton. "Desegregation in American Society: The Record of a Generation of Change," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLVII (July 1963), 428-45.

Changes in U. S. race relations during the last generation and the forces working for and against desegregation. (H-Pol-Law)

Zinn, Howard. "The Southern Mystique," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXIII (Winter 1963-64), 44-57.

Personal memoir of a stay in the South. (H)

AMERICAN STUDIES DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

THE PURPOSE OF THE 1963-64 CHECKLIST, LIKE THAT OF ITS PREDECESSORS, is to provide a record of interdisciplinary dissertations-in-progress involving American subjects.

The checklist is divided into Doctoral and Masters topics. Each of these groups is subdivided into (1) new listings (topics not previously listed in this checklist, including topics changed); (2) dissertations completed, with the name of the supervisor; (3) topics withdrawn. To facilitate the researcher's perusal of the entire list, we have restricted entries to original listings and to changes in status (completions, withdrawals and substantive changes in title). Only interdisciplinary topics, preferably so indicated in their titles, should be submitted for this selective checklist. Dissertations devoted to American subjects in an individual discipline should be listed in the journal of the appropriate discipline (e.g., *American Literature*).

Additions and corrections will be included in the next checklist if addressed to the compilers.

The Council on Research and Creative Work and the Department of English at the University of Colorado have provided assistance for this checklist.

JOHN H. WRENN & ROBERT E. LEE,
University of Colorado

PH.D.—NEW LISTINGS

- Berger, Arthur A. *The Comic Strip in American Popular Culture: A Study of Al Capp and Li'l Abner*. Minnesota, David W. Noble.
- Black, Henry Clay. *Ernest Poole: The Liberal and the Ideal of Social Change*. Minnesota, Clarke Chambers.
- Bryer, Jackson. *A History of The Little Review*. Wisconsin, Walter B. Rideout.
- Coffin, Arthur B. *Ideological Patterns in the Work of Robinson Jeffers*. Wisconsin, Walter B. Rideout.
- Deane, Paul C. *Children's Fiction in America since 1900: A Study of Books in Series*. Harvard.
- Eckstein, Neil. *The Articulate Norwegian Immigrant as Critic of American Institutions: A Comparative Study of H. H. Boyesen, Thorstein Veblen and Ole E. Rølvaag*. Pennsylvania, Robert Spiller.
- Edrich, Mary Worden. *Emerson's Apostasy*. Wisconsin, Henry A. Pochmann.
- Erisman, Fred. *Children's Literature and American Culture, 1890-1920*. Minnesota, Mulford Sibley.
- Gardner, Sara Jane. *Social Theory in the Writings of Frank Norris*. Washington State, Raymond Muse.

- Gordon, Joseph. *Mark Twain and Henry Adams in Politics and Government*. Pennsylvania State, Charles Davis.
- Hoffmann, John. *American Colleges before the Civil War: Church-State Relationships*. Harvard, Bernard Bailyn.
- James, Nancy. *Nineteenth-Century American Utopias*. Pennsylvania State, Arthur O. Lewis Jr.
- Kayser, Joyce. *Family Structure and School Performance*. Pennsylvania, Murray G. Murphey.
- Lakoff, Myra N. *The Economy of Virginia during the Confederation Period*. Yale, E. S. Morgan.
- Landon, George C. *The Homestead Act: Reactions and Evaluations*. George Washington, Wayne Rasmussen.
- Leger, Ann Louise. *Moorfield Storey: An Intellectual Biography*. Iowa, Stow Persons.
- Loveland, Anne. *The Image of Lafayette in America*. Cornell, David B. Davis.
- Lowens, Irving. *The American Songster Before 1821*. Maryland, Carl Bode.
- Lyttle, David. *Jonathan Edwards' "Mysticism."* Pennsylvania State. Harrison T. Meserole.
- Malone, Michael P. C. *Ben Ross, A Study of Idaho's Depression Governor: 1930-1936*. Washington State, Elmo R. Richardson.
- Marmor, Theodore. *John C. Calhoun*. Harvard, Louis Hartz.
- Mayer, Gerard. *The Steel Industry and the NRA*. Denver, Robert E. Roeder.
- Messbarger, Paul. *American Catholic Dialogue, 1884-1898, as Recorded in Catholic Literature*. Minnesota, Timothy Smith.
- Minter, David L. *The Interpreted Design: A Study in American Prose*. Yale, R. W. B. Lewis.
- Nagasawa, Arthur. *The United States and the Governance of Hawaii from Annexation to 1908—Policies, Problems and Solutions*. Denver, Robert Roeder.
- Nicklason, Fred. *Henry L. Dawes and the Formation of National Republican Principles, 1857-1893*. Yale, William H. Goetzmann.
- Nuechterlein, James A. *The Democratic Party in Congress, 1941-1945*. Yale, Howard R. Lamar.
- Pariente, Arthur. *Libertarianism in a Changing Society: The American Civil Liberties Union, 1930-1960*. Pennsylvania, Wallace Davies.
- Rees, Robert A. *Mark Twain and the Bible*. Wisconsin, Henry A. Pochmann.
- Rowlette, Jeannine Hensley. *An Edition of Anne Bradstreet's Poems*. Boston, Sterling Lanier.
- Rowley, William. *Immigrants in Albany, N. Y.* Harvard, Oscar Handlin.
- Schmitt, Peter J. *The Virgin Land in the Twentieth Century: The Concept of Nature in an Urban Society—1900 to 1925*. Minnesota, Timothy Smith.
- Summerhayes, Donald C. *The Relation of Illusion and Reality to Formal Structure in Selected Works of Fiction by Hawthorne, Melville and James*. Yale, Charles Feidelson and R. W. B. Lewis.
- Svensson, Eric H. F. *The Military Occupation of Japan: The First Year, 1945-1946*. Denver, Alfred Crofts.
- Swain, Jeraldine N. L. *The Critical Reception of Albert Camus in America*. Southern California, Paul E. Hadley.

- Williams, Connie Lee. *American Sociology of Literature: Current Theory and Practice*. Michigan, Joe Lee Davis.
- Wright, Robert G. *The Christian Social Novel in America, 1865-1900*. George Washington, Robert H. Walker.
- Zartchik, Joseph A. *The Confrontation of the Moral Principle and the Material Interest in the Writings of Emerson, Hawthorne and Melville: A Moralistic-Structural Analysis*. Boston, Sterling Lanier.
- Zuckerman, Michael. *A Study of an Eighteenth-Century New England Town*. Harvard.

PH.D.—COMPLETED

- Abood, Edward. *The Reception of the Abbey Repertory Theatre in America, 1911-1914*. Chicago, Napier Wilt.
- Anderson, Hugh George. *The Lutheran Church in the South: 1860-1920*. Pennsylvania, Don Yoder.
- Benson, Norman A. *The Itinerant Musician and the Transit of Musical Culture in Eighteenth-Century America*. Minnesota, Johannes Riedel and Mary C. Turpie.
- Berghorn, Forrest J. *Child Rearing and Inner and Other Direction*. Pennsylvania, Murray G. Murphey.
- Biddle, Randolph E. *Dreiser: Drama and Theatre*. Pennsylvania, Sculley Bradley.
- Bottorff, William K. *An Edition of American Poems*. Brown, Hyatt H. Waggoner.
- Bowditch, James. *The Impact of Japanese Culture [in America]* . . . Harvard, Benjamin Rowland.
- Brodtkorb, Paul Jr. *Melville's Symbolism*. Yale, Charles Feidelson.
- Curtis, Bruce. *William Graham Sumner*. Iowa, Stow Persons.
- Donovan, Alan B. *The Sense of Beauty in the Novels of Henry James*. Yale, Norman Holmes Pearson.
- Ehrlich, Hayward. *A Study of Literary Activity in New York City during the 1840s Decade*. New York, Gay Wilson Allen.
- Flink, James J. *American Acceptance of the Automobile*. Pennsylvania, Thomas C. Cochran.
- Frederickson, George. *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the War for the Union*. Harvard, Donald Fleming.
- Goren, Leyla. *William Faulkner as International Novelist*. Harvard.
- Groman, George. *The American Political Novel, and Its Reflection of Emerging Progressivism, 1891-1915*. New York, Oscar Cargill.
- Hall, David D. *The Faithful Shepherd—The Puritan Ministry in Old and New England, 1570-1660*. Yale, E. S. Morgan.
- Hancock, John L. *Professional City Planning in America: A Study of the Office of John Nohlen*. Pennsylvania, Anthony Garvan.
- Holland, Laurence. *Henry James*. Harvard, Perry G. E. Miller.
- Haupt, William P. *Henry N. Day and the Maine Lumber Business*. Pennsylvania, Thomas Haviland.
- Kopp, Charles. *Thoreau and Mysticism*. Pennsylvania State, Philip Young.
- Lonsdale, David Lawrence. *The Movement for an Eight-hour Law in Colorado, 1893-1913*. Colorado, Carl W. Ubbelohde.

- Lyon, Richard C. Charles Francis Adams Jr. and the Age of Steam. Minnesota, J. C. Levenson.
- McCandlish, George. Annotations for a New Edition of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Harvard, Kenneth B. Murdock.
- McGrath, James W. Some Aspects of the Political and Social Thought of Orestes A. Brownson. New Mexico, George W. Smith.
- McMahon, William E. The Rationale of Hart Crane. Chicago, Walter Blair.
- Melder, Keith E. The Beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States 1800-1840. Yale, David Potter and Norman Holmes Pearson.
- Murbe, Hans J. The Image of Germany in American Travel Books of the Nineteenth Century. Ohio State, W. Charvat.
- Murphy, George D. New Biographies of 1920s and Their Reappraisal of the American Tradition. Pennsylvania, Wallace Davies.
- Pettit, Norman. The Image of the Heart in Early Puritanism: The Emergence in England and America of the Concept of Preparation for Grace. Yale, Sydney Ahlstrom.
- Rich, Eugene. The Scottish Background of John Witherspoon. Syracuse, Stuart Gerry, Brown.
- Seshachari, Candadai. Gandhi and the American Scene: An Intellectual History and Inquiry. Utah, Don D. Walker.
- Silverman, Henry J. American Social Reformers in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century. Pennsylvania, Murray G. Murphey.
- Skardal, Dorothy. Scandinavian Immigrant American Literature in the Middle West: A Cultural Analysis. Harvard, Oscar Handlin.
- Steere, Geoffrey. Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century American Changes of Child Rearing. Pennsylvania, Thomas Cochran.
- Taylor, Walter Fuller Jr. The Roles of the Negro in William Faulkner's Fiction. Emory, Albert E. Stone Jr.
- Warren, Frank A. American Liberalism in the 1930s: Its Relation to Communism. Brown, Hyatt H. Waggoner.
- Weaver, Earl James. John Dewey's Social Thought. Brown, William McLoughlin.
- Wickens, James F. Colorado and the New Deal. Denver, Harold H. Dunham.
- Wolf, George. The Fair Play Settlers of the West Branch Valley 1769-1784: A Study of Frontier Ethnography. Pennsylvania, Murray G. Murphey.
- Wutke, Eugene. Technocracy: It Failed to Save the Nation. Missouri (K.C.), John G. Dowgray Jr.

PH.D.—TITLES WITHDRAWN

- Draper, James. Hemingway and Religion. Pennsylvania State.
- Lowens, Irving. Music in American Civilization 1770-1820. Maryland.
- Roche, Richard. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. Harvard.

M.A.—NEW LISTINGS

- Aaron, Chloe. The Dilemma of the Mid-Twentieth-Century Man as Seen in the Plays of Arthur Miller. George Washington, Charles W. Cole.
- Allen, L. David. Van Wyck Brooks' Changing View of American Culture. Bowling Green State, Alma J. Payne.

- Balch, Clayton. *The Novel as a Weapon of Social Protest: John Dos Passos' U.S.A. and Midcentury*. Colorado, John H. Wrenn.
- Balderson, Jay. *The Concept of Manners in the Novels of William D. Howells*. Wyoming, Morton Ross.
- Cost, Charles C. *The Darwinian Thought of Jack London*. New York, Edwin Miller.
- Cummins, Duane. *Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Historian and Governor*. Denver, Michael McGiffert.
- Fusco, Marion Mettler. *Relations Between Land and Character in My Antonia and O Pioneers!* Colorado, Francis Robinson.
- Jaffa, Helene Ann. *The Definitions of Fiction in American Magazines of the 1840s*. New York, William Gibson.
- Lane, Linda. *Variations on a Theme of Power in John Dos Passos*. Colorado, John H. Wrenn.
- Lohof, Bruce A. *Keynesian Economics and American Individualism*. Stetson, John A. Hague.
- Nickolay, Michael John. *The Impact of International Editions of American Magazines Abroad Since World War Two*. New York, John Tebbel.
- Peterson, Hugh R. *A Comparison of Huckleberry Finn and Holden Caulfield: A Study of Contrasting Character Types*. Stetson, John A. Hague.
- Reed, Marvin. *The Southern Writer and the Southern Mind: Cable, Faulkner, Wolfe*. Stetson, John A. Hague.
- Takesue, Dexter. *Aaron Gove*. Denver, Harold H. Dunham.
- Walden, Mary. *John Howard Lawson: Theater Rebel and Social Critic*. George Washington, Charles W. Cole.
- Walters, Wandah E. *Amish-Mennonites: Some Problems of the Plain People*. Stetson, John A. Hague.
- Weldon, Thomas. *The Turner Thesis and the Mormon Frontier*. Stetson, John A. Hague.
- Willson, John. *William H. "Coin" Harvey and the Free Silver Movement*. Wyoming, H. R. Dieterich.

M.A.—COMPLETED

- Arthur, Robert L. *American Studies: The Continuing Controversy in Its Theory and Practice*. Wyoming, H. R. Dieterich.
- Barney, Danford N. *Bestial Imagery from the Times and Writings of Frank Norris and Jack London*. Colorado, John H. Wrenn.
- Benton, Robert. *A Comparative Study of Edward Taylor's Christographia and His "Sacramental Meditations"*. Colorado, Charles Nilon.
- Bernstein, Joel. *The Federal Arts Project and Its Impact on the American Painter*. Wyoming, H. R. Dieterich.
- Bloxom, Marguerite. *General Lafayette: A Study in Hero Building*. Maryland, Otho Beall.
- Brown, Ann E. *A Comparison-Contrast Study of the Land as Force in Willa Cather's O Pioneers! and Ellen Glasgow's Barren Ground*. Bowling Green State, Alma J. Payne.

- Caridi, Ronald. Howells' Changing Concept of Human Responsibility. New York, William Gibson.
- Carroll, Mildred. Robert Frost's Attitude Toward Man and Mankind. Colorado, John H. Wrenn.
- Clark, Ann Baker. William Dean Howells: Theories of the Functions of the Press as Related to His Editorship of *Cosmopolitan*. Bowling Green State, Alma J. Payne.
- Content, Mary. The National Impact of the "Wisconsin Idea"; A Bibliographical Study. George Washington, Robert H. Walker.
- Dabney, Jeanne. Romantic and Realistic Conceptions of the Indian in Nineteenth-Century American Literature. Wyoming, T. A. Larson.
- Davis, James H. The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado. Denver, Harold H. Dunham.
- Galloway, Winifred. Attitudes towards the Aborigines: Victoria, Australia and the Dakota Territory Compared. Wyoming, T. A. Larson.
- Henry, Susan. The Theme of Conflict between Individual and Society in Selected Novels of Edith Wharton as a Reflection of Her Own Experiences. Colorado, Francis Robinson.
- Holloway, Lou E. A Review of U. S. Supreme Court Cases Challenging the "Separate but Equal" Doctrine in Education. Denver, Harold H. Dunham.
- Ito, Shinko. The Work of the American Friends Service Committee in Behalf of the Japanese in Wartime America. New York, H. B. Parkes.
- Kelber, Harry. *Fincher's Trades Review*: A Labor Newspaper of the Civil War Period. New York, Vincent Carosso.
- Krause, Richard. An Investigation of the Literary Treatment of Jefferson Davis during the Past Century. Stetson, John A. Hague.
- Loney, Roy Phillip. The Influence of Milieu on Hawthorne's Concept of the Unpardonable Sin in "Young Goodman Brown" and "My Kinsman, Major Molineux." Colorado, Charles Nilon.
- Manesis, George. Elias Ammons, Governor of Colorado (1913-1915). Denver, Harold H. Dunham.
- Marturano, Mary Lou. Art and Artists in Colorado. Denver, Harold H. Dunham.
- Mayer, Gerard. A History of the University of Denver, 1920-1945. Denver, Michael McGiffert.
- Parkinson, Robert. A Mongrel in the Fourth Estate: The Story of the New York *Evening Graphic*. New York, Hillier Kriegbaum.
- Perry, Donald H. A Diary of a Trip Down the Mississippi. Denver, Allen D. Breck.
- Pogel, Nancy. E. E. Cummings and the Transcendentalists. Wyoming, Hamlin Hill.
- Tecklin, Jerry. The Literature of the St. Louis Hegelianism. Wyoming, Hamlin Hill.
- Young, Alan. The *New Masses* Poetry. Colorado, John H. Wrenn.

M.A.—TITLES WITHDRAWN

- Reed, Marvin. The Image of Alger Hiss. Stetson.
- Reese, Virginia. The Civil War in American Short Fiction. Pennsylvania State.

WRITINGS ON THE THEORY AND TEACHING OF AMERICAN STUDIES

EACH ENTRY OF THIS ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY IS LISTED ONCE UNDER ITS APPROPRIATE heading. Though the survey was done as systematically as possible, some items may have been overlooked. These should be brought to the attention of the editor for inclusion in the next annual bibliography. No systematic search was made in newspapers, private university publications or alumni magazines. Some attempt has been made to give an international coverage and to list important books as well as periodical literature.

A special committee of the American Studies Association of New York State has been responsible for the preparation of the bibliography.

CHAIRMAN & EDITOR:

Charles L. Sanford, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE:

Lowell Colvin, The Manlius School

Benjamin F. Gronewold, State University College, Buffalo

John Strong, Syracuse University

I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN STUDIES

Cooke, Robert J. *et al.* "American Studies and the Social Studies: A Symposium," *Social Educ.*, XXVII, No. 8 (Dec. 1963), 416-35, 439, 455.

Five authors (Marshall W. Fishwick, John Hague, Donald Baker and Thomas Powell) delivered their articles at a joint meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Studies Association, last November, during the 43rd NCSS Convention. Their individual essays are noted in Section III, below.

Degler, Carl N. "The Sociologist as Historian: Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*," *Amer. Quar.*, XV (Winter 1963), 483-97.

What Riesman has called the central feature of the modern American character—other direction—is the dominant element in our national character through most of our history.

Fulbright, J. William. "The American Agenda," *Saturday Rev.* (July 20, 1963), 15-17, 62-63.

The issue, according to Senator Fulbright, is one of national priorities. During the past generation, we have been too concerned with power, affluence and space exploration, very little concerned with such pressing national needs as employment, education and urban renewal.

McIntosh, Robert P. "Man and Nature in America," *Amer. Midland Naturalist*, LXXI (Jan. 1964), 247-49.

An ecologist in this review of Arthur A. Ekirch Jr.'s book, *Man and Nature in America*, argues that the main unresolved problem is how to attain the desired balance of man in modern scientific civilization and nature.

Nichols, Roy F. *Why So Much Pessimism?* Wilmington, Del.: The Wernyss Foundation, 1964.

An address before a joint session of the American Studies and American Historical Associations, Dec. 29, 1963, which considers the factors impelling our historians and cultural analysts to a gloomy outlook. The challenges to understanding in this age of revolutionary changes should inspire optimism, not despair.

Riesman, David. *Abundance for What?*, New York: Doubleday, 1964.

A collection of essays about America on the threshold of the 1960s. One essay deals with the significance of a long period of cold war tension. In this discussion he adds the "Cold Warrior" to his other categories described in *The Lonely Crowd*.

Rousseas, Stephen & James Farganis. "Retreat of the Idealists," *Nation*, CXCVI (March 23, 1963), 240.

This is a condensed version of an article which will appear in a commemorative volume to be published in honor of C. Wright Mills. The authors critically assess the "liberal" position taken by Bell, Lipset, Schlesinger and Galbraith in their recent writings. The "end of ideology" as a mood and as a philosophy is discussed.

Sykes, Richard E. "American Studies and the Concept of Culture: A Theory and a Method," *Amer. Quar.*, XV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1963), 253-70.

An approach to American Studies based on concept of culture, culture pattern and culture construct pattern. Teaching of American Studies would be concentrated in three areas: concept, method and content. The curriculum would then have a logical and methodological unity.

Theobald, Robert. "Abundance: Threat or Promise," *Nation*, CXCVI (May 11, 1963), 387-407.

Challenge to "conventional wisdom" concerning the economic problems of the 1960s. Reviews the underpinnings of quasi-Keynesian economic theory so popular among liberals today.

II. COURSES & PROGRAMS IN AMERICAN STUDIES

A Beacon of Hope—The Exchange-of-Persons Program, a report from the U. S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, Washington, D. C., April 1963.

The program has, as a whole, been effective. The Commission felt that the importance and special character of American Studies warranted a special review, that undertaken by Walter Johnson and noted below.

Ahnebrink, Lars. "American Studies in Sweden," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 19.

A brief account of the fourth annual seminar for teachers and of two new positions created at Uppsala.

"American Studies in India," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Aug. 1963), 1-2.

Progress in the last eight years, with some thirty-one universities now offering courses in American literature or history. A major obstacle to growth continues to be an inadequacy of research materials, reference libraries and textbooks, though these needs are gradually being provided for.

"American Studies Program," *AGLS Newsletter*, XV (April 1964), 16-22. News, II (Dec. 1963), 12.

Listing of grants to European institutions and scholars under the American Studies Program of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Asselineau, Roger & J.B.D. "American Studies in France," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 15-16.

Important research, publishing ventures and doctoral defenses in Americana. Classes

were given in most of the French Universities during 1961-62 on American history and literature.

Briggs, Asa & David Daiches. "Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Sussex," *Victorian Studies*, VII (Sept. 1963), 98-99.

The organization and curriculum of the School of English and American Studies at the University of Sussex, the first of the seven new English Universities.

Burks, Craighill, & John O. Hunter. *American Studies and the High School: Two Case Studies*, Wilmington, Del.: The Wemyss Foundation, 1964 (Multilith reprod.).

Experimental integrated American Studies programs at McLean High School in northern Virginia and Newfane High School in northern New York. Results were apparently excellent, judging from student interest and achievement on standardized United States and Regents' history tests at the end of the year.

Day, Harry P. "American Studies in Austria," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 13-15.

The Minister of Education has designated three new chairs in American Studies, while the American Institute at Innsbruck has added two new rooms. The U.S.I.S. and Salzburg seminars continue to be successful.

"Developments in American Studies in British Universities," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 12-13.

New programs in American Studies leading to a B.A. degree in the Universities of Sussex, Nottingham and St. Andrews, and in the University College of North Staffordshire.

Dudden, Arthur P. *The United States of America, A Syllabus of American Studies*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963. (2 vols.)

An outline guide organized topically within the two main divisions of aesthetic America and the facts of American history and social science. Each topic is carefully defined by discussion problems, study exercises and suggested readings based upon the University of Pennsylvania program. This guide will be especially useful in organizing new American Studies programs here and abroad, but is not likely to influence already existing programs.

Entrikin, Isabelle. "American Studies in Spain," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 18-19.

Courses in American Studies have been introduced at the Universities of Barcelona, Salamanca, Zaragoza and Madrid, with a permanent chair established at the latter.

Experiment in International Understanding, with a Close-up of the U.S. Educational Exchange Program with Italy, Washington, D. C.: Board of Foreign Scholarships, Oct. 1963, esp. 26-32.

The teaching of American literature and government has made great strides in Italy; history lags behind. Evidence of interest and trends of Italian scholars were the National Forum in American Studies and the eighth annual seminar in American literature.

"Grants to European Institutions for American Studies Programs," *ACLS Newsletter*, XIV (May 1963), 17.

The ACLS is encouraging the establishment of American Studies programs in Western European countries. The grants awarded for 1963 are listed and described.

Hechinger, Fred M. "Academic Export: Growth in U. S. Studies Abroad Is Welcomed—With Caution," *N. Y. Times* (September 29, 1963), IV, 9:1.

A review of Walter Johnson's *American Studies Abroad* which agrees that the ultimate aim is not to graft American branches on foreign schools and universities, but to

achieve an intrinsic understanding of the place of the United States in today's scholarly and educational life. He warns against broad survey courses.

Johnson, Walter. *American Studies Abroad*, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, July 1963.

Contains an analysis of educational achievement and failure abroad since 1949 and 15 resolutions for improving and expanding "in the light of variations from country to country." Survey is global, though Europe is considered the primary target.

Kooiman, T. "American Studies in the Netherlands," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 17-18.

Describes briefly the annual conference at Woudschoten and the summer school at Leiden University, where a new chair has been created. But the center of activity in American Studies is the American Institute of the University of Amsterdam.

Mancuso, Eleanora V. "American Studies in Italy," *EAAS: Newsletter of European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 16-17.

Reports expansion in all areas. The influential Council on American Studies has undertaken to establish a Regional Italian library of Americana. New chairs in American Studies include the universities at Naples, Florence, Padua and Venice.

"Overseas Program Notes: Chile," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Dec. 1963), 12-13.

The University of Chile has established a center, the first in Latin America, for studying North America as well as South America.

"Overseas Program Notes: Nigeria," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Dec. 1963), 14.

The Universities of Ibadan and Ife have introduced courses in American Studies, beginning with American literature and history.

Parkinson, Molly O., ed. "American Studies Programs," *American Studies*, VI (July 1963), 1-4.

Lists American colleges and universities offering American Studies graduate and undergraduate programs.

Skard, Sigmund. "American Studies in Norway," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 18.

Summer courses and the expansion of the American Institute, which has moved from the University of Oslo to a new building on the Blindern University campus.

"U. S. Program Notes: George Washington University," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Dec. 1963), 12.

A new university-wide course in American civilization open to seniors, graduate students and professional school students. It will consist of a series of weekly lectures presented by outstanding scholars in their field, followed by a discussion period.

"U. S. Program Notes: New York University," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Dec. 1963), 12.

Brooke Hindle is the director of a new special American Studies program which includes courses within the regular programs offered by the departments of literature, history and government. A senior inter-departmental seminar will be offered in 1965-66.

III. SUBJECTS & METHODS OF TEACHING

Allen, Jack. "New Dimensions for the Social Studies," *Peabody Jour. of Educ.*, XL (Jan. 1963), 195-98.

The core curriculum in the social sciences, says the author, must deal with "process" as well as with factual information.

Arragon, R. F. "History's Changing Image," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXIII (Spring 1964), 222-33.

Man's life, individual and collective, is the concern of history, which flows over into literature, art, philosophy, geography and other areas. "Some of the most fruitful inquiries cross disciplinary lines."

Baker, Donald G. "American Studies, Social Studies, and the Process of Education," *Social Educ.*, XXVII (Dec. 1963), 427-30, 455.

Applying the learning theory of Jerome S. Bruner (piecemeal or fact-oriented courses, whether in mathematics, science or social studies, are self-defeating without over-all structure), the author proposes a four-year structure of courses moving from Area Studies to American Values and Ideals, American History and American Issues.

Ballinger, Stanley. "The Social Studies and Social Controversy," *School Rev.*, LXXI (Spring 1963), 97-111.

A systematic examination of social controversy and the training of social studies teachers. Emphasizing controversial issues is advocated.

Billington, Ray Allen. "Why Some Historians Rarely Write History: A Case Study of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, L (June 1963), 3-27.

Turner's tendencies toward perfectionism and thorough scholarship were both his strength and his weakness. His dedication to his students, another admirable quality, also interrupted his writing.

Bode, Carl. "The Sound of American Literature a Century Ago," *Jour. of General Ed.*, XV (April 1963), 1-17.

The author of *The American Lyceum* argues that the lyceum had an important impact in shaping ante-bellum literature.

Carson, John W. "The Teaching of History in the Twentieth Century," *Jour. of Higher Ed.*, XXXIV (Oct. 1963), 379-84.

Carson calls for a "three level approach" to the teaching of history:

- the real situation—what actually occurred;
- the apparent situation—the way it appeared to those who lived through it;
- ideologies—thought patterns used to defend political, economic and social positions.

Casagrande, Joseph B. "The Relations of Anthropology with the Social Sciences," *The Teaching of Anthropology*, Amer. Anthropol. Assoc. Memoir 94 (1963), 461-74.

All the social sciences have a common stake in studying the social, political and economic changes that are sweeping across the world. All social scientists confront one another in area studies and should cultivate interdisciplinary techniques, with emphasis upon "linking concepts."

Cohen, Hennig. "American Studies and American Literature," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Apr. 1963), 550-54.

Growth and development of American Studies at home and abroad because of interdisciplinary nature. Answers objections and emphasizes the need to rely heavily on literature.

Commager, Henry Steele. "The University and Freedom," *Jour. of Higher Ed.*, XXXIV (Oct. 1963), 361-70.

Commager critically assesses the American University in the 20th century. He urges a re-evaluation of education in hopes that we can avoid intellectual stagnation.

Cooke, Robert J. "The 'Dim Candle' of Mr. Beard," *Social Ed.*, XXVII (Dec. 1963), 416-18, 435.

Citing our failure in history teaching to communicate the best of American civilization ("Young America today is both egocentric and ethnocentric"), the author urges the adoption of the American Studies approach in teaching history so as to keep fact in touch with viable cultural values and attitudes.

Degler, Carl N. "The American Past: An Unsuspected Obstacle in Foreign Affairs," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXII (Spring 1963), 192-209.

Our history has not fitted us for the role that we now play in world affairs. Our sense of mission has been "arrogant and provincial."

Fishwick, Marshall W. "New Frontiers in American Studies," *Amer. Studies*, VI (Apr. 1963), 1-8.

Stresses the need for expanded interests on the part of historians.

_____. "Where Does 'American Studies' Begin?" *Social Ed.*, XXVII (Dec. 1963), 419-22.

"The history of America turns out to be 'one damn thing after another.'" The author suggests that an educational assault on course rigidity and abstraction might begin on the secondary level with the experimental American Studies Program co-sponsored by the Wemyss Foundation.

Gottschalk, Louis, ed. *Generalization in the Writing of History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

The Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council set the theme for the scholars represented in this volume. They discuss the dangers and rewards inherent in the use of generalization as a tool in the writing of history.

Hague, John A. "American Studies and the Problem of Synthesis," *Social Ed.*, XXVII (Dec. 1963), 423-26, 439.

We have the materials for synthesis if we take the "right" journeys. First, the student "must travel inward, exploring the dilemmas and anxieties which confront all men. . . . Secondly, he must travel outward, exploring the nature and structure of society and culture. . . . The third journey must involve a search for an understanding and acceptance of one's cultural inheritance."

Hoggart, Richard. "Schools of English and Contemporary Society," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Spring 1964), 237-55.

Admitting "the danger of too contemporary a slant in English Studies," the author suggests that English has to do "with language exploring human experience, in all its complexity and flux."

Kouwenhoven, John A. *American Studies: Words or Things?* Wilmington, Del.: The Wemyss Foundation, 1963.

Contents that a fatal imbalance results in our studies of America as a civilization from too great a reliance on verbal evidence alone. We need to consult also—in our museums and elsewhere—the tangible objects produced by large numbers of people who do not have the habit of "scribbling," preferably, of course, tangible objects in the cultural context from which they come.

Leslie, Charles. "Teaching Anthropology and the Humanities," *The Teaching of Anthropology*, Amer. Anthropol. Assoc. Memoir 94 (1963), 485-91.

Anthropologists, besides using the causal and functional modes of interpretation common to the social sciences, frequently describe cultures as logical or symbolic systems, or as aesthetic unities. "By organizing their descriptions around conceptions such as ethos, cultural plot, moral postulate, symbolic value and style of life, anthropologists look toward the modes of analysis of the humanistic disciplines."

Louch, A. R. "The Very Idea of a Social Science," *Inquiry*, VI (Winter 1963), 273-86.

The author defends the empirical nature of the Social Sciences against a position taken by Peter Winch who argued that sociology, for example, is really a branch of philosophy and doesn't need to bother with statistics and such data at all.

Powell, Thomas F. "Reason and Necessity in the Social Studies," *Social Ed.*, XXVII (Dec. 1963), 431-35.

"By definition, a student's own situation engages his interest as no theoretical model or historical survey could possibly engage it. It is his interest: and so is the role-and-problem American Studies approach to social studies."

Saveth, Edward N. "The American Patrician Class: A Field for Research," *Amer. Quar.*, XV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1963), 235-52.

Suggests limitations of various theories with respect to the patrician class: for instance, career line analysis, reference group and political behavior. The author concludes that there is more to history than its relationship to theory.

Schneider, Donald. "The Historical Method in the Teaching of History," *Peabody Jour. of Ed.*, XL (Jan. 1963), 199-209.

Too often the history in textbooks is taken for granted. The students are not exposed enough to original documents and the hard problems of historiography.

"Towards the Definition of 'Interdisciplinary,'" American Council of Learned Societies, *ACLS Newsletter*, XIV (April 1963), 9-11.

An editorial reprinted from the March issue of *Victorian Studies* reviewing a symposium on this subject. The main question for the specialists was whether interdisciplinary studies did not really commit one to a new kind of discipline.

Young, Philip. "American Fiction and American Life," *Jour. of General Ed.*, XV (July 1963), 109-23.

Can the study of American life be grasped through its literature? Mr. Young discusses this subject in some detail and comes to the conclusion that the novel is a refraction rather than a reflection of our society.

_____. "The Assumptions of Literature," *Coll. English*, XXIV (Feb. 1963), 352-57.

The necessity for employing other disciplines in order to get the most out of a literary work.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aebli, Hans *et al.* "Current Bibliography, 1961-1962," *EAAS: Newsletter of the European Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, VII (1961-62), 29-36.

A list of bibliographical aids, periodicals, newsletters and books published or reprinted in Europe, but which concern America. Categories include geography and travel, politics, economics, law and medicine, literature and culture.

"Books," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Aug. 1963), 6-9; (Dec. 1963), 8-11.

Includes reports on library collections of Americana in Australia, Germany, India and the United States. Reviews recent programs in publishing and book distribution for the export of American Studies.

Carter, Paul J. *et al.* *Literature and Society*, n. p.: General Topics VI, Modern Language Association, 1963. Mimeographed.

Selective annual listing of books and articles, many relevant to American Studies. International coverage.

"European Association for American Studies," *Amer. Studies News*, II (Aug. 1963), 6.

Directs attention to the first EAAS conference papers to be published, those in the March 1963 issue of the *Amer. Rev.*, published quarterly by the Bologna Center of Johns Hopkins University.

Gohdes, Clarence. *Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Literature of the U. S. A.*, Second edition, Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1963.

The American Studies approach is balanced by sections on comparative literature and belles lettres. A new section on biographical studies of 100 American authors has been added.

Koster, Donald N. *et al.* "Articles in American Studies, 1962," *Amer. Quar.*, XV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1963), 289-347.

The ninth issue of an annotated interdisciplinary bibliography of current articles in American Studies. Coverage is international, though selective.

McGiffert, Michael. "Selected Writings on American National Character," *Amer. Quar.*, XV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1963), 271-88.

Writings of social scientists and historians on culture and personality, national character and American character since 1940.

Redden, Carolyn. "The American Negro: An Annotated List of Educational Films and Filmstrips," *The Jour. of Negro Ed.*, XXXIII (Winter 1964), 29.

A recently compiled bibliography of films and filmstrips on the American Negro, covering such areas as education, health, housing, leaders and leadership, and socio-economic conditions.

Sanford, Charles L. *et al.* "Writings on the Theory and Teaching of American Studies," *Amer. Quar.*, XV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1963), 348-54.

Annual annotated bibliography, with international coverage. Lists books and articles on the philosophy of American Studies, courses and programs, subjects and methods of teaching, and bibliographical aids for the study of American civilization.

Schiffman, Joseph *et al.* "American Literature, I. General," *PMLA*, LXXVII (May 1963), 175-77.

Annual bibliography, with international coverage. Section I, General, listing books as well as periodical literature of interdisciplinary interest, is most useful to American Studies scholars.

Wrenn, John H. & Robert E. Lee. "American Studies Dissertations in Progress," *Amer. Quar.*, XV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1963), 355-63.

Annual checklist of dissertations in progress in over twenty American colleges and universities. Divided into doctoral and masters topics.



AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES: A QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

IN 1963, CHARLES BOEWE, THEN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN Studies Association, conducted a quantitative survey of American Studies programs in American universities. He published the survey in the July 1963 *American Studies*, along with a membership roster and a list of programs of financial aid for American Studies graduate students. At that time he wrote the following comments concerning the survey:

"Respondents to a questionnaire were asked to indicate this information: Whether or not the institution has an American Studies program, the name of the person in charge of American Studies, the number of undergraduate courses offered in American Studies, the number of graduate courses offered in American Studies, degrees offered, and whether or not American Studies courses are available in summer. For purposes of the survey, American Studies courses were defined as those *devoted to the subject matter of America's past or present in which an effort is made to integrate the methods and knowledge of more than one academic discipline.*

"In every instance the data given below was supplied by a spokesman for the institution (not always the person named). Many programs operate under the direction of co-chairmen or committees; only the name of the first person listed has been printed here. Because American Studies programs are experimental and flexible, institutions differ in what they see fit to list; some have listed many courses, others, though asserting that they have American Studies programs, have listed no courses at all. Since it has been impossible to evaluate the offerings, users of the list should seek further information from institutions which interest them.

"The code following most entries is interpreted as follows:

- U = undergraduate courses in American Studies
- G = graduate courses in American Studies
- B = bachelor's degree offered
- M = master's degree offered
- D = doctor's degree offered
- S = American Studies courses available in summer

Therefore, 2U 3G B M D S means that the institution offers two courses at the undergraduate level, three at the graduate level, grants bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees, and has summer courses."

With the exception of a dozen or so additions, the present survey is simply a repetition of what Mr. Boewe published last year.

The information contained in this survey is rough—it is clear that various respondents had various ideas about what constituted an American Studies course or program. Still, until the American Studies Association can complete a more elaborate survey—which involves up-dating and elaborating the material in Robert H. Walker's *American Studies in the United States* (1958)—this is the best and most reliable current listing. Additions to it and comments about it are invited, and should be sent to the undersigned.

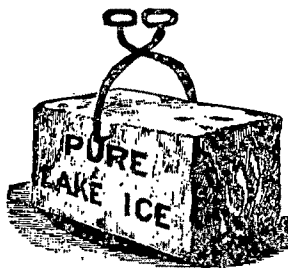
ROBERT F. LUCID, *Executive Secretary*
American Studies Association

- | | |
|--|---|
| ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE Abilene, Tex. Edward L. Kirk 6G M S | CARLETON COLLEGE Northfield, Minn. Dale Haworth 2U |
| ADELPHI COLLEGE Garden City, N. Y. Donald N. Koster 6U | CHICO STATE COLLEGE Chico, Calif. Robert L. Souders 30 U B |
| AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Washington, D. C. Whittle Johnston 2U 1G B M | CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK New York City Henry Wasser |
| AMHERST COLLEGE Amherst, Mass. Edwin C. Rozwenc 31U B | CLARK UNIVERSITY Worcester, Mass. Gerald N. Grob U |
| ANDERSON COLLEGE Anderson, Ind. T. L. Robertson 1U | COLBY COLLEGE Waterville, Maine David Gordon Bridgman 10U B |
| ARIZONA STATE COLLEGE Flagstaff, Ariz. Robert L. Arends 6U B | COLGATE UNIVERSITY Hamilton, N. Y. Arnold Sio U |
| ARKANSAS POLYTECHNIC COLLEGE Russellville, Ark. Benjamin P. Murdzek 1U S | COLLEGE OF SOUTHERN UTAH Cedar City, Utah Richard E. Gillies 1U |
| AUGUSTANA COLLEGE Rock Island, Ill. O. Fritiof Ander U B S | CORNELL UNIVERSITY Ithaca, N. Y. Robert H. Elias 1U B |
| BARNARD COLLEGE New York City Basil Rauch 3+U B | C. W. POST COLLEGE Greenvale, N. Y. Eugene Arden 3U 1G B S |
| BAYLOR UNIVERSITY Waco, Tex. E. Hudson Long 24U 17G B M S | DEPAUW UNIVERSITY Greencastle, Ind. Frederick L. Bergmann 3G S |
| BEMIDJI STATE COLLEGE Bemidji, Minn. Donald Anderson 4U | DOUGLASS COLLEGE New Brunswick, N. J. Emery Battis U |
| BENNETT COLLEGE Greensboro, N. C. George Breathett 12U B | EASTERN NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY Portales, N. Mex. B. June West 30U B S |
| BENNINGTON COLLEGE Bennington, Vt. Anne V. Schlabach U | EAST-WEST CENTER Honolulu, Hawaii Seymour Lutzky 6(+4 non-cred)G certif S |
| BOSTON COLLEGE Chestnut Hill, Mass. Joseph A. Devenny, S.J. 36G M S | EMORY UNIVERSITY Atlanta, Ga. James M. Smith 5-6G D |
| BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY Bowling Green, Ohio Alma J. Payne U G B M S | FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY Tallahassee, Fla. William Randel 2U 2G B M S |
| BROOKLYN COLLEGE Brooklyn, N. Y. John Hope Franklin 1U | GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY Washington, D. C. Joseph Durkin 8U 12G B M D S |
| BROWN UNIVERSITY Providence, R. I. Hyatt H. Waggoner 2U 2G M D | GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY Washington, D. C. Robert H. Walker 2U 1G B M D |
| CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY Pasadena, Calif. Rodman W. Paul 3U 1G | GOUCHER COLLEGE Baltimore, Md. William L. Neumann 29U B S |

- GRINNELL COLLEGE Grinnell, Ia.
Charles G. Cleaver 4U B
- GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE
Saint Peter, Minn. Gerhard T. Alexis
1(yr)U
- HARDING COLLEGE Searcy, Ark.
U B 2G in S
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY Cambridge, Mass.
Frank Freidel G D
- HAVERFORD COLLEGE Haverford, Pa.
John Ashmead 1U
- HEIDELBERG COLLEGE Tiffin, Ohio
Kenneth E. Davison 2U
- HILLSDALE COLLEGE Hillsdale, Mich.
W. H. Roberts 20U B S
- HIRAM COLLEGE Hiram, Ohio
Abe C. Ravitz 3U S
- HOBART AND WILLIAM SMITH COLLEGES
Geneva, N. Y. John Lydenberg U
- HOLLINS COLLEGE Hollins College, Va.
G. Cary White U
- INDIANA UNIVERSITY Bloomington, Ind.
David E. Smith G D
- KENT STATE UNIVERSITY Kent, Ohio
Edgar L. McCormick 1U B
- LAFAYETTE COLLEGE Easton, Pa.
James R. Vitelli U
- LEHIGH UNIVERSITY
John H. Cary 1U
- LORETTO HEIGHTS COLLEGE Loretto, Colo.
Sister Esther Marie 5U S(ed)
- LOS ANGELES STATE COLLEGE
Los Angeles, Calif. Anthony Hillbruner
4+U 1+G B M S
- MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE
SACRED HEART Purchase, N. Y.
Mother Elizabeth McCormack 25U
- MANKATO STATE COLLEGE Mankato, Minn.
Roy W. Meyer 1U B S
- MARIETTA COLLEGE Marietta, Ohio
Robert J. Taylor 1U
- MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY Milwaukee, Wis.
Raymond T. Bedwell, Jr. 12U B S
- MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE Staunton, Va.
12U B
- MARY WASHINGTON COLLEGE
Fredericksburg, Va.
Robert Leroy Hilldrup 15U S
- MEREDITH COLLEGE Raleigh, N. C.
Sarah Lemmon 2U
- MIAMI UNIVERSITY Oxford, Ohio
Harris G. Warren 1U S
- MILLS COLLEGE Oakland, Calif.
Anne L. Sherrill 12U B
- MONMOUTH COLLEGE Monmouth, Ill.
Robert Aduddell S
- MOORHEAD STATE COLLEGE
Moorhead, Minn. Byron D. Murray
3U 3G B M S
- MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
South Hadley, Mass. Mary S. Benson
U S
- NEWCOMB COLLEGE OF TULANE UNIVERSITY
New Orleans, La. Warren Roberts, Jr.
41U B S
- NEWTON JUNIOR COLLEGE
Newtonville, Mass. Robert J. Hybels U
- NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
Washington Square, N. Y. C.
Henry Parkes G M D
- OHIO UNIVERSITY Athens, Ohio
Roy P. Fairfield 1U B
- OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
Delaware, Ohio Alfred R. Ferguson
1U B
- PACE COLLEGE New York City
J. E. Flaherty 1U
- PRINCETON UNIVERSITY Princeton, N. J.
John William Ward 2U
- PURDUE UNIVERSITY Lafayette, Ind.
C. E. Eisinger U 2G B M
- QUEENS COLLEGE New York City
Helene Brewer 4U B S
- REED COLLEGE Portland, Ore.
David B. Tyack 2U
- RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
Troy, N. Y. Charles L. Sanford 3U
- ROCKFORD COLLEGE Rockford, Ill.
Stanley Parsons 2U B S
- ROSARY COLLEGE River Forest, Ill.
Sister Mary Brian U B S
- RUTGERS UNIVERSITY New Brunswick, N. J.
Walter E. Bezanson 3U B
- SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE
Sacramento, Calif. Roland Dickison
4U S
- ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY San Antonio, Tex.
Kenneth Carey 3U
- SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE
Northridge, Calif. 2U S
- SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
San Francisco, Calif. James H. Stone
6U 1G B S
- SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE
Bronxville, N. Y. Robert Engler 9U
- SIMPSON COLLEGE Indianola, Ia.
Donald A. Koch 5G S
- SKIDMORE COLLEGE Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Donald Baker 6U B

- SMITH COLLEGE Northampton, Mass.
Daniel Aaron 4U 2G
- SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
Dallas, Texas Paul F. Boller, Jr. 11U
- STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
Brockport, N. Y. W. W. Dedman 1U B
- STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
Buffalo, N. Y. Eric Brunger 10U S
- STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
New Paltz, N. Y. Eugene P. Link
8U 4+G B M S
- STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA Iowa City, Ia.
Alexander Kern 8U G M D
- STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
Buffalo, N. Y. Lyle Glazier
12(yr)U 3(yr)G B M S
- STETSON UNIVERSITY DeLand, Fla.
John A. Hague 4U 5(yr)G M S
- SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY Syracuse, N. Y.
Stuart Gerry Brown 2U 1-5G D
- TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE
Lubbock, Tex. David Vigness
19U 19G B M S
- TRINITY COLLEGE Washington, D. C.
Sister Mary Stephen 2U S
- TUFTS UNIVERSITY Medford, Mass.
Wisner Payne Kinne 2U B
- UNION COLLEGE Schenectady, N. Y.
Patrick E. Kilburn 6U
- UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA University, Ala.
Clarence Mondale 4U B
- UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Berkeley, Calif. Adrienne Koch 1U
- UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Davis, Calif. Robert A. Wiggins 20U
- UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA
Chattanooga, Tenn.
James W. Livingood 5U S
- UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO Chicago, Ill.
Robert E. Streeter G M D S
- UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
Cincinnati, Ohio Louis R. Harlan
6U B S
- UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
Newark, Del. Charles H. Bohner
3U 9G B M S
- UNIVERSITY OF DENVER Denver, Colo.
Allen D. Breck G D S
- UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA Athens, Ga.
J. H. Parks 6-8G M D S
- UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS Lawrence, Kan.
Edward F. Grier 2U B
- UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY
Kansas City, Mo. George Ehrlich
U B S
- UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
Louisville, Ky. 1U 1G
- UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
College Park, Md. Otho T. Beall
1U 1G B M D S
- UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
Amherst, Mass. William O'Donnell S
- UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI Coral Gables, Fla.
C. W. Tebeau U B S(ed)
- UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
Ann Arbor, Mich. Joe Lee Davis
3U 2G B M D S
- UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
Minneapolis, Minn. Bernard Bowron
9U 13G M D S
- UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque, N. Mex.
George Arms 2U 2G B D
- UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME
Notre Dame, Ind. Aaron I. Abell
U 20G M S
- UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia, Pa. Anthony N. B. Garvan
6U 8G B M D S
- UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles, Calif.
Charles R. Metzger 3U 8G M S
- UNIVERSITY OF TAMPA Tampa, Fla.
J. Ryan Beiser 1U B
- UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
Knoxville, Tenn. LeRoy P. Graf U B S
- UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS Austin, Tex.
B. F. Wright 2U B
- UNIVERSITY OF TULSA Tulsa, Okla.
Manly Johnson 2U B
- UNIVERSITY OF UTAH Salt Lake City, Utah
Don D. Walker 1G S
- UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
Seattle, Wash. Thomas J. Pressly
- UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Madison, Wis. Merle Curti 10G D S
- UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING Laramie, Wyo.
T. A. Larson 1U 1G B M S
- UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY Logan, Utah
Hubert W. Smith 12U 10G B M S
- WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Pullman, Wash. Raymond Muse
(History), Nelson A. Ault (English), G D
- WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY Detroit, Mich.
Edward Lurie 2U
- WELLS COLLEGE Aurora, N. Y.
Miriam R. Small 2U B
- WESLEYAN COLLEGE Macon, Ga.
Leah A. Strong 2U

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY Middletown, Conn. | WILLIAMS COLLEGE Williamstown, Mass. |
| Jurgen Herbst 2G M | Luther S. Mansfield 5-6(yr)U B |
| WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY | WILSON COLLEGE Chambersburg, Pa. |
| Cleveland, Ohio Lyon N. Richardson | Allan B. Judson 23U |
| G M D S | WITTENBERG UNIVERSITY Springfield, Ohio |
| WEST VIRGINIA WESLEYAN COLLEGE | William Coyle 5U B S |
| Buckhannon, W. Va. | YALE UNIVERSITY New Haven, Conn. |
| Robert C. Bowles 2U S | Norman Holmes Pearson |
| WHITTIER COLLEGE Whittier, Calif. | 20U 4+G D S(ed) |
| Roberta J. Forsberg 1U S | YOUNGSTOWN UNIVERSITY |
| | Youngstown, Ohio Ward L. Miner 1U |



FINANCIAL AID TO GRADUATE STUDENTS, 1965-66

THE FOLLOWING IS THE FIFTH CONSECUTIVE ANNUAL REPORT TO BE PUBLISHED by the American Studies Association on financial aid currently available to graduate students of American civilization. Information on awards available (*i.e.*, type, attendant obligations, number, designation of source, amount, renewability, taxability) and application procedure (*i.e.*, addressee, use of standard forms, nature of supporting materials required, special qualifications of applicants, deadlines, etc.) was solicited concerning graduate programs in 38 institutions, of which 33 have replied, including 26 with relevant data. Programs previously cited are again listed, with the addition of several more.

As true of previous annual reports, this is not an exhaustive listing of all available financial aid. Loan funds have not been listed for each school because of their general availability; information on loans can best be had by writing directly to the graduate school in question. Variations in the detail of replies and the probability that some programs were overlooked make this compilation imperfect. Interested professors and students are therefore counseled to consult other sources of information on private and public financial aid to students such as Robert Quick (ed.), *Fellowships in the Arts and Sciences, 1963-64*, revised annually (American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.); Richard E. Mattingly, *Financial Aid for College Students: Graduate* (United States Government Printing Office, 1957); and Donald R. Tuttle, *Directory of Assistantships and Fellowships for Graduate Study in English and the Teaching of English*, published annually (National Council of Teachers of English, 508 South Sixth Street, Champaign, Illinois). See also in the *Monthly Catalogue of United States Government Publications* items cited under Education Office, Health, Education, and Welfare Department, or write to the Division of Higher Education, Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C., for the latest bulletins on financial assistance to students in higher education. Many are detailed in *National Defense Graduate Fellowships, Graduate Programs, 1963-64* and similar publications available from the Office of Education.

Attention is also called to awards offered by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., and the Committee on Fellowships Program, American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington 7, D. C.

The Fulbright-Hays Act (Public Law 87-256, 87th Congress, H. R. 8666, September 21, 1961) is more generous in its provisions than its predecessor, and American Studies is the only field specifically named in the act. Copies of the law may be obtained from United States Representatives and Senators.

I wish to thank all respondents for their prompt and courteous replies and to urge the directors of programs not listed below to communicate with the American Studies Association national office so that their offerings may be included in the next report.

KENNETH E. DAVISON, *Heidelberg College*
For the Ohio-Indiana ASA

ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, Tex.: During the summer session of 1964, 100 fellowships were available to public school teachers for six weeks of study in various fields of American Studies. These fellowships are worth approximately \$250 each and include the full course of tuition, board, room, and fees.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, Waco, Tex.: 1 Scholarship (Dixon Wecter American Civilization Scholarship), \$1000 plus tuition, non-renewable, non-taxable, awarded every other year (1964-65), application to Chairman, Dixon Wecter Scholarship Committee, no standard forms required; letter, references, transcripts to Graduate School; Apr. 15.

BOSTON COLLEGE, Chestnut Hill 67, Mass.: Teaching Fellowships (English, History) up to \$2600 with remission of tuition; Graduate Assistantships (English, History, Political Science) up to \$2000 and there may be remission of tuition either in whole or in part; both renewable and taxable; forms to Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Mar. 15; academic worth.

BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY, Ohio: The Master of Arts in American Studies will be offered beginning in September, 1963. Possibilities of financial assistance are still being explored and no final description of aid can be given at this time. However, for the student with a strong background in either English or History there are graduate assistantships available in these departments, paying a fixed sum for classes taught or assistance given, and remitting tuition and out-of-state fees. For further information write to Dr. Alma J. Payne, Chairman, American Studies Program, Bowling Green State University.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, R. I.: 5-10 fellowships, \$2100 plus tuition; 5-10 University scholarships, up to \$1000 plus tuition; all renewable, non-taxable, university-wide competition; 2 Teaching Associates, \$2300 plus tuition, taxable, awarded only after one or two years in residence;

forms from Graduate School; new applicants and first-year students require letters of recommendation, transcripts, etc.; graduate record examinations normally required; early in February; scholastic ability.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, Atlanta, Ga.: The American Studies program at Emory University, offering curricula leading to the A.M. and the Ph.D., is within the Institute of the Liberal Arts, an interdisciplinary graduate program. Non-service fellowships are available to A.M. and Ph.D. applicants, with stipends of \$1800 plus tuition in the amount of \$1250. At the A.M. level there are a variable number of fellowships, offered in university-wide competition. At the doctoral level the Institute controls four such awards. Several teaching assistantships, with stipends of \$1900 plus individual tuition, are available in participating departments. Bulletins and application forms may be obtained by writing to the Director of the Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts, Emory University. All applicants for admission must submit satisfactory scores on the Verbal, Quantitative, and Advanced Area test of the GRE. Applications for fellowships and assistantships must be received by Feb. 15.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C.: 7 University Fellowships, \$1350 plus tuition; 4 graduate teaching assistantships, \$1215 plus 20 hours tuition; fellowships renewable, both taxable; letter, forms and three references to Department of English, Mar. 1.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass.: Variable number of scholarships or fellowships. Fellowships in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences range between \$1000 and \$3500. The number of teaching fellowships "depends on the needs of the academic departments" and the stipends are arranged in accordance with the number of teaching hours involved. No dollar limitation but work is restricted to ten hours per week. Assistantships in the department are also available. All grants are renewable and holders whose academic performance is satisfactory can generally count on support until the completion of work for the doctorate. Grants which involve teaching services are presumably taxable. Scholarships and graduate fellowships are available to first-year students, but teaching fellowships and assistantships are available only after the first year. No set procedure but application form; form, letters to Graduate School of Arts and Sciences; deadline usually Feb. 1; academic merit.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL, New York City: Variable number of University Scholarships (average 1-2 years), up to \$4200, out of which tuition must be paid (includes the Louis Lerner Memorial Scholarship for full tuition, \$1050, restricted to graduate students of American civilization or American literature); renewable and non-taxable; forms,

transcript and letters of recommendation to Graduate School for fellowships; letter to English Department for assistantship; both Feb. 1.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, Iowa City: Variable number of fellowships, \$1500-2500 and up; no fixed number of scholarships, full remission of tuition and fees, \$165 per semester; both renewable and non-taxable; no fixed number of assistantships, "individually determined," \$1650 and up, renewable and taxable; all fellowships, scholarships and assistantships by forms and supplementary materials to Chairman, American Civilization Program, Mar. 3.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, Buffalo, N. Y.: Variable number of scholarships, part or full tuition; renewable; application to Graduate School by Feb. 1.

STETSON UNIVERSITY, De Land, Fla.: 18 scholarships available, summer session only, tuition-room-board, renewable, "non-taxable if working for advanced degree"; forms from Director of American Studies; forms and college transcript to Director, The Charles E. Merrill Program of American Studies; Mar. 15. "The Awards are intended primarily for secondary teachers in the State of Florida, although some non-residents and M.A. candidates may apply."

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, N. Y.: ". . . the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs offers no fellowships or scholarships specifically assigned to American Studies. However, three fellowships (\$2000 plus tuition) and a number of assistantships (\$1800 plus tuition) are available each year for candidates for the degree of Doctor of Social Science, an inter-disciplinary degree preparatory to college teaching. Within this program many students elect a concentration in American Studies." None of these awards are taxable and all are renewable.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE, Newark: 5 Winterthur Fellowships, \$2500, non-taxable, for study in program jointly offered by the University and Winterthur Museum. Apply to Coordinator, Winterthur Program, University. Two or three Hagley Fellowships, \$2000, non-taxable, for study in program jointly offered by the University and Eleutherian Mills Library-Hagley Museum. Apply to Chairman, Department of History. One or more university fellowships, \$2000 and upwards, and an unspecified number of teaching assistantships in English and History departments. Apply to Chairman, American Studies Program.

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, Colo.: Five \$2000 fellowships for nine months plus 10 hours of tuition each quarter. Teaching one 5-hour course each quarter is required. Applications are due Mar. 15; notification will be made after Apr. 1. Writing samples (research paper or copy of a thesis)

should be submitted along with an application. A few scholarships with non-teaching duties are also available.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, College Park: 1 Fellowship in American Civilization, \$800; unspecified assistantships in English and History, \$2200; both renewable and taxable; letter and supplementary materials to the Department (forms for assistantship) in both cases; Mar.; "Strong background in English, History" for assistantships.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor: 2-3 University Fellowships, \$1850 plus fees, renewable; 1 first-year Graduate Fellowship, \$2250 plus fees; 1 Predoctoral Fellowship, \$2400 plus fees; both not renewable; all non-taxable; unspecified Teaching Fellowships (English), \$770 per section taught each semester, possible \$2310 after first year; unspecified Non-Teaching Assistantships (English), \$250 per semester; both renewable and taxable; forms, references and supplementary material to Graduate School for fellowships and scholarships, Feb. 1; "high academic record with more A's than B's. Knowledge of at least one foreign language; letters and forms to Department of English for assistantships"; Apr. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Minneapolis: Variable number of Greater University Fellowships and Graduate School Doctoral Fellowships, \$2000, renewable and non-taxable, "awarded on the basis of scholarship, general merit, and promise to advanced doctoral students already enrolled at the University"; 5 quarter-time assistantships in American Studies; \$1100 renewable and taxable, and resident tuition charges (savings of \$417); unspecified number of assistantships, quarter to two-thirds time, in other departments and offices of the university, dollar amount varies, M.A. or B.A. in one of the participating humanities or social science departments; residence hall counselorships, room, board and \$270; transcripts, letters of recommendation, student papers, application forms to Chairman, Program in American Studies; Feb. 15.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, Albuquerque: An unspecified number of fellowships, \$1900, which are renewable and non-taxable; an unspecified number of Teaching Assistantships in English (\$2300) and Graduate Assistantships in "other departments" (\$2000), all renewable and taxable; applications for all awards through Graduate School; letters, forms, references and transcripts required; Feb. 15. " 'Resident tuition' deductible from both awards."

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia: 15-20 Harrison Fellowships (men), \$1500 plus tuition, renewable for one year and non-taxable; 20-30 University Fellowships, up to \$2000 plus tuition; 2 Moore Fellowships for women, \$500 plus tuition; 2 Bennett Fellowships for women,

\$400 plus tuition; all renewable and non-taxable; 15 Harrison Scholarships (men), \$400 plus tuition, non-renewable and non-taxable; 50 University Scholarships and 10 Ashton Scholarships, tuition, renewable and non-taxable; unspecified number of assistantships in various departments, \$750 to \$2000 plus tuition, renewable and taxable; research positions, one-half time at \$2000 and one teaching assistantship at \$150 and tuition awarded to a second-year student; forms, three references and student papers to Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, for fellowships and scholarships; Feb. 1; letter to Department concerned for assistantships; Mar. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles: Graduate Fellowships: Through these awards, 20 graduate students receive full tuition for the academic year. Application should be made to the Graduate School not later than Feb. 15. Clune Memorial Trust Fellowships: Full-time foreign students who intend to return to their home countries after completing their work at the University may apply for these fellowships, which cover tuition and partial subsistence. Application should be made to the Graduate School not later than Feb. 15. Oakley Fellowships: The Wesley and Isabel Oakley Educational Fund provides fellowships of \$2000 plus tuition for graduate students who do not possess a master's degree and who are working toward an advanced degree under the jurisdiction of the Graduate School. The fellowship stipend is \$3000 for a student who possesses a master's degree and who is working for a Ph.D. degree. This fellowship is open to students who are entering the University of Southern California for the first time. Application should be filed with the office of the Graduate School not later than Feb. 15. Graduate Resident Assistantships for Women: For counseling service with undergraduate women, a number of graduate students receive board and room, one-half tuition, and a moderate cash remuneration (total cash value approximately \$1750). Apply to the Coordinator of Housing, University of Southern California.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, Madison: 58 University Fellowships, \$2250 plus all fees; 50 Knapp, Vilas and Graduate Special Fellowships, \$2250 plus all fees; 50 University Scholarships, \$600 plus remission of out-of-state fees; all non-taxable. Numerous Non-Resident Scholarships (provide remission of out-of-state fees, currently \$700 per year), renewable and non-taxable; numerous teaching assistantships, \$2790 (one-half time); all renewable and taxable. Project Assistantships, \$2760 annual basis (one-half time), renewable and taxable. Research Assistantships, \$2560 annual basis (one-half time), renewable. Special note: "all fees" includes out-of-state tuition of \$700 annually as well as regular tuition for Wiscon-

sin residents and incidental fees, currently \$300 annually. All application procedures the same: transcripts, forms and letters to both the Graduate School and the major department, letters of recommendation to the major department (apply to the Graduate School for admission, and to the department for everything else); Feb. 15; competition necessitates high grade-point average (3.5-4.0).

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING, Laramie: 8 Coe Fellowships, \$2000 plus partial remission of fees; 30 Coe Scholarships, 5-week summer term, for secondary school teachers, \$225 plus travel allowances; both non-renewable and non-taxable; forms, supporting letter to Director, School of American Studies; Mar. 1; no work offered beyond the M.A.

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY, Logan: 9-12 University Research Fellowships in field of the Applicant's choice; student works on the research of his choice; stipend \$2000 for the academic year, with waiver of out-of-state tuition. Apply to Dean, School of Graduate Studies, before Feb. 1. 12-20 Teaching Assistantships; stipend of \$1000 for teaching one 3-hour course in Freshman English through the academic year while working toward the Master's Degree. Waiver of out-of-state tuition. Apply to Head, Department of English before Feb. 1. 3 Graduate Assistantships in History and Political Science; stipend of \$1000 for paper-grading and related services through the academic year while working toward the Master's Degree; waiver of out-of-state tuition. Apply to Head, Dept. of History and Political Science before Feb. 1.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, Cleveland 6, Ohio: Variable number of Tuition Scholarships ("generally two or three") full tuition; letter, forms, references and supplementary material to Director of Admission; Mar. 1.

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Conn.: Several Coe Fellowships in American Studies, up to \$3400 renewable and non-taxable; University fellowships on the basis of university-wide competition, also up to \$3400; all applications including letters, forms, recommendations and transcript to the Graduate School and the American Studies Program; Feb. 1; doctoral degree must be received within six years of beginning of graduate study at Yale or elsewhere: "our policy, in line with University policy generally, is to provide sufficient support for any student to stay until he has completed his dissertation and received the degree, assuming that he is meeting the academic standards for continuing as a graduate student."

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

[* Asterisk indicates sustaining member.]

- ABCARIAN, RICHARD. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- ABEDIN, SYED ZAINUL. Visiting Scholar, *American Lit.*, Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.
- ABEL, DARRELL. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- ABELL, AARON I. *History*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- ABRAR, SAYEDUL. 6779 Pir Makad Building, Dabgari, Peshawar, Pakistan.
- ADAMS, DAVID K. *American Studies*. Univ. of Keele, Keele-Staffordshire, England.
- ADAMS, DICK E. *English*. Ball STC, Muncie, Ind.
- ADAMS, FRANCIS R. JR. *English*. East Carolina Coll., Greenville, N. C.
- ADAMS, JOHN R. *English*. San Diego SC, San Diego, Cal.
- ADAMS, MARY P. *History & Government*. 507 Mulberry Rd., Martinsville, Va.
- ADAMS, RAYMOND W. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- ADAMS, RICHARD P. *English*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- ADERMAN, RALPH M. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- ACEE, WARREN K. *Journalism*. 3800 Wesley St., Fort Worth, Tex.
- AHEARN, MISS M. L., 243 Claflin St., Belmont, Mass.
- AHLERS, CHARLES F. *English*. Adelphi Coll., Garden City, N. Y.
- AHNEBRINK, LARS. *American Literature*. Uppsala Univ., Uppsala, Sweden.
- AJWANI, L. H. Principal, D. & H. Nat'l Coll., College Rd., Bombay, India.
- AKANDA, SAFAR ALI. 2168 So. Milwaukee St., Denver, Colorado.
- AKIE, SHOKO. *History*. 6 Ash St., Cambridge 38, Mass.
- ALBRECHT, ROBERT. 1401 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill.
- ALBRIGHT, PRESTON B. *History*. Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio.
- ALEXIS, GERHARD T. *Humanities*. Gustavus Adolphus Coll., St. Peter, Minn.
- ALLEN, GAY WILSON. *English*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- ALLEN, JACK. *History*. George Peabody Coll., Nashville, Tenn.
- ALLEN, JOHN H. *Sociology*. Univ. of Southern Miss., Hattiesburg.
- ALLEN, MICHAEL L. Visiting Fellow, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- ALY, BOWER. *Speech*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- AMACHER, RICHARD E. *English*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- AMDAHL, O.K. 4208 15th Ave., W., Bradenton, Fla.
- ANDER, O. FRITIOF. *History*. Augustana Coll., Rock Island, Ill.
- ANDERSON, CARL L. Duke Univ., Durham, N. C.
- ANDERSON, JOHN Q. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- ANGELL, MRS. RUTH S. *English*. Tex. Christian Univ., Fort Worth.
- APPEL, JOHN J. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- APTHIEKER, HERBERT. *History*. 32 Ludlam Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- AQUINO, FEDERICO. 3718 - S St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- ARMS, GEORGE. *English*. Univ. of N. M., Albuquerque.
- ARTAUD, DENISE. *History*. 2, Square Adanson, Paris 5e, France.
- ARUGA, TADASHI. International Christian Univ., Tokyo, Japan.
- ASHMEAD, JOHN JR. *English*. Haverford Coll., Haverford, Pa.
- ASPIZ, HAROLD. *English*. Long Beach SC, Long Beach, Cal.
- AUSER, LT. COL. CORTLAND P. *English*. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colo.
- AUSTIN, JAMES C. *English*. 111 Ridgemont Rd., Collinsville, Ill.
- BABBIDGE, HOMER JR. President, Univ. of Conn., Storrs.
- BACHRACH, SAMUEL, M.D. 44 West St., Worcester, Mass.

- BADGER, FRANK. *American Civilization*. 1819 Huber Rd., Charleston, W. Va.
- BAETZOLD, HOWARD. *English*. Butler Univ., Indianapolis, Ind.
- BAGLEY, MRS. CAROL L. *English*. Washington St. Univ., Pullman.
- BAILEY, DALE S. Cultural Affairs Officer, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- BAIRD, JAMES R. *English*. Conn. Coll., New London.
- BAIRD, REED. 2261 Parkwood, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- BAKER, DONALD G. *American Studies*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- BAKER, MRS. JOHN M. 72 E. Winspear Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
- BAKER, PAUL R. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Riverside.
- BALLARD, LOU E. Southeastern La. Coll., Hammond.
- BARKER, CHARLES. *History*. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- BARKER, VIRGIL. *History of Art*. Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- BARR, ROBERT. Swarthmore Coll., Swarthmore, Pa.
- BARSNESS, JOHN A. 308 S. Bozeman, Bozeman, Mont.
- BARTH, GUNTHER. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- BARTON, HENRY W. *English*. Midwestern Univ., Wichita Falls, Tex.
- BASHORE, J. R. JR. *English*. Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, Ohio.
- BASLER, ROY P. Dir., Reference Dept., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- BASSAN, MAURICE. *English*. San Francisco SC., San Francisco, Cal.
- BAUM, S. V. *English*. 338 W. 88th St., NYC.
- BAXTER, ANNETTE KAR. *American Studies*. Barnard Coll., NYC.
- BEACH, FRANK L. *History*. Louisiana St. Univ., New Orleans.
- BEALL, OTHO T. *English*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- BEARD, EARL S. 2748 N. Tenth St., Sheboygan, Wis.
- BEARD, JAMES F. JR. *English*. Clark Univ., Worcester, Mass.
- BEDFORD, RICHARD C. *English*. 16234 Robson St., Detroit, Mich.
- BELLMAN, SAMUEL I. *Language Arts*. Cal. State Polytechnic Coll., Pomona.
- BENSON, CARL. *English*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- BENSON, MARY S. *History*. Mt. Holyoke Coll., South Hadley, Mass.
- BENSUSAN, EDITH. c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D.S. Bailey, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- BERG, WALTER L. *History*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- BERGHORN, FORREST J. *Social Science*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- BERINGAUSE, ARTHUR F. 20 Linn Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.
- BERKHOFER, ROBERT. *History*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- BERKOVE, LAWRENCE. The Colorado Coll., Colorado Springs.
- BERNSTEIN, BARBARA P. 719 Terrace, Pullman, Wash.
- BERNSTEIN, LEONARD H. 179 Main St., Hudson Falls, N. Y.
- BERNSTEIN, MELVIN. *English*. Alfred Univ., Alfred, N. Y.
- BERUBE, MAURICE. *American Civilization*. 45-74 158th St., Flushing, N. Y.
- BESOM, DONALD G. USIS Buenos Aires, c/o Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.
- BESSELINK, HERMAN. *History*. Laurentian Univ., Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.
- BESTOR, ARTHUR E. JR. *History*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- BETTS, JOHN R. *History*. Boston Coll., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
- BEZANSON, WALTER. *American Civilization*. Rutgers SU, New Brunswick, N. J.
- BEZANSON, WARREN B. Publications Supervisor, United Aircraft Corp., Farmington, Conn.
- BIER, JESSE. *English*. Mont. SU, Missoula.
- BIEVER, REV. BRUCE, S.J. St. Mary's Coll., St. Mary's, Kans.
- BIGGS, MILLARD. 4911 Campanile Dr., San Diego, Cal.
- *BILLINGTON, RAY A. The Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.
- BINGHAM, EDWIN. *History*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- BIRD, PAULINE. *English*. Lamar SC, Beaumont, Tex.
- BIRDSALL, RICHARD D. Conn. Coll., New London.
- BIRNBAUM, LUCILLE C. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- BIRR, KENDALL A. *Social Studies*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- BJORK, ROBERT M. *Economics*. George Peabody Coll., Nashville, Tenn.

- BLACK, HENRY CLAY. 430 Oliver St., Fairfax, Va.
- BLACK, SHEPPARD. 61½ Elmwood Pl., Athens, Ohio.
- *BLACKBURN, CHARLES E. *English*. Washington SU, Pullman.
- BLAIR, WALTER. *English*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- BLAKE, NELSON M. *History*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- BLASSINGAME, LURTON W. 303 W. 66th St., NYC.
- BLAU, JOSEPH. *Philosophy*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- BLENSTEIN, BURTON J. Canal Rd., Princeton, N. J.
- BLODGETT, GEOFFREY T. *History*. Oberlin Coll., Oberlin, Ohio.
- BLODGETT, HAROLD. *English*. Union Coll., Schenectady, N. Y.
- BLONDEL, JEAN F. P. Lecturer. *Political Science*. Univ. of Keele, Keele, England.
- BLOXOM, MARGUERITE. 5429 56th Ave., E. Riverdale, Md.
- BLUMIN, STUART. 3641 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- BOATRIGT, MODY C. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- BOCK, ELIZABETH. 3917-A California, San Francisco, Cal.
- BODDY, MARGARET P. *English*. Winona SC, Winona, Minn.
- BODE, CARL. *English*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- BOEHM, ERIC. 800 E. Micheltorena St., Santa Barbara, Cal.
- BOERLIN, MAX. Visiting Fellow, *American History*. Iowa SU, Ames.
- BOEWE, CHARLES. *English*. U.S. Educational Foundation. 83 N.T. Lines, Sadder, Karachi, Pakistan.
- BOLGER, STEPHEN G. *English*. Rosemont Coll., Rosemont, Pa.
- BOLLER, PAUL F. JR. *History*. 46 Milburn Rd., Valley Stream, N. Y.
- BONE, ROBERT A. *English*. 601—19th St., Santa Monica, Cal.
- BOORSTIN, DANIEL J. *History*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- BOREN, CLAUDE B. *Sociology*. Lamar SC, Beaumont, Tex.
- BOSE, BUDDHADEVA. 202 Rashbehari Ave., Calcutta, India.
- BOSWORTH, GRACE. *English*. Libby Coll. Libby, Mont.
- BOUISE, OSCAR. *English*. Xavier Univ., New Orleans, La.
- BOWDITCH, JAMES R. 608 Woodside Ave., Ripon, Wis.
- BOWLES, ROBERT L. *History*. Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.
- BOWMAN, RICHARD S. *American Studies*. 61 Grandview Ave., Rye, N. Y.
- BOWMAN, SYLVIA E. Box 492, Fort Wayne, Ind.
- BRADEN, WALDO W. *Speech*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- BRADLEY, E. SCULLEY. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- BRADLEY, HAROLD. *History*. Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- BROGG, JEFFERSON D. *History*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- BRANCH, EDGAR M. *English*. Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio.
- BRANOM, CLARINE. *English*. Lamar SC of Tech., Beaumont, Tex.
- BRASWELL, WILLIAM. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- BREADEN, DALE G. *History*. Morehead SC, Morehead, Ky.
- BREMNER, ROBERT H. *History*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- BREWER, MRS. HELENE M. *English & American Studies*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- BREZINE, DON. Bellarmine School of Theology, 230 S. Lincoln Way, N. Aurora, Ill.
- BRIDGES, WILLIAM E. *English*. Pine Manor Jr. Coll., Wellesley Mass.
- BRIDGMAN, DAVID G. *History*. Colby Coll., Waterville, Me.
- BRIDGMAN, RICHARD. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- BRITTON, A. P. *Music Education*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- BROADBENT, JOSEPHINE. 241 W. Craig Pl., San Antonio, Tex.
- BRODERICK, JOHN C. *English*. Wake Forest Coll., Winston-Salem, N. C.
- BROOKS, GEORGE A. Eton Hall, Garth Rd., Scarsdale, N. Y.
- BROTHER H. RAPHAEL, F.S.C. St. Mary's Coll., Winona, Minn.
- BROUGHAM, WAYNE E. 2001 Francisco St., Berkeley, Cal.
- BROWN, ALBERTA F. Dean of Admissions, Pembroke Coll., Providence, R. I.

- BROWN, CLARENCE A. *English*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- BROWN, DOROTHY. 12 Southfield Pl., Baltimore, Md.
- BROWN, JOHN L. c/o Am. Emb. Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico D. F., Mexico.
- BROWN, LYLE. *Political Science*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- BROWN, MAURICE F. *English*. 550 Charlesina Rd., Rochester, Mich.
- BROWN, RICHARD C. *Social Studies*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Buffalo.
- BROWN, STUART G. *American Studies*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- BROWN, THEODORE. *Art*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- BROWNE, HENRY J. *History*. Cathedral Coll., NYC.
- BROWNE, RAY B. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- BROWNELL, BLAINE A. Washington and Lee Univ., Lexington, Va.
- BRUNGER, ERIC. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Buffalo, N. Y.
- BU, HLA. 24 Newlyn Rd., Rangoon, Burma.
- BUCHANAN, LEWIS E. *English*. SC of Wash., Pullman.
- BUCHLOH, PAUL G. *Englisches Seminar der Universitat, Olshausenstrasse 40-60, Haus, 15, 1, Kiel, West German Republic*.
- BUCKLAND, ROSCOE L. *English*. Long Beach SC, Long Beach, Cal.
- BUDD, LOUIS J. *English*. Duke Univ., Durham, N. C.
- BUITENHUIS, PETER. *English*. Victoria Coll., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- BULLOCK, RICHARD. *American Studies*. P. O. Box 68, Pine Mt., Valley, Ga.
- BUNGERT, HANS. Reinhold-Schneider St., 20. 78 Freiburg, Br., Germany.
- BUNKER, SYDNEY K. President, Jaffna Coll., Vaddukoddai, Ceylon.
- BURANELLI, VINCENT. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- BURBANK, LYMAN B. Dir., Teacher Training, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- BURG, DAVID F. 4604 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- BURKE, JOHN J. *English*. St. Joseph's Coll., Philadelphia, Pa.
- BURNAM, TOM. *Humanities*. Portland SC., Portland, Ore.
- BURNHAM, JOHN C. *History*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- BURNS, REX S. 1252 Rose Vista Ct., St. Paul 13, Minn.
- BURRINGTON, DAVID E. 1104 W. Blvd., Rapid City, S. D.
- BURT, NATHANIEL. 108 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
- BUSHNELL, PAUL E. *History*. Arkansas STC, Conway.
- BUSYAKUL, VISUDDH. Coll. of the Arts, Chulalongkorn Univ., Bangkok, Thailand.
- BUTCHER, PHILIP. *English*. Morgan SC, Baltimore, Md.
- BUTLER, ALEXANDER R. *Humanities*. Michigan SU, East Lansing.
- BUTLER, FRANCELIA. *English*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- BYRNE, ARCHIBALD J. *English*. Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- CABRAL, JOSE. c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D.S. Bailey. Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- CADY, EDWIN H. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- CAINE, CLIFFORD J. 1600 Grand., St. Paul, Minn.
- CALDWELL, JOHN. Cal. Lutheran Coll., Thousand Oaks.
- CALLAHAN, NORTH. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- CALLISON, LOUISE. *English*. Alderson-Broadus Coll., Philippi, W. Va.
- CALLOW, JAMES T. *English*. Univ. of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
- CAMERON, KENNETH W. P. O. Box 1080, Hartford, Conn.
- CAMPBELL, CHARLES. Wilmington Music School, Wilmington, Del.
- CAMPBELL, DONALD. Director of *Teacher Trng.*, Middlebury Coll., Middlebury, Vt.
- CAMPBELL, HARRY M. *English*. 126 So. Duck, Stillwater, Okla.
- CANNON, MRS. AGNES D. *English*. 1609 Muhlenberg Dr., Norristown, Pa.
- CANTOR, MILTON. *History*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- CAPPON, LESTER J. Box 203, Williamsburg, Va.
- CAREY, GLENN O. *English*. SU Coll., Potsdam, N. Y.
- CARGILL, OSCAR. *English*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.

- CARMAN, J. NEALE. *Romance Languages*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- CAROSSO, VINCENT P. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- CARPENTER, FREDERIC I. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- CARROLL, MRS. ISABEL R. Rt. 1, Box 283-A. Sante Fe, N. M.
- CARSON, JAMES W. *History*. Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Pa.
- CARSON, WILLIAM. *English*. Wash. Univ. (Emeritus), St. Louis, Mo.
- CARTER, PAUL J. *English*. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- CARTER, SIMS. Dean, Art Center School, Los Angeles, Cal.
- *CARTWRIGHT, LEVERING. Cartwright, Val-leau & Co., Bd. of Trade Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- CARY, OTIS. *History*. 30 Homeland Ter-race, Hamden, Conn.
- CASEBOLT, FAITH. 2701 Delaware S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- CASS, RAYMOND M. JR. 2236 So. Atlantic, Daytona Beach, Fla.
- CASS, WALTER J. *American Literature*. Bradford Durfee Coll. of Tech., Fall River, Mass.
- CATER, CATHERINE. *English*. N. Dak. S. Univ., Fargo.
- CAWELTI, JOHN G. *Humanities*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- CEPESDES DEL CASTILLO, GUILLERMO. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.
- CHALMERS, DAVID. *History*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- CHAMETZKY, JULES. 97 Meadow St., Am-herst, Mass.
- CHANG, HAITZ T. Y. 782 B. King's Rd., Flat 7, Gr./Fl., Hong Kong.
- CHARLES, NORMAN. *English*. Millersville SC, Millersville, Pa.
- CHARVAT, WILLIAM. *English*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- CHAUDRY, GHULAM ALI. Visiting Scholar, *American Lit.*, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- CHILDS, HERBERT E. *English*. Oregon SU, Corvallis.
- CHING-HSI, CHAO. *Economics*. Coll. of Arts, Tunghai Univ., Taiching, Taiwan.
- CHISOLM, LAWRENCE W. *History*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- CHMAJ, BETTY E. 15825 Marlowe, Detroit, Mich.
- CHO, KAH KYUNG. 337-48, Haengdang-dong, Sungdong-ku, Seoul, Korea.
- CHOKEY, R. D. "Beth Resoni," Irvine Rd., Poona, India.
- CHRISTENSON, HOWARD. 6104 Brookview Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
- CHRISTIAN, HENRY A. *English*. Rutgers SU, Newark, N. J.
- CHRISTIE, JEAN. 34 Bellingham Lane, Great Neck, N. Y.
- CHU, RICHARD D. *History*. Hamilton Coll., Clinton, N. Y.
- CHU, YEN-FENG. *History*. 1811 Chung Cheng Rd., Taipei, Taiwan.
- CHUTE, WILLIAM J. *History*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- CIERPIK, ANNE. 6341 N. Kedvale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- CLARESON, THOMAS D. *English*. Coll. of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio.
- CLARK, HARRY H. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- CLARK, THOMAS D. *History*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- CLARKE, MRS. EUNICE A. Kay Dr., S., Had-donfield, N. J.
- CLARKE, MATTHEW. 5432 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- CLAUSS, ERROL M. *History*. Box 144, Salem Station, Winston-Salem, N. C.
- CLAUSSEN, STANLEY W. 3624 Verde St., Riverside, Cal.
- CLENDENNING, JOHN. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- CLOUGH, WILSON. *American Studies*. Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- COBB, ROBERT P. *English*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- COBEN, STANLEY. *History*. Hunter Coll., 695 Park Ave., NYC.
- COBERLY, JAMES H. *English*. George Wash-ington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- COCHRAN, THOMAS. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- CODDINGTON, EDWIN B. *History*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- COHEN, HENNIG. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- COHEN, SOL. 17 Fearing St., Amherst, Mass.
- COLE, CHARLES C. *History*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- COLE, CHARLES W. 5722 Nevada Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

- COLEMAN, REV. ANTHONY R. 535 Ashford Ave., Ardsley, N. Y.
- COLEMAN, JOHN M. Ed., *Pa. History*, Easton, Pa.
- COLLINS, CARVEL. *English*. Mass. Inst. of Tech., Cambridge.
- COLVIN, LOWELL. The Manlius School, Manlius, N. Y.
- COLWELL, JAMES. Univ. of Md., APO 403, NYC.
- COMER, DAVID B., III. *English*. Ga. Tech., Atlanta.
- CONKIN, PAUL. *History*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- CONNER, FREDERICK W. *English*. Box 2926, University, Ala.
- CONNOR, J. G. Seton Hall Univ., So. Orange, N. J.
- CONOVER, CHARLOTTE D. 34 Wheeler St., Gloucester, Mass.
- CONROY, STEPHEN. *American Institutions*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- COOK, DON L. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- COOK, MALCOLM. 3561 Amherst Rd., Cheyenne, Wyo.
- *COOKE, ROBERT J. Maxwell School, Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- COOKE, STUART T. Coll. Dept., Oxford Univ. Press, 417 5th Ave., NYC.
- COPELAND, MRS. LAMMOT. Greenville, Wilmington, Del.
- COPELAND, MARGARET E. *English*. Fairmont SC, Fairmont, W. Va.
- CORBITT, DUVON C. *Social Studies*. Asbury Coll., Wilmore, Ky.
- CORNISH, DUDLEY T. Kans. S Coll., Pittsburg.
- CORRELL, WERNER. Visiting Scholar, *Education*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- CORRIGAN, ROBERT A. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- CORTNER, EDWARD T. 727 Gist Ave., Silver Springs, Md.
- CORY, ARTHUR M. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- COSBEY, ROBERT C. *English*. Roosevelt Univ., 430 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- COTTER, JOHN L. 8125 Heacock Lane, Wyncote, Pa.
- COUR, REV. R. F., C.S.C. *Political Science*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- COUSINS, ALBERT N. *American Studies*. Fenn Coll., Cleveland, Ohio.
- COUTO, MASAKO FURUKAWA, c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- COX, DAVID L. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Davis.
- COYLE, WILLIAM. *English*. Wittenberg Coll., Springfield, Ohio.
- CRANE, FRED A. *History*. Bard Coll., Annandale, N. Y.
- CRAVENS, HAMILTON. 20 S. Lucas, Apt. C, Iowa City, Iowa.
- CRAWFORD, ALASTAIR T. 1005 W. 2nd St., Oil City, Pa.
- CRAWFORD, BARTHOLOW. *English*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- CRAWFORD, W. REX. *Sociology*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- CRAWFORD, ROBERT G. *History*. East Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- CRAWFORD, ALLAN. Pres., Lower Columbia Coll., Longview, Wash.
- CREMIN, LAWRENCE. *Education*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- CRESPO, RAFAEL. P. O. Box 561, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- CRITOPH, GERALD E. *American Studies*. Stetson Univ., DeLand, Fla.
- CRONIN, MORTON. *English*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- CRONKHITE, G. FERRIS. *English*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- CROSS, ROBERT D. *History*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- CROUSHORE, JAMES H. *English*. Mary Washington Coll., Fredericksburg, Va.
- CROW, FRANK W. Rt. 2, Box 408, Stevens Point, Wis.
- CUMMINGS, RICHARD O. *History*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- CUMMINGS, SHERWOOD. *English*. Orange State Coll., Fullerton, Cal.
- CUNLIFFE, MARCUS. *American Studies*. Univ. of Manchester, Manchester, England.
- CURRENT-GARCIA, EUGENE. *English*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- CURTI, MERLE. *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- CZIRAKY, J. SANDOR. *History*. LaSalle Coll., Philadelphia, Pa.
- DAHL, CURTIS. *English*. Wheaton Coll., Norton, Mass.

- DAHL, GORDON J. 2196 Doswell Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
- DAMASER, HARVEY G. 6501 Wayne Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- DAMERON, JOHN L. 5491 Walnut Grove Rd., Memphis, Tenn.
- DANIEL, JERE R. 20 Gray Street, Cambridge, Mass.
- DANIEL, ROBERT L. *History*. Ohio Univ., Athens.
- DANIELS, J. HOWELL. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- DANIELS, THOMAS E. *English*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- DAPONTE, DURANT. *English*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- DASTUR, A. J. *Civics & Politics*. Univ. of Bombay, Bombay, India.
- DATTE, A. *English*. Gauhati Univ., Jalikbari, Assam, India.
- DAVENPORT, F. GARVIN JR. 1042-19th Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- DAVEY, HAROLD W. *Economics & Sociology*. Iowa SU, Ames.
- DAVIDSON, JAMES F. 2 Circle Hill Dr., Knoxville, Tenn.
- *DAVIDSON, S. A. 324 E. Locust St., Scranton, Pa.
- DAVIES, WALLACE. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- DAVIS, ALLEN F. *History*. Univ. of Mo., Columbia.
- DAVIS, B. DAVID. *History*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- DAVIS, JOE LEE. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- DAVIS, JOHN A. Adrian Coll., Adrian, Mich.
- DAVIS, MRS. MARY H. Finch Coll., NYC.
- DAVIS, RICHARD B. *English*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- DAVIS, ROBERT C. *Sociology*. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- DAVIS, ROBERT L. 7235 S.E. Lincoln, Portland, Ore.
- DAVIS, W. CURTIS CARROLL. A-2 Homewood Apts., Baltimore, Md.
- DAVISON, KENNETH E. *Political Science*. Heidelberg Coll., Tiffin, Ohio.
- DAVISON, ROBERT. *History*. Hofstra Coll., Hempstead, N. Y.
- DEAN, HAROLD L. *English*. Marietta Coll., Marietta, Ohio.
- DEARING, G. BRUCE. *Dean, School of Arts & Science*. Univ. of Delaware, Newark.
- DE BEDTS, RALPH. P.O. Box 611, Norfolk, Va.
- DECHERT, PETER. Box 648, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- DECKER, PAT. J. *English*. Arlington SC, Arlington, Tex.
- DEJONG, JOHN A. *History*. Arizona SU, Tempe.
- DENNEY, REUEL. Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- DE PILLIS, M. S. *History*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- DE SANTIS, VINCENT. *History*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- DE SCHWEINITZ, GEORGE. *English*. West Tex. SC, Canyon.
- DEVRIES, GEORGE JR. Northwestern Coll., Orange City, Iowa.
- DIAZ, RONY. *English*. Univ. of the Philippines, Diliman, Rizal, Philippines.
- DICHMANN, MARY E. *English*. Southwestern La. Inst., Lafayette.
- DICKSON, HAROLD E. *Art History*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- DIETERICH, H. R. *American Studies*. Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- DIGGINS, JOHN P. 2615 Regent St., Berkeley, Cal.
- DIPRIMA, RICHARD. 16 N. Broom St., Madison, Wis.
- DITZION, SIDNEY. *History*. City Coll., NYC.
- DOCHTERMAN, LILLIAN. *Art*. Illinois SU, Normal.
- DONALDSON, SCOTT. 1606 Mount Curve, Minneapolis, Minn.
- DONOGHUE, DENIS. Lecturer, Univ. Coll. of Dublin, Dublin, Ireland.
- DORNBUSCH, CLYDE H. *English*. Ohio No. Univ., Ada.
- DOROUGH, C. DWIGHT. *English*. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- DORSETT, LYLE. 1707 McAlester St., Columbia, Mo.
- DORSON, RICHARD M. *Folklore*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- DOVE, GEORGE N. Dir., School of Arts and Sciences, East Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- DOWELL, PETER. Emory Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
- DOWGRAY, JOHN. *History*. Univ. of Mo., Kansas City.
- DOWLING, JOSEPH A. *History & Government*. Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa.
- DOWNES, ALAN. United Coll., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- DOXTATOR, RICHARD. *English*. Wisconsin SC, Stevens Pt.

- DRAPER, JAMES R. 1412 Andover Rd., Charlotte, N. C.
- DRUCKER, BYRD. 1203 E. 84th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- DRUCKER, DARRELL I. USIS-Amcongcn, Usumbura, c/o F. S. Mail Room, U. S. Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.
- DUCE, LEONARD A. Grad. School, Trinity Univ., San Antonio, Tex.
- DUCEY, CATHRYN A. *English*. R. I. Coll., Providence.
- DUCKETT, MARGARET. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- DUDDEN, ARTHUR. *History*. Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- DUDDING, GRIFFITH. *English*. Muhlenberg Coll., Allentown, Pa.
- DUFFY, MRS. ANDREW B. 108 Jefferson Ave., Haddonfield, N. J.
- DUGGER, HAROLD. *History*. Southeast Mo. SC, Cape Girardeau.
- DUNCAN, RUTH B. Coll. Library, William Carey Coll., Hattiesburg, Miss.
- DUPREE, A. HUNTER. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- DURHAM, PHILIP. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- DUROCHER, AURELE A. *English*. Northern Mich. Coll., Marquette.
- DUSENBERY, ROBERT. *English*. Lewis & Clark Coll., Portland.
- DUUS, LOUISE. *American Studies*. 53 Poplar Crt., Buffalo, N. Y.
- DWYER, JAMES J. 303 N. W. 36th Terrace, Gainesville, Fla.
- DWYER, JOHN N. Route #4, St. Cloud, Minn.
- EARNEST, ERNEST. *English*. Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- EDEL, LEON. *English*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- EGBERT, DONALD D. *Art & Archaeology*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- EHRLICH, GEORGE. *Art*. Univ. of Mo., Kansas City.
- EHRLICH, HEYWARD. *American Thought & Lang.*, Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- EICHELBERGER, CLAYTON L. *English*. Arlington SC, Arlington, Tex.
- EIDSON, JOHN O. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- EISENSTADT, A. S. *History*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- EISINGER, CHESTER. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- EITNER, WALTER. *English*. Kans. SC, Manhattan.
- EKIRCH, ARTHUR A. JR. *History*. 816 Timber Branch Pkwy., Alexandria, Va.
- ELDER, JACOB D. *American Folklore*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- ELIAS, ROBERT. *English*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
- ELIASON, MARY. Campbell Coll., Buie's Creek, N. C.
- ELLIOTT, FLAVEL SCOTT. 718 Glenn St., Newberry, S. C.
- ELLIS, DAVID. *History*. Hamilton Coll., Clinton, N. Y.
- ELSON, RUTH M. 90 La Salle St., NYC.
- ELWELL, DEBORAH P. Prospect St., N. Bennington, Vt.
- EMERSON, DONALD. Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- EMMONS, WINFRED S. *English*. Lamar SC of Tech., Beaumont, Tex.
- ENGEL, RALPH. 513 11th Ave., Fargo, N. D.
- ENGLAND, MERTON. 496 Allan Rd., Washington, D. C.
- ERICSON, JOE E. Box 309, SFA Sta., Nacogdoches, Tex.
- ERISMAN, FRED. *English*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- ESTALL, ROBERT. *Geography*. London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, England.
- EVANOFF, ALEXANDER. *English*. Univ. of N. M., Albuquerque.
- EVERS, MARILYN L. Garrard Pub. Co., 862 Scarsdale Ave., Scarsdale, N. Y.
- FAGIN, N. BRYLLION. *English*. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- FAIRFIELD, ROY P. *Government*. Bayberry Pt., Biddeford, Me.
- FALK, ROBERT P. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- FANER, ROBERT D. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- FARBER, MILTON. 704 Berkley Rd., Indianapolis, Ind.
- FARNELL, EARL W. *Government*. Lamar SC, Beaumont, Tex.
- FARNEN, RUSSELL. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- FARR, MRS. LOTTIE. 255 E. 8th St., Cookeville, Tenn.
- FARRAR, B. F. 2226 Laurel Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.

- FAURE, JAQUELINE. *American Civilization*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- FAZL, MOHAMMED. Embassy of Pakistan. Rue de Lord Byron, Paris, France
- FELDMAN, EGAL. *History*. Arlington SC, Arlington, Tex.
- FELHEIM, MARVIN. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- FENNELLY, CATHERINE. Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.
- FERM, ROBERT L. *Religion*. Pomona Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- FERTIG, WALTER. *English*. Wabash Coll., Crawfordsville, Ind.
- *FIDLER, WILLIAM. American Assn. of Univ. Professors. 1785 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- FIELD, JAMES. *History*. Swarthmore Coll., Swarthmore, Pa.
- FIESS, EDWARD. *English*. SU of N. Y., Stony Brook.
- FILIPIAK, JACK D. 2165 S. Race St., Denver, Colo.
- FIREBAUGH, JOSEPH. *English*. Flint Coll., Flint, Mich.
- FISH, CHARLES K., JR. 59 Stanworth Lane, Princeton, N. J.
- FISHER, GALEN. 2910 Forest Ave., Berkeley, Cal.
- FISHER, MARVIN. *English*. Arizona SU, Tempe.
- FISHWICK, MARSHALL W. *American Studies*. The Wemyss Foun., 200 W. 9th St., Wilmington, Del.
- FITE, OLIVE. 907 Stadium Dr., Macomb, Ill.
- FITTON, H. NELSON JR. Information Specialist, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
- FLANAGAN, JOHN T. *English*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- FLAXENBURG, ERIC M. 420 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- FLEISCHMANN, WOLFGANG B. *Comparative Lit.* Univ of Wis., Milwaukee.
- FLEMING, E. MCCLUNG. Dean of Education, Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.
- FLICKINGER, B. FLOYD. *History*. Univ. Coll., Univ. of Md., College Park.
- FLINT, ALLEN D. 1823 Talmadge, S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- FLOAN, HOWARD R. *World Literature*. Manhattan Coll., NYC.
- FLOWER, MILTON E. *Political Science*, Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Pa.
- FOGARTY, ROBERT. *American Thought & Literature*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- FOIST, MILLARD F. 1228 Milan, South Pasadena, Cal.
- FOLSOM, GORDON R. *English*. Carroll Coll., Waukesha, Wis.
- FONAROFF, BENJAMIN. 1630 Windsor Pl., Louisville, Ky.
- FORESTER, JAMES. *English*. La. SU, New Orleans.
- FORMAN, JOHN A. *History*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- FOSTER, EDWARD F. *English*. Ball STC, Muncie, Ind.
- FOSTER, JOHN B. *English*. Mankato SC, Mankato, Minn.
- FOWLER, AGNES. Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio.
- FOX, WILLIAM L. *History*. Montgomery Junior Coll., Takoma Park, Md.
- FRAIBERG, LOUIS. 2914 Hardale Blvd., Toledo, Ohio.
- FRANKENSTEIN, ALFRED V. *San Francisco Chronicle*, San Francisco, Cal.
- FRANKLIN, JOHN HOPE. *History*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FREDERICK, DUKE. 3328 Noyes St., Evanston, Ill.
- FREIDEL, FRANK. *History*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- FRENCH, BRYANT M. *English*. La Verne Coll., La Verne, Cal.
- FRENCH, WARREN G. *American Literature*. Kans. SU, Manhattan.
- FRIEDMAN, NORMAN L. 7426 Reeds Lane, Overland Park, Kans.
- FRYKMAN, GEORGE A. *History*. S.C. of Wash., Pullman.
- FU, CHONG-TE. *Foreign Languages & Literature*. Taiwan Provincial Cheng Kung Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- FUKUMA, KIN-ICHI. Fukouka Joshi Daigaku, Fukuoka-shi, Japan.
- FULLER, ROBERT S. *Art*. Randolph Macon Woman's Coll., Lynchburg, Va.
- FUNT, DAVID. *American Studies*. 14 Wilshire Crt., Freeport, N. Y.
- FURTADO, MARIA ALDINA SILVEIRA FURTADO. c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D.S. Bailey, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- FUSSELL, EDWIN. *English*. Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, Cal.
- FUSSELL, IVA M. *English*. Mary Hardin-Baylor Coll., Belton, Tex.

- GABRIEL, RALPH H. 3440 38th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- GALE, ROBERT L. *English*. Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- GALINSKY, HANS K. *English*. Johannes Gutenberg Univ., Mainz, Germany.
- GALLOWAY, DAVID D. *English & American Studies*. SU of N. Y., Buffalo.
- GANUS, CLIFTON L. JR. *American Studies*. Harding Coll., Searcy, Ark.
- GARA, LARRY. *History & Political Science*. 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, Ohio.
- *GARDNER, JOHN. *English*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- GARDNER, SARA JANE. 507 Compare, Pullman, Wash.
- GAROFALO, MARIUS. Research, Cincinnati Public Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- GARRETT, WENDELL D. The Adams Papers, Mass. Historical Soc., 1154 Boylston St., Boston.
- GARRISON, THEODORE. *English*. Western Ill. Univ., Macomb.
- GARVIN, SYLVIA. 8566 Freyman Dr., Chevy Chase, Md.
- GASPER, LOUIS. 2908 Wynwood La., Los Angeles, Cal.
- GASTON, EDWIN W. *English*. 1305 North St., Nacogdoches, Tex.
- GATES, PAUL W. *History*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- GATLIN, LT. COL. JESSE C. *English*. U. S. Air Force Academy, Colo.
- GAUS, JOHN M. *Government*. Prospect, N. Y.
- GAUSTED, EDWIN S. *Religion*. Univ. of Redlands, Redlands, Cal.
- GEFFEN, ELIZABETH M. 128 E. Main St., Annville, Pa.
- GEIGER, LOUIS G. *History*. Colo. Coll., Colorado Springs.
- GELFAND, LAWRENCE. *American Studies*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- GENTHE, CHARLES V. *English*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- GERBER, JOHN. *English*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- GERSON, ELEANOR R. 18560 Parkland Dr., Shaker Hts., Ohio.
- GERSTENBERGER, DONNA. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- GETTEL, WILLIAM D. *Music*. City Coll., NYC.
- GHEORGHIU, RAOUL. Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
- GIANAKOS, PERRY E. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM M. *English*. 343 Upper Montclair Ave., Upper Montclair, N. J.
- GILB, CORINNE. *History & Government*. 111 El Camino Real, Berkeley, Cal.
- GILBERT, DANIEL R. *History*. Moravian Coll., Bethlehem, Pa.
- GILL, BERNARD I. 818-10th St., Moorhead, Minn.
- GILL, JOHN M., Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- GILLMAR, J. NOTLEY. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- GLAZIER, LYLE. *English*. Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
- GLEASON, J. PHILIP. *History*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- GOH, SOO-TIAN. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY. 1599 W. 10th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- GONNAUD, MAURICE. Faculte des Lettres, 72, rue Pasteur, Lyon (7e), France.
- GONZALES, JOHN E. *History*. Univ. of Southern Miss., Hattiesburg.
- GOODRICH, LLOYD. Dir., Whitney Museum of American Art, 22 W. 54th St., NYC.
- GOODWIN, PAUL. 15 Draper St., Oswego, N. Y.
- GOPAUL, REV. FR. PAUL A. Blessed Sacrament Church. El Paso, Tex.
- GORDON, DONALD. 3901 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- GORLIER, CLAUDIO. Corso Vinzaglio 9, Torino, Italy.
- ORMAN, THOMAS R. *English*. Loyola Univ., Chicago, Ill.
- GOULD, WARREN. Assoc. Dir. of Development, Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa.
- GOWA, FERDINAND. 3818 Cleghorn Ave., Nashville, Tenn.
- GRABO, NORMAN S. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- GRAF, LEROY P. *History*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- GRAF, OTTO. *American Arch.* Wissenschaftliche Hilfskraft, Univ. of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.
- GRAF, ROBERT. *History*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- GRAGG, PERRY. *English*. San Antonio Coll., San Antonio, Tex.

- GRAHAM, ALAN. *History*. Queen's University of Belfast, Belfast, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom.
- GRAHAM, MRS. LOREN R. 729 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, Ind.
- GRANTHAM, DEWEY W. JR. *History*. Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- GRAUEL, GEORGE E. *English*. John Carroll Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- GRAY, WOOD. *History*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- GRAY, YOHMA, 2125½ Ridge Ave., Evanston, Ill.
- GREBSTEIN, SHELDON. *English*. Harpur Coll., SU of N. Y., Binghamton.
- GREEN, CLAUD B. *English*. Clemson Coll., Clemson, S. C.
- GREENE, MRS. LAURA J. 2635 Claflin Rd., Manhattan, Kans.
- GREENE, THEODORE P. *History*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- GREEVER, GARLAND. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal. (Emeritus), Los Angeles.
- GREGENSEN, MRS. ANNA. 14 H Ridge Rd., Greenbelt, Md.
- GRENANDER, MISS M. E. *English*. SU, Albany, N. Y.
- GRIEBIN, AUGUST. 9315 Arenel, Silver Spring, Md.
- GRIER, EDWARD F. *English*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- GRIFFIN, ROBERT J. 2214 Haste St., Berkeley, Cal.
- GRIFFIN, WILLIAM J. *English*. George Peabody Coll., Nashville, Tenn.
- GRIFFITH, MRS. PRISCILLA P. Box 816, Eau Gallie, Fla.
- GRINCHUK, ROBERT A. 44 Arthur Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
- GROAT, GARY W. Apt. 111, 802 Cherry La., East Lansing, Mich.
- GROMAN, GEORGE L. 241 E. 18th St., NYC.
- GRONEWOLD, BENJAMIN. *English*. SU of N. Y., Buffalo.
- GRUBAR, FRANCIS S. *Art*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- GRUBER, CHRISTIAN P. 68 Kendall Ave., Binghamton, N. Y.
- GRUNDY, ERNEST B. *English*. Kearney SC, Kearney, Neb.
- GUHA, P. K. *English*. Jadavpur Univ., Calcutta, India.
- GUNDERSON, ROBERT G. *Speech & Theater*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- GUPTA, RAJ KUMAR. c/o Mr. Bal Mukund Gupta, 74/114 Dharkutti, Kanpur 1, U.P., India.
- GUTHRIE, LINDA. 4828 Oakwood Ave., Downers Grove, Ill.
- GUTTMANN, ALLEN. *English*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- GUZE, HENRY. 299 Clinton Ave., Newark, N. J.
- HADLEY, EDITH J. *English*. 113 Wilshire Dr., Concord, N. C.
- HAGE, GEORGE. *Journalism*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- HAGELMAN, CHARLES W. JR. *English*. Lamar SC of Tech., Beaumont, Tex.
- HAGER, CYRIL F. Center for Continuing Liberal Educ., Pa. SU, University Park.
- HAGUE, JOHN A. *American Studies*. Stetson Univ., DeLand, Fla.
- HAISLEY, W. E. 317 Burlage Dr., Chapel Hill, N. C.
- HALIM, A. *History*. Univ. of Dacca, Dacca, East Pakistan.
- HALL, DAVID D. *History*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- HALL, HAROLD E. *English*. Neb. Wesleyan Univ., Lincoln.
- HALL, JAMES W. 823 S. 11th St., Allentown, Pa.
- HALL, JOHN P. 3216 Harrow Pl., Charlotte, N. C.
- HALL, WADE H. 9001 Shelbyville Rd., Louisville, Ky.
- HALLOWELL, MRS. LOUISE T. 2840 Dale Creek Dr., N.W. Atlanta, Ga.
- HALPIN, MICHAEL J. 3641 Samson St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- HALSEY, VAN R. JR. RD No. 2, Amherst, Mass.
- HAMILTON, ROGER G. 1308-17th Ave., So., Moorhead, Minn.
- HAMILTON, STEPHEN K. 369 Newport Ave., So. Attleboro, Mass.
- HAN, CHARLES. 240 W. 102nd St., NYC.
- HANCE, KENNETH G. *Speech*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- HANCOCK, JOHN L. *English*. Univ. of N. D., Grand Forks.
- HAND, WAYLAND D. *Folklore*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- HANDLIN, OSCAR. *History*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.

- HANDY, ROBERT T. *Church History*. Union Theological Seminary, NYC.
- HANEY, EDNA. *English*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- HANLEY, THOMAS O'BRIEN, S.J., Marquette Univ., Milwaukee, Wis.
- HANSEN, ALLEN C. 5807 Augusta La., Washington, D. C.
- HANTKE, RICHARD W. *History*. Lake Forest Coll., Lake Forest, Ill.
- HARSHIMA, YOSHIMORI. No. 36, 3-chome, Nagasaki, Toshima-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
- HARBAUGH, WILLIAM. *History*. Bucknell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.
- HARDY, M. D. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- HARKNESS, DONALD R. *Logic*. 10712 Carrollwood Dr., Tampa, Fla.
- HARPER, ROBERT D. *English*. Univ. of Omaha, Omaha, Neb.
- HARRELL, D. E. East Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- HARRIS, MICHAEL R. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- HARRISON, FREDERICK. 1904 S. E. Washington, Portland, Ore.
- HART, JAMES A. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- HART, JAMES D. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Berkeley.
- HARTLEY, LOIS. *English*. Boston Coll., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
- HARTNETT, JAMES R. *History*. York Junior Coll., York, Pa.
- HARTSTEIN, JACOB I. *Education*. President, Kingsborough Comm. Coll., c/o Board of Higher Ed., 535 E. 80th St., NYC.
- HARVEY, LEROY. *American Culture*. 1426 Sherwood Ave., East Lansing, Mich.
- HASCH, JACK J. *Commerce*, University Coll. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- HASHIMOTO, HIROSHI. Stetson Univ., DeLand, Fla.
- HASSAN, IHAB H. *English*. Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn.
- HASTING, REV. MARTIN F., S.J. *History*. St. Louis Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- HASTINGS, ELIZABETH T. *English*. Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- HATFIELD, SADIE. Box 143, College Station, Tex.
- HATFIELD, THOMAS M. St. Stephen's Schl., Austin, Tex.
- HATHAWAY, RICHARD D. *Language & Literature*. SUC at New Paltz, New Paltz, N. Y.
- HAUCK, RICHARD B. *English*, Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- HAUPTMANN, JERZY. *Political Science*. Park Coll., Parkville, Mo.
- HAUSDORFF, DON. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- HAWES, RICHARD E. *English*. Rutgers SU, New Brunswick, N. J.
- HAWKINS, HUGH D. *American Studies & History*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- HAYES, BARTLETT H. JR. Dir., Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.
- HAYMAN, ALLEN. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- HAYS, JOHN Q. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- HAZARD, PATRICK D. *English*. 8 Longford St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- HEALD, MORRELL. *History*. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- HEBERLE, RUDOLF. *Sociology*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- HEFFERNAN, MIRIAM M. *English*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- HEFFNER, HUBERT. *Speech & Theater*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- HEFLEY, J. T. *English*. Eastern Mich. Univ., Ypsilanti.
- HEIMERT, ALAN., Eliot, I-31, Cambridge, Mass.
- HEINE, EMILY. 310 E. 49 St., NYC.
- HELMCKE, HANS. *English*. Wallufer Str. 10, Wiesbaden, Federal Repub. of Germany.
- HELVIG, MAGNE. *Geography*. Sidsel, Sider-skvei 20, Groud, Oslo, Norway.
- HEMMENS, TOM. Kans. SC, Pittsburg.
- HENDERSON, MARY. Regina Coll. Library, Univ. of Saskatchewan, Regina, Sask., Canada.
- HENDRICK, GEORGE. *American Studies*. Amerika Institut, J. W. Goethe Univ., Frankfurt/Main, Germany.
- HENDRICKSON, JAMES E. *History*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- HENDRICKSON, WALTER B. *History*. MacMurray Coll., Jacksonville, Ill.
- HENCKE, WARREN A. Bismarck Junior Coll., Bismarck, N. D.
- HENSON, CLYDE. *English*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.

- HEPTONSTALL, MRS. MYRTLE G. c/o Dr. Eva Cutright, 458 Beall Ave., Wooster, Ohio.
- HERBST, JURGEN. *History*. Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn.
- HERRNSTADT, RICHARD L. *English*. Iowa SU, Ames.
- HERRON, IMA H. *English*. Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
- HESSEN, ROBERT A. 166 E. 35 St., #10B, NYC.
- HEWITT, FRANK S. *English*. Austin Coll., Sherman, Tex.
- HEYWOOD, C. W. *History*. Cornell Coll., Mt. Vernon, Iowa.
- HIEBERT, RAY E. *Communications*. American Univ., Washington, D. C.
- HIERTH, HARRISON E. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- HIGHAM, JOHN. *History*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- HILBERRY, HARRY H. *Fine Arts*. John Her-
ton Art Inst., 5215 N. Illinois St., Indian-
apolis, Ind.
- HILEN, ANDREW H. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- HILL, HAMLIN. *English*. Univ. of N. M., Albuquerque.
- HILLBRUNER, ANTHONY. *Language & Arts*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- HILTY, PETER D. *English*. S. E. Mo. SC, Cape Girardeaux.
- HINCILIFFE, ARNOW P. *English*. Univ. of Manchester, Manchester, England.
- HINDLE, BROOKE. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- HINER, JAMES H. Ely Junior Coll., Ely, Minn.
- HIRSCHFELD, CHARLES. *Humanities*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- HITCHCOCK, MRS. LAWRENCE. S. Glen Rd., Rockville, Md.
- HITT, RALPH. Chairman, *English*. Miss. SC for Women, Columbus.
- HOA, NGUYEN DINH. *Linguistics*. Univ. of Saigon, Saigon, Vietnam.
- HOADLEY, FRANK M. *English*. La. SU, New Orleans.
- HOBERG, PERRY F. Box 242, RD #2, Smith Bridge Rd., Glen Mills, Pa.
- HOFFMAN, DOROTHY L. *Modern Languages*. Fla. SU, Tallahassee.
- HOFFMAN, FREDERICK J. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Riverside.
- HOFSTADTER, RICHARD. *History*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- HOGAN, WILLIAM R. *History*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- HOGLUND, A. WILLIAM. *History*. Univ. of Conn., Storrs.
- HOLLAND, GRADY. 321 Frankfort Ave, N.E., Orange City, Iowa.
- HOLLAND, HARRIET. Church of the Good Neighbor, 115 E. 106 St., NYC.
- HOLLAND, LAURENCE B. *English*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- HOLLAND, ROBERT B. *English*. Miss. SU, State College.
- HOLLINSHEAD, BYRON. Ed., College Dept., Oxford Univ. Press, 417 5th Ave., NYC.
- HOLLIS, C. CARROLL. 1012 Highland Woods, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- HOLM, NIELS E. Universitetsmanuduktor, Univ. of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- HOLMES, IRA. Central Fla. Junior Coll., Ocala.
- HOMMA, NAGAYO. 189 Murei Mitaka, Tokyo, Japan.
- HOOKER, Z. V. *English*. Roanoke Coll., Salem, Va.
- HOOPES, DONELSON. Curator, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
- HOPKINS, C. HOWARD. 100 Hamilton Ave., Princeton, N. J.
- HOPKINS, JAMES F. *History*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- HOPKINS, ROBERT H. *English*. Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa.
- HOPKINS, VIVIAN C. *English*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- HORNBERGER, THEODORE. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- HOROWITZ, DANIEL. 234 Lake View Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
- HORSFORD, HOWARD C. *English*. Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- HORTON, ROD W. Colorado Woman's Coll., Denver, Colo.
- HOUGH C. MERRILL. *Social Science*. Chicago Teachers' Coll., Chicago, Ill.
- HOUSE, ALBERT V. *History*. Harpur Coll., Binghamton, N. Y.
- HOVE, JOHN. *English*. N. D. Agricultural Coll., Fargo.
- HOWARD, JAMES K. 3355 Floyd St., Corpus Christi, Tex.
- HOWARTH, HERBERT. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.

- HOWELL, EVERETT. 2416 Iowa St., Cedar Falls, Iowa.
- HOWLAND, RICHARD H. Pres., Nat'l. Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D. C.
- HSIEH, PEI-CHIH. *Social Science*. Bates Coll., Lewiston, Me.
- HSUEH, S. S. Univ. of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.
- HUBER, RICHARD M. *American Studies*. 213 Constitution Dr., Princeton, N. J.
- HUDGENS, PAULINE. Tenn. Tech. Cookeville.
- HUDNUT, DAVID. *English*. Ursinus Coll., Collegeville, Pa.
- HUDSON, WILSON. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- HUDSPETH, ROBERT N. 1510 E. Colvin St., Syracuse, N. Y.
- HUGER, REV. GREGORY C., S.J. *History*. Rockhurst Coll., Kansas City, Mo.
- HUGHES, DEBORAH. 1259 Hilyard, Eugene, Ore.
- HUGHES, JAMES. 915 Wyndon Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- HUMPHREY, G. D. Pres., Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- HUNG, JOSEPHINE HUANG. Faculty House, St. Joseph Coll., Emmitsburg, Md.
- HUNGERFORD, HARLAN. *English*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- HUTCHINS, J. 1833 Summit Pl., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- HUTCHISON, WILLIAM. *History*. 2802 Ridge Rd., Madison, Wis.
- HYBELS, ROBERT J. *Social Studies*. Newton Junior Coll., Newtonville, Mass.
- HYDE, FREDERIC G. Annenberg Schl. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- HYDE, R. W. 2901 Belmont Blvd., Nashville, Tenn.
- IDE, YOSHIMITSU. *American History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- IMHOLTE, JOHN QUINN. Chairman, *Social Science*. Univ. of Minn., Morris.
- INGE, THOMAS. Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- ISANI MUKHTAR ALI. 58 Hammond St., Cambridge, Mass.
- IRVIN, FREDERIC B. Educational Exchange Unit, Box 380, APO 80, NYC.
- IVERSEN, ROBERT W. 507 Scott Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
- IVES, C. P. Assoc. Ed., Baltimore Sun, Baltimore, Md.
- IYENGAR, K. R. S. Head, *English*. Andhra Univ., Waltair, South India.
- JAATINEN, STIG T. H. *History*. Helsinki Schl. of Economics, Helsinki, Finland.
- JACKSON, BLYDEN. *English*. Southern Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
- JACKSON, ERNEST H. E10209 Mission, Spokane, Wash.
- JACKSON, FREDERICK H. Exec. Assoc., Carnegie Corp., 589 5th Ave., NYC.
- JACKSON, LAMBERT. *American Studies*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- JACOBS, BRIANT S. Brigham Young Univ., Provo, Utah.
- JACOBS, RHODA. 1649 Penn Ave., N., Minneapolis, Minn.
- JACOBS, ROBERT. *English*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- JACOBSEN, ERIC. 51 Schweizerdalstein, Copenhagen-Banlose, Denmark.
- JAHER, FREDERIC C. 435 W. 119th St., NYC.
- JAIN, R. B. 4195 Aryapura St., Subzi- mandi, Delhi, India.
- JAMES, STUART. *English*. Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
- JAMI, M. R. *English*. Univ. of Rajasthan, Jaipur (Raj), India.
- JANSON, H. W. *Fine Arts*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- JENKINS, JOSEPH. *English*. Va. SC, Petersburg.
- JENNINGS, FRANCIS P. Delaware Valley Coll. of Science & Agriculture, Doylestown, Pa.
- JENSEN, DANA O. *Liberal Arts*. Wash. Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- JENSEN, E. NEIL. c/o P. D. Patterson, 2626 Tunlaw Rd., Washington, D. C.
- JEVTOVIC, MIRO LJUB. Koste Abrasevice 33. Beograd, Yugoslavia.
- JIMINEZ-NUNEZ, ALFREDO. *Social Science*. Univ. of Seville, Seville, Spain.
- JINZAKI, KATSUHIRO. *Liberal Arts & Science*. Nagasaki Univ., Nagasaki City, Japan.
- JOHANNSEN, ROBERT W. *History*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- JOHNSON, GEORGE W. *English*. Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- JOHNSON, KATHLEEN S. France Hall, Heidelberg Coll., Tiffin, Ohio.

- JOHNSON, MANLY. *English*. Univ. of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla.
- JOHNSON, PYKE JR. Editor-in-Chief, Doubleday Anchor Books, 575 Madison Ave., NYC.
- JOHNSON, ROBERT M. 1712 S. 7th Ave., Maywood, Ill.
- JOHNSON, TED. Oak Park & River Forest High School, Oak Park, Ill.
- JOHNSON, THOMAS H. *English*. Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- JOHNSTON, THOMAS. *English*. Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- JONCICH, GERALDINE. *Education*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- JONES, ALFRED H. 2332 Van Ness St., Eugene, Ore.
- JONES, BARTLETT C. 1614 13 St., Huntsville, Tex.
- JONES, EUGENE W. *Social Science*. Wayland Baptist Coll., Plainview, Tex.
- JONES, JOSEPH. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- JOOST, NICHOLAS. 1703 Liberty St., Alton, Ill.
- JORDY, WILLIAM H. *Art*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- JUDD, RICHARD M. *American Civilization*. Marlboro Coll., Marlboro, Vt.
- JUMPER, WILL C. 821 8th St., Ames, Iowa.
- JURGENSEN, BENGT. Vingaards Alle 61, Hellerup, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- KAJI, SHINZO. Inst. of Social Science, Univ. of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan.
- KALEDIN, ARTHUR D. *Humanities*. M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass.
- KALLENBACH, JOSEPH. *Political Science*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- KAMINS, HERBERT. 15 Compass La., Levittown, N. Y.
- KANE, NORMAN. Ed., "*The Americanist*." Shenkel Rd., RD 2, Pottstown, Pa.
- KANE, MRS. PATRICIA. Macalester Coll., St. Paul, Minn.
- KANTER, STUART. 4800 Township Line Rd., Drexel Hill, Pa.
- KAO, MRS. BERNICE. Box 3428, Univ. Sta., Gainesville, Fla.
- KAPLAN, CHARLES. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- KAPLAN, LAWRENCE S. *History*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- KARLSSON, GEORG. Sociologiska Institutionen, Villavagen 1, Uppsala, Sweden.
- KATZ, SEYMOUR. *Language & Literature*. Grinnell Coll., Grinnell, Iowa.
- KAUFMAN, MARJORIE. Chapel Hill, South Hadley, Mass.
- KAZIN, ALFRED. 440 East End Ave., NYC.
- KEELER, CLINTON. *English*. Okla. SU, Stillwater.
- KEENEY, RAYMOND A. 1040 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
- KELBER, HARRY. *American Civilization*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- KELLEY, ROBERT. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Santa Barbara.
- KELLMAN, MARTIN. 4115 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- KEMBLE, JOHN H. *History*. Pomona Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- KEMPTON, ELMIRA. Chairman, *Fine Arts*. Earlham Coll., Richmond, Ind.
- KENNEDY, ADELE. *English*. Monmouth Coll., Monmouth, Ill.
- KENNEDY, T. R. 817 Beech St., East Lansing, Mich.
- KENNEY, WILLIAM H., III. 4800 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- KERN, ALEXANDER. *English*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- KERR, ELIZABETH M. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- KERSHNER, FREDERICK. *Education*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- KETCHAM, RALPH L. Maxwell Grad. Schl., Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- KHAN, RAIS A. 2424 Channing, Berkeley, Cal.
- KIM, SUNG BOK. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- KIM, WON-YONG. *Archaeology & Anthropology*. Seoul Nat'l. Univ., Seoul, Korea.
- KING, ANTHONY. *Government*. Magdalen Coll., Oxford, England.
- KING, C. HAROLD. Box 8274, Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- KINNEY, ARTHUR F. *English*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- KISHLER, THOMAS C. *American Thought & Lang.*, Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- KISSANE, MRS. LEEDICE. *English*. Idaho SC, Pocatello.
- KLEINFELD, HERBERT L. *English*. 225 1st St., Mineola, N. Y.
- KLITZKE, THEODORE. *Art*. Univ. of Ala., University.
- KLOPFENSTEIN, CARL G. *History*. Heidelberg Coll., Tiffin, Ohio.

- KLOTZ, MARVIN. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- KLOUCEK, JEROME W. *English*. Univ. of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio.
- KNAFF, REV. JOSEPH G., S.J. *English*. St. Louis Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- KNAUTZ, HARLAN E. 1870 S. High St., Denver, Colo.
- KNIGHTS, PAUL. *History*. Allegheny Coll., Meadville, Pa.
- KNOEPFLE, JOHN. 761 Heman Ave., University City, Mo.
- KNOLES, GEORGE H. *History*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- KNOWLES, MRS. JANE B. 531 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis.
- KNOX, GEORGE. *Humanities*. Univ. of Cal., Riverside.
- KOCH, DONALD. *English & Speech*. Simpson Coll., Indianola, Iowa.
- KOGAN, HERMAN. *Chicago Daily News*, Chicago, Ill.
- KOHL, RAJ K. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- KOLB, WILLIAM L. *Sociology*. Beloit Coll., Beloit, Wis.
- KOLLEN, ARTHUR S. 26 E. Parkway, Scarsdale, N. Y.
- KONVITZ, MILTON R. *Law*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- KORN, MURIEL E. 9412 Balfour Crt., Bethesda, Md.
- KORTH, PHILIP A. 629 Erie St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- KOSTER, DONALD N. *English*. Adelphi Coll., Garden City, N. Y.
- KOUWENHOVEN, JOHN A. *English*. Barnard Coll., NYC.
- KRAIRIKSH, VINITA. 242 Rajavithi St., Bangkok, Thailand.
- KRAUS, MICHAEL. *History*. City Coll., NYC.
- KREIDER, ROBERT S. c/o Bluffton Coll. Bookstore, Bluffton, Ohio.
- KREUTER, KENT. *History*. Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
- KRISHNAMURTI, R. 47 Pratapganj, Baroda, India.
- KROITOR, HARRY. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Univ., College Station.
- KRUSE, HORST. 1731½ Grove St., Berkeley, Cal.
- KUMMER, GEORGE. Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- KUNG-PEH, SHEN. *Liberal Arts*. Nat'l. Taiwan Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- KURODA, YASUMASA. *Government*. Montana SC, Bozeman.
- KURTZ, KENNETH. *English*. Occidental Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- KWAIT, JOSEPH J. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- LABOR, EARLE. Adrian Coll., Adrian, Mich.
- LABUDDE, KENNETH. Dir., Libraries, Univ. of Mo., Kansas City, Mo.
- LACEBAL, ANACLETO. *Economics*. Univ. of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines.
- LALLY, PATRICK. *English*. Coll. of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
- LANDON, GEORGE C. *American Thought & Lang.*, Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- LANIER, STERLING. *English*. Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.
- LAPP, RUDOLPH. *Social Science*. Coll. of San Mateo, San Mateo, Cal.
- LARKIN, OLIVER. 37 Henshaw Ave., Northampton, Mass.
- LARRABEE, ERIC. 448 W. 20th St., NYC.
- LARSON, ESTHER E. *English*. Pa. SC, East Stroudsburg.
- LARSON, T. A. Dir., School of American Studies, Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- LASER, MARVIN. *English*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- LAUTZ, RICHARD E. 412 Quince St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- LAVERTY, CARROLL D. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- LAYTON, EDWIN. *History*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- LEACH, NANCY. *American Studies*. Coll. for Women, Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LEARY, LEWIS. *English*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- LEATHERS, LYMAN L. *English*. Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, Ohio.
- LEBBY, DAVID. 10 Williams Dr., Annapolis, Md.
- LE BRETON, E. J. 5302 Wakefield Rd., Green Acres, Md.
- LECKY, ELEAZER. *English*. 2309 W. 23rd St., Los Angeles, Cal.
- LECLAIR, ROBERT C. Chairman, *English*. Principia Coll., Elmhurst, Ill.
- LEE, BRIAN. *Lecturer*. Univ. of Nottingham, Nottingham, England.
- LEE, ESTHER. *American Literature*. Tenn. Polytechnic Inst., Cookeville.

- LEE, EVERETT. *Sociology*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LEE, GUNSAM. *English*. Dong Kook Univ., Seoul, Korea.
- LEE, HAROLD N. *Philosophy*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- LEE, HUNG-YIN. 16-3, La. 78, Lung Chuan St., Taipei, Taiwan.
- LEE, ROBERT EDSON. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- LEFEVRE, HELEN. 6331 W. Grace St., Chicago, Ill.
- LEIBY, JAMES. *Social Welfare*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- LEITE, LAURENCE. *Art*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- LEMELIN, ROBERT. 3366 Toledo Terrace, Hyattsville, Md.
- LENK, RICHARD. *History*, N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- LEONARD, NEIL. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LERNER, GERDA. 33-60 21 St., Long Island City, N. Y.
- LEVANT, HOWARD. *English*. Morningside Coll., Sioux City, Iowa.
- LEVENSON, J. C. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- LEVIN, DAVID. *English*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- LEVINE, ISIDORE. 33-47 145th St., Long Island City, N. Y.
- LEVINE, STUART. *English*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- LEVITAS, IRVING. 500 N. Columbus, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
- LEWIS, ELSIE. P.O. Box 214, Marion, Ala.
- LEWIS, MERRILL. 830 Key St., Bellingham, Wash.
- LEWIS, MRS. PATRICIA M. 472 Main St., East Aurora, N. Y.
- LEWIS, STEVEN. 3504-79th Ave., S.E., Washington, D. C.
- LEYENDECKER, LISTON. 302 Indiana, Corpus Christi, Tex.
- LICHT, MERETE. Ronnebaervej 50, Holte, Denmark.
- LIEDEL, DONALD E. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- LILLARD, RICHARD G. Los Angeles City Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- LINDBERG, FOLKE. Historiska Institutionen. Teknologgatan 8, Stockholm, Sweden.
- LINNMANN, G. *Literature & the Arts*. La Porte High School, La Porte, Ind.
- LIPPMAN, MONROE. Head, *Theatre & Speech*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- LIU, C. H. *History*. Nat'l. Taiwan Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- LLOYD, FRANCIS V. JR. Laboratory Schls., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- LOCHER, JACK. *English*. Gettysburg Coll., Gettysburg, Pa.
- LOEWENBERG, BERT J. *History*. Sarah Lawrence Coll., Bronxville, N. Y.
- LOGUE, J. M. *English*. North Tex. SU, Denton.
- LOKKE, VIRGIL L. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- LONG, E. HUDSON. *English*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- LONGTIN, RAY C. *English*. Long Island Univ., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- LOVELL, JOHN. *English*. Howard Univ., Washington, D. C.
- LOWE, W. J. *Liberal Studies*. Clarkson Coll. of Tech., Potsdam, N. Y.
- LOWENS, IRVING. Music Critic, Washington *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C.
- LOWITT, RICHARD. *History*. Conn. Coll., New London.
- LU, SHIH-CHIANG. *History*. Inst. of Mod. History, Academia Sinica, Nankang, Taipei, Taiwan.
- LU, SHIH-PENG. *History*. Tunghai Univ., Taichung, Taiwan.
- LUBOVE, ROY. Graduate Schl. of Social Work, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- LUCID, ROBERT F. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LUDWIG, RICHARD M. *English*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- LUEDERS, EDWARD. *English*. Hanover Coll., Hanover, Ind.
- LUKE, MYRON H. *History*. C. W. Post Coll., Greenvale, N. Y.
- LUNG, KWAN-HAI. *Law*. Nat'l. Taiwan Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- LURIE, EDWARD. *History*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- LUTZ, CAROLINE S. 5706 York Rd., Richmond, Va.
- LUTZKY, SEYMOUR. Director, Inst. of American Studies, Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- LYDENBERG, JOHN. *English*. Hobart & William Smith Colls., Geneva, N. Y.
- LYKES, RICHARD W. 921 Parkside Terr., Fairfax, Va.

- LYON, MRS. JOHN B. 525 Westchester Dr., Decatur, Ga.
- *LYON, MELVIN E. *English*. 1713 N. Patrick Henry Dr., Arlington, Va.
- LYON, RICHARD C. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- *LYONS, MRS. HELEN L. 4 Jackson St., Penacook, N. H.
- LYONS, RICHARD. *English*. N. D. Agricultural Coll., Fargo.
- McAVOY, REV. THOMAS T., C.S.C. *History*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- McCANDLISH, G. E. *History & Literature*. 1 Mt. Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass.
- McCANN, FRANKLIN. *English*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- McCLARY, BEN. P. O. Box 33, Benton, Tenn.
- McCLOSKEY, JOHN C. *English*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- McCORMICK, EDGAR L. *English*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- McCrum, BLANCHE P. 1035 22nd St., S., Arlington, Va.
- McCUTCHEON, JAMES. *History*. Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- McDAVID, RAVEN JR. *English*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- McDERMOTT, JOHN F. *English*. 6345 Westminster Pl., St. Louis, Mo.
- McELDERRY, BRUCE. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- McEuen, KATHRYN. *English*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- McEvoy, JAMES. 1610 Washtenau, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- McGiffert, MICHAEL. *History*. Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
- McGILL, ROBERT A. *English*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- McGrath, EDWARD. *Citizenship*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- McINTOSH, CLARENCE. *History*. Chico SC, Chico, Cal.
- McKee, JOHN D. *Humanities*. N. M. Inst. of Mining & Tech., Socorro.
- McKee, WILLIAM R. *English*. Univ. of St. Thomas, Houston, Tex.
- McKEITHAN, D. M. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- McKITRICK, ERIC L. *History*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- McLAUGHLIN, CHARLES C. 6702 Maple Ave., Chevy Chase, Md.
- McLEAN, ALBERT F. JR. *English*. 265 Leewood Dr., Lexington, Ky.
- McLEAN, ROBERT C. *English*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- McLEAN, SYDNEY R. *English*. Mt. Holyoke Coll., South Hadley, Mass.
- McMICHAEL, GEORGE. Dean of Faculty. Cal. SC, 532 Mountain View Ave., San Bernardino, Cal.
- McVAY, GEORGIANNE. 125 Elfreth's Alley, Philadelphia, Pa.
- MAASS, JOHN. *Art*. Room 201, City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.
- MACDONALD, CURTIS C. *Social Sciences*. Colo. Woman's Coll., Denver.
- MAGGIO, CARL I. 2110 Gaddy Crt., Falls Church, Va.
- MAIN, JACKSON T. 145 Potomac Dr., Los Gatos, Cal.
- MAJID, SANIA. S. Circular Rd., Peshawar Cantt., West Pakistan.
- MAJOR, MABEL. *English*. Baylor Univ., Baylor, Tex.
- MAKITA, T. Kanazawa Univ., Kanazawa, Japan.
- MAKOSKY, DONALD R. *English*. 52 Park St., Canton, N. Y.
- MALIN, IRVING. *English*. City Coll., NYC.
- MALIN, JAMES C. 1541 University Dr., Lawrence, Kans.
- MALLAN, JOHN T. 885 S. Green Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
- MALONE, DAVID. *Comparative Literature*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- MALONE, MICHAEL. 109 Terrace, Pullman, Wash.
- MANE, ROBERT L. *Maitre-Asst.*, Univ. of Paris, Paris, France.
- MANIERRE, WILLIAM. *English*. Rutgers SU, Newark, N. J.
- MANN, ARTHUR. Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- MANSFIELD, LUTHER S. *History*. Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass.
- MAO, NATHAN. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- MARBURG, THEODORE F. 5835 W. Trenton Pl., Milwaukee, Wis.
- MARCELL, DAVID W. 105 Howe St., New Haven, Conn.
- MARCHAND, CHARLES R. 16 A Escondido Village, Stanford, Cal.
- MARCHAND, ERNEST. *English*. San Diego SC, San Diego, Cal.
- MARCKWARDT, ALBERT H. *English*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.

- MARKS, BARRY. *English*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- MARRERO, J. EDWARD. *English*. Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras.
- MARSH, JOHN. P. O. Box 25, Edinboro, Pa.
- MARSHALL, HELEN E. *History & Social Science*. Ill. State Normal Univ., Normal.
- *MARSHALL, THOMAS F. *English*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- MARSTON, DONALD F. 808 Miriam Ave., Rockford, Ill.
- MARTIN, MRS. ROBERT W. 325 Dartmouth Ave., Swarthmore, Pa.
- MARTIN, TERENCE. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- MARTY, MARTIN. 239 Scottswood, Riverside, Ill.
- MASUI, MICHIO. *English*. Hiroshima Univ., Hiroshima, Japan.
- MATSUMOTO, SHIGEHARU. Japanese Assn. for American Studies, International House, Tokyo, Japan.
- MAURER, DAVID W. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- MAURER, MAURER. *Military History*. Air Univ., Montgomery, Ala.
- MEAD, C. D. *English*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- MEHLMAN, MICHAEL. Florence SC, Florence, Ala.
- MEIER, ILUGO A. *History*. Pa. SU, Sparks Bldg., University Park.
- MEIJER, HENK. Transvaalkade 9, Amsterdam-Oost, Netherlands.
- MEISTER, CHARLES W. *English*. Ariz. SC, Flagstaff.
- MELDER, EUGENE F. *Economics*, Clark Univ., Worcester, Mass.
- MELDER, KEITH. *Political History*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- MELLENDEZ, EDMUNDO. Las Lomas High School, Walnut Creek, Cal.
- MENKE, WAYNE. 1130 Wendy Way, Chico, Cal.
- MERIDETH, ROBERT. 5214 Brown Rd., Oxford, Ohio.
- MERIKANGAS, ROBERT J. 7112 Bridle Path La., Hyattsville, Md.
- MERIWETHER, JAMES. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- MESEROLE, HARRISON T. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- MESSBARGER, PAUL. 1293 Fifield Pl., St. Paul, Minn.
- MESSNER, GERALD. American River Coll., Sacramento, Cal.
- METZ, WILLIAM D. *History & Political Science*. Univ. of R. I., Kingston.
- METZGER, CHARLES. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- MEYER, FRANK S. Ohayo Mountain, Woodstock, N. Y.
- MEYER, KENNETH J. *English*. 1010 5th Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- MEYER, ROY W. *English*. Mankato SC, Mankato, Minn.
- MEZVINSKY, NORTON. *History*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- MICKELSON, JOEL C. 517 S. Green Ave., Stevens Pt., Wis.
- MIDDLEBROOK, SAMUEL. *English*. City Coll., NYC.
- MILES, EDWIN A. *History*. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- MILES, RICHARD D. *History*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- MILLER, EDWIN H. 4642 Waldo Ave., Riverdale, N. Y.
- MILLER, JAMES E. JR. *English*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- MILLER, KENNETH G. Lyons, Neb.
- MILLER, RICHARD F. *Language & Literature*. Eastern Wash. Coll. of Educ., Cheney.
- MILLER, RUSSELL E. *History*. Tufts Univ., Medford, Mass.
- MILLS, GORDON. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- MILNE, ALAN J. M. Lecturer, Queen's Univ. of Belfast, Belfast, Ireland.
- MILTON, JOHN R. *English*. Univ. of S. D., Vermillion.
- MINER, LOUIE M. 81 Columbia Hts., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- MINER, THELMA S. *English*. Youngstown Univ., Youngstown, Ohio.
- MINER, WARD L. *English*. Youngstown Univ., Youngstown, Ohio.
- MINGER, RALPH E. *History*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- MINNIS, JACK H. 303 N. 37th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MISRA, K. P. Daliganj Station, Lucknow, India.
- MITCHELL, ROWLAND. Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Ave., NYC.
- MONDALE, CLARENCE. *American Studies*. Univ. of Ala., University.

- MONTGOMERY, CHARLES. Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.
- * MOON-LING, WONG. Kow Wah New Village, Lai Chi Kok, Kowloon, Hong Kong.
- MOORE, RAYBURN S. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- MORALES, ALFREDO T. Dean, Grad. Coll. of Educ., Univ. of Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines.
- MORGAN, KENNETH. *History*. Univ. College of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea, Wales.
- MORSE, JOHN D. 1209 Norbee Dr., Wilmington, Del.
- * MORTON, RICHARD K. Jacksonville Univ., Jacksonville, Fla.
- MOST, RALPH C. *English*. Drexel Inst. of Tech., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MOTTRAM, ERIC. *English*. King's Coll., Univ. of London, Strand, London W. C. 2, U. K.
- MOYNE, ERNEST J. *English*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- MUGRIDGE, DONALD H. Gen. Ref. & Bib. Div., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- MUKHERJEE, S. K. *English*. 14 Stewart Rd., Patna (Bihar), India.
- MULLER, DOROTHEA. *History*. C. W. Post Coll., Oyster Bay, N. Y.
- * MUNIZ, MARIA ANTONIA DE PORTO. c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D. S. Bailey, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- MUNROE, JOHN A. *History*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- MURAOKA, OSAMU. *English*. Tohoku Univ., Sendai-shi, Japan.
- MURDOCK, KENNETH B. *English*. Villa I Tatti, Via Di Vincigliata, Florence, Italy.
- MURPHEY, MURRAY. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- MURPHY, PAUL L. *History*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- MURRAY, ALEX. *History*. York Univ., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- MURRAY, BYRON D. Moorhead SC, Moorhead, Minn.
- * MURRAY, JAMES. *English*. Tyler Junior Coll., Tyler, Tex.
- MUSE, RAYMOND. *History*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- MUSTE, JOHN M. *English*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- MUTTHUSWAMY, B. Andhra Univ. Coll., Waltair, India.
- MYERS, ANDREW B. *American Studies & English*. Fordham Univ., NYC.
- NAGARA, SUSUMU. 5235 Harbor Crt., Madison, Wis.
- NAGEL, PAUL C. *History*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- NAIK, B. M. Head, *English*. Bhavan's Coll., Chaupatty, Bombay, India.
- NAIK, M. K. *English*. Karnatak Univ., Dharwar, Mysore, India.
- NAIR, M. G. S. *English*. Univ. Coll., Kerala, South India.
- NAKAMURA, JUNICHI. Kobe Coll., Nishinomiya City, Japan.
- NANCE, JOSEPH M. *History & Government*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- NARAIN, IQBAL. *Political Science*. Rajasthan Univ., Rajasthan, Jaipur, India.
- NASH, LEE M. *History*. Cascade Coll., Portland, Ore.
- NASH, RODERICK. *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- NASH, R. W. *Sociology*. Coe Coll., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- NEIDLE, MRS. CECYLE S. 145 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- NEIL, J. MEREDITH. 2208 Cove Way, Pullman, Wash.
- NELSON, C. E. Fresno SC, Fresno, Cal.
- NEWBOLD, CATHARINE. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- NICHOL, JOHN. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- NICHOLL, GRIER. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- NICHOLS, MRS. JEANNETT P. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- NICHOLS, ROY F. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- NICHOLS, WILLIAM W. *English*. Univ. of Mo., Columbia.
- NICKLASON, FRED. *American Studies*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- NING, C. *English*. Taiwan Normal Univ., East Ho Ping Rd., Taipei, Taiwan.
- NINOMIYA, KAZUJI. 247-5 Sekiya-Hamamatsucho, Niigata, Japan.
- NISHIKAWA, MASAO. 118 3rd St., N.E., Washington, D. C.
- NOBLE, DAVID. *History*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.

- NOBLE, RANSOM E. JR. *History*. Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- NOLAN, PAUL T. *English*. Univ. of Southwestern La., Lafayette.
- NORMAND, JEAN. *American Literature*. 91 Blvd. de la Duchesse Anne, Rennes, France.
- NORTON, WESLEY. *History*. Lamar SC, Beaumont, Tex.
- NOYES, EDWARD. *History*. Wis. SC, Oshkosh.
- NUNIS, DOYCE B. *Education & History*. 2575 Creston Dr., Los Angeles, Cal.
- NUTLEY, GRACE S. *English*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- NYE, RUSSELL B. *English*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- NYUNT, U MYO. *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- OBERHOLZER, EMIL JR. *Social Studies*. City Coll., NYC.
- O'BRIEN, KENNETH B. JR. *History*. Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
- O'CALLUGHAM, PHYLLIS. Hotel Oliver, South Bend, Ind.
- OCHS, ROBERT D. *History*. Univ. of S. C., Columbia.
- O'DONNELL, WILLIAM G. *English*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- OKADA, AIKO. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- OKUN, MITCHELL. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- OLIVA, LEO E. 2702 Walnut St., Hays, Kans.
- DE OLIVEIRA, MARIA ZELIA C. *Philosophy*. Univ. da Paraiba, Joao Pessoa, P.B., Brazil.
- OLIVER, EGBERT S. Portland SC, Portland, Ore.
- OLIVER, MRS. REBEKAH. 8465 E. Lehigh, Denver, Colo.
- OLM, LEE E. Box 2021, Sam Houston Coll., Huntsville, Tex.
- OLNEY, CLARKE. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- OLSEN, ERLING. *Economics*. Strandvejen 415-B, Klampenborg, Denmark.
- OLSEN, MERTYS K. 47 Palace Apts., Watertown, S. D.
- OLLSON, GUNNAR P. Universitetslektor, Uppsala Univ., Uppsala, Sweden.
- OORBURG, JAN. 50 Hereweg, Groningen, The Netherlands.
- OPITZ, KURT. Conn. Coll., New London.
- O'PRAY, DENIS. 208 5th Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- ORDONEZ, ELMER A. 1938 Rowley Ave., Madison, Wis.
- ORIYA, HAJIME. 1-42 Kanamecho, Toshimaku, Tokyo, Japan.
- ORTH, MICHAEL. *American Studies*. Univ. of N. M., Albuquerque.
- ORVIK, NILS. Univ. of Oslo, Fritznergaten, Oslo, Norway.
- OSBORN, SCOTT C. *English*. Miss. SU, State College.
- OSBORNE, MARY TOM. *English*. San Antonio Coll., San Antonio, Tex.
- OSOFSKY, GILBERT. *History*. Univ. of Ill., Chicago.
- OTANI, MRS. YO. Economic Research Inst., Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
- PAGE, JOHN F. *History*. Box 1644, Williamsburg, Va.
- PALETTE, DREW. *English*. Univ. of Ariz., Tucson.
- PANDIT, S. 22 Karan Nagar, Srinagar, Kashmir, India.
- PANNELL, MRS. ANNE G. Sweet Briar Coll., Sweet Briar, Va.
- PARIENTE, ARTHUR C. 300 W. Johnson St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- PARISH, PETER J. Lecturer. Univ. of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland.
- PARK, MARY CATHRYNE. *English*. 450 Norwood St., Merritt Island, Fla.
- PARKES, HENRY B. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- PARKS, EDD W. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- PARMELEE, K. STEPHEN. 189 Babylon Tpke., Roosevelt, N. Y.
- PARTIN, ROBERT. *History*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- PASTORE, NICHOLAS. 56 7th Ave., NYC.
- PATIL, P. G. Principal, Chatrapati Coll., Satara, Maharashtra, India.
- PATTERSON, REBECCA. Kans. SC, Pittsburg.
- PAUL, SHERMAN. *English*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- PAYNE, ALMA J. *English*. Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, Ohio.
- PEARCE, BESSIE M. *English*. San Antonio Coll., San Antonio, Tex.
- PEARCE, RICHARD. *English*. Alfred Univ., Alfred, N. Y.

- PEARCE, ROY H. *English*. Univ. of Cal., La Jolla.
- PEARSON, NORMAN HOLMES. *American Studies*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- PEASE, WILLIAM H. *History*. Univ. of Alberta, Calgary, Canada.
- PEDANKER, K. D. Vengurla Coll., Vengurla, Maharashtra, India.
- PEMBLE, PHYLLIS. 2920 W. 87th Terr., Leawood, Kans.
- PENNEBAKER, MRS. G. B. *English*. Tenn. Polytechnic Inst., Cookeville.
- PENNYBACKER, RUTH. *English*. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- PENROD, JAMES H. *English*. Eastern N. M. Univ., Portales.
- PENROD, JOHN A. *English*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- PERSONS, STOW. *History*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- PESSEN, EDWARD. *History & Social Science*. Staten Island Community Coll., Staten Island, N. Y.
- PETERSON, HUGH JR. 333 So. Birchwood Ave., Louisville, Ky.
- PETERSON, WALTER F. *History*. 4155 N. Murray Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
- PFAD, JOHN. 3905 N. Camelia Dr., San Bernardino, Cal.
- PFEIFFER, DAVID G. *Social Science*. 911 W. 29th St., Austin, Tex.
- PENISTER, ALLAN O. c/o Dean's Office, Wittenberg Univ., Springfield, Ohio.
- PHILPOSE, THOMAS. 2250 S. University, Denver, Colo.
- PHILLIPS, ANNE R. *English*. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- PHILLIPS, ELIZABETH C. *English*. Memphis SU, Memphis, Tenn.
- PHILLIPS, WILLIAM L. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- PHIPPS, FRANK. *English*. Univ. of Akron, Akron, Ohio.
- PICKETT, CALDER M. *Journalism*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- PICKETT, ROBERT. *Liberal Studies*. Clarkson Coll. of Technology, Potsdam, N. Y.
- PIERCY, JOSEPHINE K. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- PIERSON, GEORGE W. *History*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- PIERSON, ROSCOE M. Coll. of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.
- PILKINGTON, JOHN JR. *English*. Univ. of Miss., University.
- PINKERTON, MRS. JAN. 51 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Mass.
- PIPER, HENRY DAN. Dean, Coll. of Arts & Sciences, Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- PIZER, DONALD. *English*. Newcomb Coll., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- PLATT, VIRGINIA B. *History*. Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, Ohio.
- PLEASANTS, MR. & MRS. 6411 Kennett Pike, Wilmington, Del.
- PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, Box 1620, Plymouth, Mass.
- POLLAK, JOHN C. 213 - 20th Ave. So., Minneapolis, Minn.
- POMERANTZ, SIDNEY I. *History*. City Coll., NYC.
- POMEROY, EARL. *History*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- POPE, EARL A. *Religion*. 714 Hamilton St., Easton, Pa.
- PORTER, JENE M. *Political Science*. Drury Coll., Springfield, Mo.
- PORTER, MARY A. 414 W. 120th St., NYC.
- POTTER, DAVID. *Speech*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- POTTER, DAVID M. *History*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- POTTER, HUGH M. III. Box 272, New Castle, N. H.
- POWELL, CHARLES L. JR. c/o USIS—Adv. Teams, APO 158, San Francisco, Cal.
- POWELL, DAVID. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- POWELL, THOMAS F. *History*. Univ. of Akron, Akron, Ohio.
- POWELL, VICTOR M. Wabash Coll., Crawfordsville, Ind.
- *PRATT, DALLAS. 222 E. 49th St., NYC.
- PRATT, VIRGINIA. 87 Victoria Blvd., Kenmore, N. Y.
- PRESSLY, THOMAS J. *History*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- PRICE, ROBERT. *English*. Otterbein Coll., Westerville, Ohio.
- PRIOR, HARRIS K. Memorial Art Gallery, 490 University Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
- PROBST, GEORGE E. *General Education*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- PROCARIO, SAVERIO. Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, N. Y.
- PUGH, GRIFFITH T. *English*. Fla. SU, Tallahassee.
- PURCELL, JAMES S. *English*. Davidson Coll., Davidson, N. C.

- QUADE, MRS. W. O. 212 Nicholson St., Falls Church, Va.
- QUANDT, MRS. RICHARD E. 162 Springdale Rd., Princeton, N. J.
- QUARTERMAIN, P. A. *English*. Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
- QUIMBY, MR. IAN M. G. Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, N. Andover, Mass.
- RAEMSCH, BRUCE. 311 Woodland Ave., Media, Pa.
- RAHMAN, MUHAMMAD K. Visiting Scholar, *American History*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- RAJAPAKSE, REGINALD L. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- RANDALL, JOHN H. III. *English*. Boston Coll., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
- RANDEL, WILLIAM. *English*. Fla. SU, Tallahassee.
- RANDLE, WILLIAM. 5700 Arlington, Riverdale, Bronx, N. Y.
- RATHBUN, JOHN W. *English*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- RATNER, LORMAN. 3006 Old Yorktown Rd., Yorktown Hts., N. Y.
- RAUCH, BASIL. *History*. Barnard Coll., NYC.
- RAVITZ, A. C. *English*. Hiram Coll., Hiram, Ohio.
- READ, ALLEN W. *English*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- RECORD, C. WILSON. *Sociology*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- REDDING, R. W. 116 Sycamore St., Albuquerque, N. M.
- REDFIELD, MAYNARD. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Oneonta.
- REED, JOHN H. *History*. Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware.
- REED, JOHN J. *History*. Muhlenberg Coll., Allentown, Pa.
- REED, JOHN Q. *English*. Kans. SC, Pittsburg.
- REED, MARVIN E. JR. c/o Dr. H. R. Wilber, Best Apts., 515 N. Amelia Ave., DeLand, Fla.
- REEVE, FREDERICK E. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- REEVES, JOHN. *English*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- REEVES, PASCHAL. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- REID, ALFRED S. *English*. Furman Univ., Greenville, S. C.
- REIN, DAVID. *English*. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- REX, MILLICENT. 514 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- RICCIO, ROBERT. Chairman, *Humanities*. Univ. of Puerto Rico, Mayaguez.
- *RICHARDSON, EDGAR P. Dir., Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.
- RICHARDSON, H. EDWARD. *English*. Eastern Ky. SC, Richmond.
- RICHARDSON, JAMES. 71 Ralston Ave., So. Orange, N. J.
- RICHARDSON, LYON N. *English*. Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- RICHARDSON, ROBERT. 2400 S. Jackson, Denver, Colo.
- RICHWINE, KEITH N. 10 Ridge Rd., Westminster, Md.
- RICKELS, MILTON. *English*. Univ. of Southwestern La., Lafayette.
- RICKELS, PATRICIA. *English*. Univ. of Southwestern La., Lafayette.
- RICKETTS, MARY E. 13 W. Chestnut Ave., Merchantville, N. J.
- RIDDLE, DONALD H. 63 Deerpath, Princeton, N. J.
- RIDENOUR, HARRY. *English*. Baldwin-Wallace Coll. (Emeritus), Berea, Ohio.
- RIDEOUT, WALTER. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- RIESMAN, DAVID. *Social Relations*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- RIFE, MRS. WAYNE. 406 S. 2nd St., Mt. Vernon, Iowa.
- RIGA, FRANK P. 52 Savona Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
- RILEY, WILLIAM A. *Social Studies*. Nathaniel Hawthorne Coll., Antrim, N. H.
- RINGE, DONALD. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- RION, MARY. *English*. Agnes Scott Coll., Decatur, Ga.
- RISCHIN, MOSES. *History*. San Francisco SC, San Francisco, Cal.
- RIVES, STANLEY. *Speech*. Ill. State Normal Univ., Normal.
- RIVIERE, JEAN E. Professeur Agregé. Lycee Turgot, Paris, France.
- ROACHE, JOEL H. 5408 Harley Terrace, Philadelphia, Pa.
- ROBBINS, J. ALBERT. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- ROBERTS, ROBERT. *Social Science*. Cal. SC, 532 Mountain View Ave., San Bernardino.

- ROBERTS, WARREN JR. *Political Science*. Newcomb Coll., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- ROBERTSON, HENRY M. Basic Coll., Univ. of South Fla., Tampa.
- ROBERTSON, THOMAS L. JR. 724 W. 7th St., Anderson, Ind.
- ROBINSON, CLAYTON R. 1015 Essex S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- ROBINSON, E. ARTHUR. *English*. Univ. of R. I., Kingston.
- ROBINSON, ELIZABETH I. 104 Ruhamah Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
- ROBINSON, FRANCIS. *English*. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- ROBINSON, GEORGE W. *Social Science*. East-ern Ky. SC, Richmond.
- ROCHE, JOHN P. *Political Science*. Brandeis Univ., Waltham, Mass.
- ROCK, VIRGINIA. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- ROCKLAND, MICHAEL A. USIS—Am. Emb., APO 285, NYC.
- ROCKWELL, KENNETH. Center Bldg., St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C.
- RODMAN, MRS. KATHERINE P. 51 Bond Rd., Riverside, R. I.
- ROELOFS, VERNON W. *History*. Lawrence Coll., Appleton, Wis.
- ROGERS, ARTHUR E. 840 Honey Creek Dr., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- ROGERS, BEN. Univ. of Jacksonville, Jacksonville, Fla.
- ROGERS, W. B. *Social Studies*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Cortland.
- ROLNICK, STANLEY. *History*. Wis. SC, La Crosse.
- RONSHIM, ROBERT D. *History*. 21 Marrett St., Lexington, Mass.
- ROONEY, CHARLES. 12 Lansing Pl., Upper Montclair, N. J.
- ROONEY, WILLIAM E. 1910 Pelopidas St., New Orleans, La.
- ROOS, DANIEL F. 2304 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va.
- ROPPE, GEORG. *English*. Engelsk Institutt, Allegaten 55B, Bergen, Norway.
- ROPPOLO, JOSEPH. *English*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- ROSE, RUTH O. *English*. MacMurray Coll., Jacksonville, Ill.
- ROSENBERG, CHARLES. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- ROSENBERRY, EDWARD H. *English*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- ROSENFELD, WILLIAM. Baldwin-Wallace Coll., Berea, Ohio.
- ROSENFELD, LEONORA C. *Foreign Languages*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- ROSENTHAL, HERBERT H. Southern Ill. Univ., East St. Louis.
- ROSS, DAN. *American Literature*. South-western Univ., Memphis, Tenn.
- ROSS, MRS. MAUDE H. *English*. Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- ROSS, MORTON L. *American Studies*. Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- ROSS, ROBERT W. *History*. 50 Willow St., Minneapolis, Minn.
- ROSSI, JOSEPH. *Italian*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- ROTH, GOETZ. *Government*. Heidelberg-Ziegelhausen. Forlenweg 25, Federal Republic of Germany.
- ROTONDARO, FRED. 10 Defoe St., Pittston, Pa.
- ROVIT, EARL H. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- ROZWENG, EDWIN C. Head, *American Studies*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- RUBIN, JOSEPH J. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- RUBIN, LOUIS D. JR. *English*. Hollins Coll., Hollins, Va.
- RUCHAMES, LOUIS. 219 Elm St., Northampton, Mass.
- RUDD, EVA. Hardin-Simmons Univ., Abilene, Tex.
- RUDDLE, JAMES F. *English*. Univ. of Fla., Tampa.
- *RUDOLPH, FREDERICK. *History*. Box 77, Williamstown, Mass.
- RULAND, RICHARD E. *English*. The University, Leeds, England.
- RULE, HENRY B. *English*. Lamar SC of Tech., Beaumont, Tex.
- RUMBROUGH, CAPT. D. H., USA. 11 Rockland Crt., Wayne, Pa.
- RUNDELL, WALTER JR. *History*. 3410-B S. Utah St., Arlington, Va.
- RUSSELL, I. WILLIA. American Dialect Society, University, Alabama.
- RUSSELL, TRUSTEN W. Exec. Assoc., Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Washington, D. C.
- RUTLEDGE, ANNA WELLS. *Art History*. 44 S. Battery, Charleston, S. C.
- RYAN, FRANK W. JR. *Social Science*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.

- RYSTAD, N. GURAN. Visiting Scholar, *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- SAALBACH, ROBERT P. *English*. Ind. SC, Terre Haute.
- SADLER, DAVID. *English*. Western Mich. Univ., Kalamazoo.
- SAEKI, SHOICHI. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- SAMUELS, ERNEST. *English*. Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- SANDEEN, ERNEST. *English*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- SANDERS, DAVID S. *Humanities*. Harvey Mudd Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- SANDS, ALYCE E. *English*. Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SANFORD, CHARLES L. *Language & Literature*. Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst., Troy, N. Y.
- SAN JUAN, EPIFANIO S. JR. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- SANT'ANNA, NORMA C. M. c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D. S. Bailey, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- SATO, TOSHIHIKO. 4031 11th St., N.E., Seattle, Wash.
- SAUNDERS, HAROLD H. 920 W. Great Falls St., Falls Church, Va.
- SAVETH, EDWARD N. *American Studies*. New School for Social Research, NYC.
- SCANLON, LAWRENCE E. *English*. RFD #2, Holcomb St., Granby, Conn.
- SCHAFER, ALAN. *History*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- SCHIFFMAN, JOSEPH. *English*. American Studies Research Ctre., Osmania Univ., Hyderabad, India.
- SCHLABACH, ANNE V. *Philosophy*. Bennington Coll., Bennington, Vt.
- SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR JR. 1180 - 18th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- SCHMIDT, DOLORES B. *English*. c/o Dr. Earl R. Schmidt. *History*. Southern Colo. SC, Pueblo.
- SCHMUNK, PAUL L. *Social Science*. Wis. SC, Whitewater.
- SCHNEIDER, ROBERT W. *History*. Northern Ill. Univ., DeKalb.
- SCHRADER, A. F. Box 122, Sturbridge, Mass.
- SCHRECKENGOST, GARY D. 2617 St. Clair Ave., East Liverpool, Ohio.
- SCHROEDER, FRED. *English*. Univ. of Minn., Duluth.
- SCHULD, FRED N. JR. 1572 Bradford Dr., Northfield, Ohio.
- SCHULZ, RODOLFO, c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D. S. Bailey, APO 676, NYC.
- SCHUSTER, WERNER. *Law*. Schmuckshole 6a, Hamburg-Fuhlsbittel, Federal Repub. of Germany.
- SCHUTZ, JOHN A. *History & Political Science*. Whittier Coll., Whittier, Cal.
- SCHWABE, KLAUS. Wissenschaftlicher Asst. mit Lehrauftrag, Univ. of Freiburg, Germany.
- SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH. *English*. Marquette Univ., Milwaukee, Wis.
- SCHWARZ, HERBERT JR. *History*. 435 E. 57th St., NYC.
- SCHWENK, NORMAN G. *American Literature*. Univ. of Upsala, Upsala, Sweden.
- SCCLARENCO, CARL. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- SCUDDER, TOWNSEND III. Puckshire Farm, Woodbury, Conn.
- SEABERG, STANLEY. 7129 Coronado Dr., San Jose, Calif.
- SEALTS, MERTON M. *English*. Lawrence Coll., Appleton, Wis.
- SEARS, IRWIN. 7 Harwood Ave., White Plains, N. Y.
- SEELY, MRS. NORINE. 2514 Avalon Pl., Hyattsville, Md.
- SEELYE, JOHN D. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- SEITSINGER, ANITA S. Rose Hill, Iowa.
- SELDEN, LAUREN. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- SETHOM, MOHAMED. Faculte des Lettres, Tunis, Tunisia.
- SEVIER, ANN. Winthrop Coll., Rock Hill, S. C.
- SHA, HSUEH-CHUEN. House 3, Alley 18, La. 16, Wenchow St., Taipei, Taiwan.
- SHAFFER, ROBERT E. *Education*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- SHAIN, CHARLES E. *English*. Conn. Coll., New London.
- SHANNO, GEORGE V. 468 Weadley Rd., Stratford, Wayne, Pa.
- SHANNON, REV. JAMES P. Pres., Coll. of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
- SHARMA, OM P. Head, *English*. 11, New Gov't. Quarters, Civil Lines, Ludhiana, Panjab, India.
- SHARMA, SOM PARKASH. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- SHARMAK, VED P. *English*. 1932 Borchers Dr., San Jose, Cal.

- SHEAR, WALTER. *English*. Kans. SC, Pittsburg.
- SHIELD, GEORGE W. H. 1537 W. 46th St., Los Angeles, Cal.
- SHIPLEY, FREDERICK C. City Coll., NYC.
- SHIPLEY, HELEN B. 1309 Broad St., Grinnell, Iowa.
- SHOCKLEY, MARTIN S. *English*. North Tex. SU, Denton.
- SHOEMAKER, ROBERT W. *History*. North Central Coll., Naperville, Ill.
- SHORTEN, RICHARD. 102 Tedrich Blvd., Fairfax, Va.
- SHRELL, DARWIN H. *English*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- SHRYOCK, RICHARD. *History*. American Philosophical Society, 105 S. 5th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SHUGAAR, MRS. GERDA. 7425 Buffalo Ave., Takoma Park, Md.
- *SIBLEY, MULFORD Q. *Political Science*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- SICKELS, ELEANOR M. *English*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- SIFTON, PAUL G. *History*. Independence Nat'l. Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pa.
- SILLARS, MALCOLM. *Speech & Drama*. 17743 Merridy, Northridge, Cal.
- SILVERMAN, HENRY JACOB. #1, Third St., N.E., Washington, D. C.
- SIMIC, RADOSLAVA. *American Civilization*. Djordja Ilica 1, M. M. Lug, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.
- SIMON, MYRON. Div. of LS&A, Univ. of Mich., Dearborn.
- SIMONSON, HAROLD P. *English*. Univ. of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.
- SIMPSON, LEWIS P. *English*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- SINCLAIR, ANDREW. Churchill Coll., Cambridge Univ., Cambridge, England.
- SINGER, MRS. KATHERINE V. 1701 Water Board Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
- SINNEN, JEANNE. Univ. of Minn. Press, Minneapolis.
- SINZER, JOSEPH. Dean of Academic Affairs, Pace Coll., NYC.
- SIO, ARNOLD. *Sociology & Anthropology*. Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
- SISTER CORNELIUS JULIE, SND. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- SISTER EDWIN MARY MCBRIDE. *English*. Loretto Hts. Coll., Loretto, Colo.
- SISTER ESTHER M. GOODROW. *History*. Loretto Hts. Coll., Loretto, Colo.
- SISTER JOAN DE LOURDES. *History*. St. Joseph's Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- SISTER MARIE CAROLYN, O.P. *History*. Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C.
- SISTER MARY AQUIN, O.P. 1607 Robinson Rd., Grand Rapids, Mich.
- SISTER MARY EDMUND LINCOLN. *English*. Coll. of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn.
- SISTER M. GENEROSA, C.D.P. Our Lady of the Lake Coll., San Antonio, Tex.
- SISTER MARY LOUIS MORGAN. *English*. Ursuline Coll., Louisville, Ky.
- SISTER MARY RENATA. Saint Mary's Coll., Notre Dame, Ind.
- SISTER M. RUTH, O.P. *History*. 4255 Third Ave. So., Minneapolis, Minn.
- SISTER ROSE CECILIA VARLEY, C.S.J. St. Mary's Hospital, Minneapolis, Minn.
- SISTER ST. CLAIRE. *History*. Mt. St. Mary's Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- SISTER THOMAS CATHERINE, O.P. *English*. Barry Coll., Miami, Fla.
- SIXBEY, GEORGE L. *Humanities*. Southern SC, Magnolia, Ark.
- SKARD, SIGMUND. American Inst., H-F-bygget, Blindern, Oslo, Norway.
- SKIDMORE, MAX J. 3006 Pearl Dr., Suitland, Md.
- SKOTHEIM, ROBERT A. *History*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- SLABEY, ROBERT M. *English*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- SLATE, JOSEPH E. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- SLAVITT, MARLENE. 29 Fairview St., Keene, N. H.
- SMALL, MIRIAM R. *English*. North Berwick, Maine.
- SMART, GEORGE K. *English*. Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- SMILEY, GRACE L. Res. Analyst, Gen. Ref. & Bib. Div., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- SMITH, DAVID E. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- SMITH, F. WILSON. *History*. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- SMITH, HENRY NASH. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- SMITH, HUBERT W. *English*. Utah SU, Logan.
- SMITH, JAMES STEEL. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.

- SMITH, JOHN B. 332 Grassy Sprain Rd., Yonkers, N. Y.
- SMITH, JOHN W. Jamestown, N. D.
- SMITH, LANNOM. Philadelphia Museum College of Art, 7th & Delancey, Philadelphia Pa.
- SMITH, NOLAN E. *English*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- SMITH, PAUL H. *History*, Univ. of Nev., Reno.
- SMITH, RALPH C. 1301 8th St., Las Vegas, N. M.
- SMITH, RICHARD CAMPBELL. *Philosophy*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- SMITH, ROBINSON V. 16 Marshall Terrace, Wayland, Mass.
- SMITH, WILLARD H. *History & Political Science*. Goshen Coll., Goshen, Ind.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A. 423 E. Arrow Hwy., Claremont, Cal.
- SMYLIE, JAMES H. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.
- SNOWDEN, CONRAD. *Philosophy*. Howard Univ., Washington, D. C.
- SOCOLA, EDWARD M. *English*. La. SU, New Orleans.
- SOLOMON, WINTON U. *History*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- SOLOMON, ERIC. 3734 Tudor Arms Ave., Baltimore, Md.
- SOMKIN, FRED. *History*. Queen's Univ., Kingston, Ont., Canada.
- SORIA, REGINA. *Art*. Coll. of Notre Dame of Md., Baltimore.
- SOSTROM, JOHN P. 902 Colby Ct., DeKalb, Ill.
- SOUDERS, ROBERT. *Language Arts*. Chico SC, Chico, Cal.
- SPELLMAN, NORMAN. *Religion*. Southwestern Univ., Georgetown, Tex.
- SPILLER, ROBERT E. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- SPINGARN, LAWRENCE P. *English*. Valley Coll., Van Nuys, Cal.
- SPITZER, ROSALYN. 512 W. 112th St., NYC.
- SPIVACK, HAROLD. Chief, Music Div., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- SPIVEY, HERMAN E. Vice Pres., Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- SPRATT, J. S. *Economics*. Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
- SPURGEON, PATRICK O. *English*. Catawba Coll., Salisbury, N. C.
- SRIRAMAMURTY, Y. Lecturer in *History*. Andhra Univ., Waltair, India.
- STAEBLER, WARREN. *English*. Earlham Coll., Richmond, Ind.
- STAFFORD, JOHN. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- STALDER, C. E. *History*. Riverside City Coll., Riverside, Cal.
- STARRING, ROBERT W. *Communications Skills*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- STEARNS, GERALD EMANUEL. *History*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- STEARNS, OWEN P. *Humanities*. M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass.
- STECKMESSER, KENT L. *History*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- STEERE, GEOFFREY H. 1210 3rd Ave., Gainesville, Fla.
- STEFFANI, WINFRIED. *Government*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- STEIN, HARRY. 1699 Wellesley Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
- STEIN, ROGER B. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle, Wash.
- STEINBERG, A. H. *English*. Newark Coll. of Engineering, Newark, N. J.
- STELLER, ROBERT E. 965 14 Ave., S.E. Minneapolis, Minn.
- STENERSON, DOUGLAS C. *English*. Winona SC, Winona, Minn.
- STEPHENS, ROBERT O. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Greensboro.
- STERNE, RICHARD C. *English*. Simmons Coll., Boston, Mass.
- STERNISHER, BERNARD. 1213 Robert St., Union, N. J.
- STEVENS, ELIZABETH. 1616 York Ave., NYC.
- STEVENS, MRS. LUCILLE M. 3122 Legation St., Washington, D. C.
- STEVENSON, GEORGE J. *History*. Emory & Henry Coll., Emory, Va.
- STEWART, DOROTHEA. Campbell Coll., Buie's Creek, N. C.
- STEWART, PAUL R. 5130 N. Pennsylvania Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
- STIBITZ, E. EARLE. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- STILL, BAYRD. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- STIX, MRS. EDGAR R. III. 112 Carthage Rd., Scarsdale, N. Y.
- STOCK, ELY. *American Civilization*. Brown Station, Providence, R. I.
- STOKES, GEORGE S. *English*. Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- STOLLER, LEO. *English*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.

- STONE, ADOLPH. High School of Art & Design, NYC.
- STONE, ALBERT E. JR. 1297 Clifton Rd., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
- STONE, JAMES H. *Humanities*. San Francisco SC, San Francisco, Cal.
- STORHEIM, EIVIN D. *Philosophy*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- STORR, RICHARD J. *History*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- STORY, H. K. 1319 N. Duval St., Tallahassee, Fla.
- STOVALL, FLOYD. *English*. Univ. of Va., Charlottesville.
- STOVALL, MRS. J. D. *English*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- STRANDNESS, T. B. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- STRAUCH, CARL. *English*. Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa.
- STREETTER, ROBERT E. *English*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- STRICKLAND, GUY R. 408 W. Crystal Dr., Sanford, Fla.
- STRONG, DENNIS F. *Humanities*. Univ. of Cal., Riverside.
- STRONG, JOHN A. 114 Allis Crt., Syracuse, N. Y.
- STRONG, LEAH A. *United States Literature*. Wesleyan Coll., Macon, Ga.
- STROUD, PARRY. *English*. Tex. Western Coll., El Paso.
- STROUT, CUSHING. *History*. 204 Cayuga Hghts., Ithaca, N. Y.
- SUCKLE, WILLIAM V. 621 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SUD, SEVA. 1016 Lincoln Apt., Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- SUDERMAN, ELMER F. *English*. Gustavus Adolphus Coll., St. Peter, Minn.
- SULZBY, JAMES F. JR. Sec., Ala. Historical Assn., Birmingham.
- SUMNER, RAIFORD E. *History*. Mary Washington Coll., Univ. of Va., Fredericksburg.
- SUN, KUO-CHUNG. Visiting Scholar, *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- SUSMAN, WARREN I. *History*. Rutgers SU, New Brunswick, N. J.
- SUTHERLAND, BRUCE. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- SWAMINATHAN, S. R. Head, *English*. Univ. of Saugar, Saugar, India.
- SWEETLAND, HARRIET M. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- SYKES, JAMES A. *Music*. Dartmouth Coll., Hanover, N. H.
- SYKES, RICHARD D. 319 Savage La., St. Paul, Minn.
- SYLVESTER, HOWARD E. *English*. N. M. Inst. of Mining & Tech., Socorro.
- TABOR, MICHAEL. 1505 Kanawha St., Adelphi, Md.
- TAFT, KENDALL B. *English*. Roosevelt Univ., Chicago, Ill.
- TANAKA, KANETOMA. *American Studies*. Kyoto Univ., Kyoto, Japan.
- TANNER, PAUL. Director of Studies in *English*. King's Coll., Cambridge, England.
- TATUM, GEORGE B. *Art*. 315 Kent Rd., Wynnewood, Pa.
- TAUSSIG, HAROLD E. 540 W. Springfield, Springfield, Pa.
- TAYLOR, A. ELIZABETH. Tex. Woman's Univ., Denton.
- TAYLOR, GEORGE R. *Economics & American Studies*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- TAYLOR, J. GOLDEN. *English*. Utah SU, Logan.
- TAYLOR, R. JEAN. *Language & Literature*. Eastern Wash. Coll. of Educ., Cheney.
- TAYLOR, ROBERT. *History*. Marietta Coll., Marietta, Ohio.
- TEBEAU, CARLTON W. *History*. Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- TEDLOCK, E. W. JR. *English*. Univ. of N. M., Albuquerque.
- TELLIER, KENNETH J. Headquarters, 8th Naval Dist., New Orleans, La.
- TEPAS, MRS. SUSAN K. 1511 Penn Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
- TESSITORE, MARIA-VITTORIA SEBASTIANI. As-sis. Straordinario. Univ. of Rome, Rome, Italy.
- THOMAS, WILLIAM. *English*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- THOMPSON, ARTHUR W. *History*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- THOMPSON, FRANCIS J. *English*. Univ. of Tampa, Tampa, Fla.
- THOMPSON, NEIL B. *Social Studies*. Moorhead SC, Moorhead, Minn.
- THORNTON, WILLIS. 2855 Coventry Rd., Shaker Hts., Ohio.
- *THORP, WILLARD. *English*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- THUC, VU QUOC. 230 Phan Thanh Gian, Saigon, Vietnam.

- TIEN, PEI-LIN. *Education*. Taiwan Normal Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- TILDEN, ROBERT J. 338 Elm Rd., Falmouth, Mass.
- TILNEY, MRS. BARBARA R. 15 Claremont Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
- TINDALL, GEORGE B. *History*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- TINPANGKA, BANLUE. *Linguistics*. 406 E. Healey, Champaign, Ill.
- TINSLEY, JAMES A. *History*. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- TINTNER, JAMES A. 725-8th Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- TITOWSKY, BERNARD. Austin Book Shop, 82-64 Austin St., Kew Gardens, N. Y.
- TITUS, WARREN I. *English*. George Peabody Coll., Nashville, Tenn.
- TRY, JOY. Lecturer, Univ. of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland.
- TOBA, KINICHIRO. Deputy Director, International Div., Waseda Univ., Tokyo, Japan.
- TOLLES, FREDERICK B. *History*. Swarthmore Coll., Swarthmore, Pa.
- TOMPKINS, E. BERKELEY. *American Civilization*. 120 Andeta Way, Menlo Park, Cal.
- TORBERT, DONALD. *Art*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- TOWNER, LAWRENCE W. *History*. Newberry Library Conference on American Studies. Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
- TOY, ECKARD V. JR. 2160-4 Patterson Dr., Eugene, Ore.
- TOZER, LOWELL. *English*. San Diego SC, San Diego, Cal.
- TRACHTENBERG, ALAN. *English*. Penn SU, University Park.
- TREGLE, JOSEPH G. JR. *History*. La. SU, New Orleans.
- TREGONNING, K. G. Univ. of Malaya, Singapore.
- TRINH, NGUYEN-QUANG. Rector, Univ. of Saigon, Saigon, Vietnam.
- TRIPATHI, CHANDRA B. *History*. Univ. of Allahabad, Allahabad, India.
- TUCK, MRS. LENN B. 65 Gustafson Crt., Novato, Cal.
- TURNER, ARLIN. *English*. Duke Univ., Durham, N. C.
- TURNER, SUSAN JANE. *English*. Vassar Coll., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- TURNER, WILLIAM. *English*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- TURPIE, MARY C. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- TYACK, DAVID. *History*. Reed Coll., Portland, Ore.
- TYRRELL, WILLIAM G. 145 State Education Bldg., Albany, N. Y.
- UMBACH, HERBERT H. *English*. Valparaiso Univ., Valparaiso, Ind.
- UPCHURCH, SILAS B. Office of the Dean, Univ. of Maryland, College Park.
- VAN ALSTYNE, RICHARD. *History*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- VANDERBILT, KERMIT. *English*. San Diego SC, San Diego, Cal.
- VAN NESS, JAMES S. *History*, Univ. of Md., College Park.
- VAN RENSSELAER, MRS. SUSAN. RFD #1, Concord, N. H.
- VAN TASSELL, DAVID D. *History*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- VAN TRUMP, JAMES D. 6923 Thomas Blvd., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- VATAKANCHERRY, JOSEPH A. International House, 500 Riverside Dr., NYC.
- VATHING, GALE S. *English*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- VATTER, BARBARA. 212 E. 1st St., Northfield, Minn.
- VAUGHAN, THOMAS. Dir., Ore. Historical Soc., Portland.
- VELIMESIS, MARGERY L. 481 Bair Rd., Berwyn, Pa.
- VEIGA, JÚLIA PEREIRA. c/o Cultural Affairs Officer, D. S. Bailey, Am. Emb., APO 676, NYC.
- VIARGUES, ARTHUR R. JR. 3918 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- VINCENT, HOWARD P. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- VINOGRAD, SHERNA. 343 S. Parkwood, Pasadena, Cal.
- VITALE, MRS. MARIE C. 2391 Webb Ave., Bronx, N. Y.
- VITELLI, J. R. c/o R. S. Ricksecker, Bucyrus Rd., Galion, Ohio.
- VITZTHUM, RICHARD C. *English*. U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
- VOGELBACK, ARTHUR L. *English*. Sweet Briar Coll., Sweet Briar, Va.
- VOLPE, EDMOND L. 523 W. 112th St., NYC.
- VUILLEUMIER, N. E. *English*. Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.

- WACHMAN, MARVIN. Lincoln Univ., Lincoln University, Pa.
- WAGGONER, HYATT H. *English*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- WAGNER, C. ROLAND. *Philosophy*. Hofstra Coll., Hempstead, N. Y.
- WAGNER, FRANCIS S. *History*. Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- WAITE, JOHN A. *English*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- WALDEN, DANIEL. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- WALDEN, MRS. MARY S. Editorial Ass't., Kiplinger Washington Editors, 4000 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- WALDMEIR, JOSEPH J. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- WALKER, FRANKLIN D. *American Literature*. Mills Coll., Oakland, Cal.
- WALKER, ROBERT. *American Literature*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- WALL, JOSEPH F. *History*. Grinnell Coll., Grinnell, Iowa.
- WALSH, EVELYN M. 96 Pavilion Ave., Rumford, R. I.
- WANG, FUNG-CHIAL. Dir., Nat'l. Inst. for Compilation & Translation, Taipei, Taiwan.
- WARD, GORDON W. JR. Spring City, Pa.
- WARFEL, HARRY R. *English*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- WARREN, FRANK A. III. 68-22 138th St., Flushing, N. Y.
- WASHBURN, WILCOMB. Curator, Div. of Political History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- WATANABE, KENKICHI. *Linguistics*. 508 Benjamin St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- WATKINS, ERIC. 120 Seymour Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- WATKINS, GEORGE T. III. *American Studies*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- WATSON, CRESAP S. *English*. La. SU, New Orleans.
- WEBB, HOWARD W. JR. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- WEBB, JAMES W. *English*. Univ. of Miss., University.
- WEBER, BROM. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Davis.
- WEBER, DANIEL B. 805 Douglas, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
- WEBER, H. R. 54213 Northern Dr., South Bend, Ind.
- WEBER, RICHARD B. *English*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- WEBER, ROBERT. 1 Valley Brook Rd., Long Valley, N. J.
- WEBSTER, HARVEY C. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- WEDDERBURN, MRS. AUGUSTUS. 1000 Sleepy Hollow Rd., Falls Church, Va.
- WEEKS, LEWIS E. JR. *Liberal Studies*. Clarkson Coll. of Tech. Potsdam, N. Y.
- WEGELIN, CHRISTOF. *English*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- WEHLER, HANS-ULRICH. Amerika-Institut, Universitat Koln, Koln-Lindenthal, Fed'l Repub. of Germany.
- WEIL, JEAN M. 116-31 207th St., Cambria Hts., N. Y.
- WEINSTEIN, GENE. *Government*. San Francisco SC, San Francisco, Cal.
- WEIR, EVA. *English*. Idaho SC, Pocatello.
- WEISMAN, LAWRENCE. 1104 "D," Ft. Eustis, Va.
- WEISMANN, DONALD L. *Art*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- WEISS, HAROLD J. JR. *Social Sciences*. Jamestown Community Coll., Jamestown, N. Y.
- WELCH, RAYMOND. 115 Sycamore St., East Aurora, N. Y.
- WELDON, THOMAS C. 231 W. Florence St., DeLand, Fla.
- WELLAND, DENNIS S.R. *American Studies*. The University, Manchester, England.
- WELLS, MRS. ELIZABETH. Rt. #2, Melbourne, Fla.
- WELSH, JOHN R. *English*. Univ. of S. C., Columbia.
- WELSH, PETER. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- WELTER, RUSH E. *History*. 418 W. 20th St., NYC.
- WENZEL, JANELL. 38 W. 21st St., Chicago Hts., Ill.
- WESSER, ROBERT. *English & American Studies*. Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
- WEST, B. JUNE. *Language & Literature*. Eastern N. M. Univ., Portales.
- WESTBROOK, MAX. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- WESTBROOK, PERRY D. RD #1, Voorheesville, N. Y.
- WHALING, ANNE. *English*. Arlington SC, Arlington, Tex.

- WHEELER, OTIS B. *English*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- WHEELER, ROBERT. 29 W. 10th NYC.
- WHEELER, WAYNE. *Sociology*. 812 N. 7th St., Tarkio, Mo.
- WHITBECK, G. PAUL. *English*. Bates Coll., Lewiston, Me.
- WHITE, DANA F. *English*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- WHITE, EDWARD. Scripps Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- WHITE, HOLLIS L. 1048 Washington St. Alton, Ill.
- WHITE, JOHN F. *Rhetoric*. Univ. of Minn., St. Paul.
- WHITE, ROBERT. *English*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- WHITE, SIDNEY HOWARD. 230 S. Hamilton Dr., Beverly Hills, Cal.
- WHITE, WILLIAM. *Journalism*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- WHITESIDE, GEORGE M., III. Bank of Delaware Bldg., Wilmington.
- WHITFORD, MRS. KATHRYN. 4657 N. 117th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
- WIGGINS, ROBERT H. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Davis.
- WIGHT, WILLIAM. Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- WILENTZ, ELIAS S. 56 Middagh St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- WILEY, CHARLES G. Box 5675, China Lake, Cal.
- WILHELM, JOHN F. *English*. Sacramento SC, Sacramento, Cal.
- WILKINSON, ROBERT. 3 E. Manoa Rd., Havertown, Pa.
- WILLCOXON, MRS. MARCIA M. 2201 N. Broadway, Pittsburg, Kans.
- WILLETT, MAURITA. Univ. of Ill., Chicago.
- WILLIAMS, ARTHUR R. *English*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- WILLIAMS, CECIL B. Chairman, *English*. Tex. Christian Univ., Fort Worth.
- WILLIAMS, CONNIE LEE. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, East Lansing.
- WILLIAMS, DONALD E. *Speech*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- WILLIAMS, MRS. EDITH. 452 Hornel St., Baltimore, Md.
- WILLIAMS, FRANK B. JR. *History*. East Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- WILLIAMS, MRS. KENNY. Tenn. A. & I. SU, Nashville.
- WILLIAMS, L. JOHN. *History*. Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.
- WILLIAMS, LORRAINE. 1329 Shepherd St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
- WILLIAMS, PHILIP. *English*. N. Japan Univ., Sendai, Japan.
- WILLIAMS, RAYMOND E. Librarian, Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minn.
- WILLIAMS, WALLACE E. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- WILLIS, EARL T. Dean of Instruction, STC, Salisbury, Md.
- WILSON, HENRY. *History*. Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.
- WINSTON, GEORGE P. *English*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- WINTER, GEORGE W. 3786 Quante Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- WINTER, ROBERT W. *History*. Occidental Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- WINTON, CALHOUN. *English*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- WISE, GENE. *History*. Raymond Coll., Univ. of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal.
- WITHERS, SAMUEL. 4114 Davis Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.
- WITMER, MRS. ANNE M. 281 Hathaway La., Wynnewood, Pa.
- WITTENBERG, THOMAS D. Editor, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass.
- WOHLFELDER, JULIAN V. K. 37840 Moravian Dr., Mt. Clemens, Mich.
- WOLF, GEORGE D. *History*. Lock Haven SC, Woolrich, Pa.
- WOLF, JOHN QUINCY. *English*. Southwestern at Memphis, Memphis, Tenn.
- WOLFORD, THORP. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- WOOD, RICHARD C. *English*. Randolph-Macon Coll., Ashland, Va.
- WOODRESS, JAMES. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- WOOSTER, RALPH A. *History*. Lamar SC, Beaumont, Tex.
- WORLEY, PARKER. 310 Jess Ave., Haddonfield, N. J.
- WRAGE, ERNEST J. *Public Address*. Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- WRENN, JOHN. *English*. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- WRIGHT, ELIZABETH. *Humanities*. Univ. of Ill., Chicago.
- WRIGHT, LOUIS B. Dir., Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.
- WRIGHT, NATHALIA. *English*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- WRIGHT, PALMER. 1678-31 Mirfin, Ann Arbor, Mich.

- WRIGHT, ROBERT G. *English*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- WU, CHI-HUA. Visiting Scholar, *History*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- WU, F. K. *English*. United Coll. of Hong Kong, Wanchai, Hong Kong.
- WYATT, MILDRED. *Library Science*. Stephen F. Austin SC, Nacogdoches, Tex.
- WYLD, LIONEL D. *American Studies*. Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
- WYLDER, ROBERT. *English*. Long Beach SC, Long Beach, Cal.
- WYLLIE, IRVIN G. *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- YANG, ROBERT T. H. 163 W. Greenwood Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
- YASU, MINORU. *English*, Tohoku Univ., Sendai, Japan.
- YASUO, ISAMI. 56 Austin St., Cambridge, Mass.
- YATES, NORRIS. *English*. Iowa SU, Ames.
- YETMAN, NORMAN. *American Studies*. 1702 W. Indian School Rd., Phoenix, Ariz.
- YIN, SHERMAN K. J. 203 W. 107th St., NYC.
- YODER, DON. *Religious Thought*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- YODER, JESS. Goshen Coll., Goshen, Ind.
- YOHANNAN, JOHN D. *English*. City Coll., NYC.
- YOKOZAWA, SHIRO. 42 Go-Kawauchi. Jutaku-Ohashi-dori, Sendai, Japan.
- YOUNG, JAMES H. *History*. Emory Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
- YOUNG, MRS. RALPH. *English*. American Univ., Washington, D. C.
- ZAKIN, EMMA. 300 Central Park West, NYC.
- ZIEGLER, ARTHUR P. JR. *English*. 503 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- ZIFF, LARZER. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- ZIVODER, MATHEW. 5371 Melody La., Willoughby, Ohio.
- ZIVOJINOVIC, DRAGOLJUB. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- ZUBERI, ITRAT-HUSAIN. *English*. Univ. of Windsor, Windsor, Ont., Canada.
- ZWICKEL, JEROME. *American Civilization*. 837 Midgeway Ave., Morgantown, W. Va.

Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania Politics

WILLIAM S. HANNA

A striking new interpretation of an important aspect of Franklin's career emerges from this study of his role in Pennsylvania politics between 1750 and 1776. At first closely associated with the proprietary leadership, Franklin abruptly allied himself with the opposing legislative party after a bitter personal quarrel with Thomas Penn, the proprietor-in-chief. Differences with Penn dominated Franklin's policy after 1755, and the quarrel helps account for his mild reaction to the Stamp Act, a position that substantially lessened his political influence. In this volume, the author shows that far from espousing the cause of political reform, Franklin opposed precisely the kind of changes accomplished so radically in 1776.

\$6.50

Order from your bookstore, please

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson

By JOSEPH JEFFERSON

Edited by ALAN S. DOWNER

One of the most popular actors of his day, Jefferson's stage career spanned the years from 1833 to 1904. First published in 1890, his *Autobiography*, though primarily about the theater, is a fascinating account of an expanding America. Jefferson toured the country in the years when the West was being settled, and he reported on his experiences in detail. Mr. Downer's introduction fills in many details omitted by Jefferson and outlines the triumphs of his later years. *The John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book. Illustrated. \$5.95*

The Mechanistic Conception of Life

By JACQUES LOEB

Edited by DONALD FLEMING

Originally published in 1912, this book was the fullest expression of the struggle of the internationally famed biologist to achieve a synthesis between his scientific convictions and his conjectures on social and philosophical problems. A brilliant introduction by the editor examines the origins and development of Loeb's conception of the scientist's role and describes his influence and achievements. *The John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book. \$4.25*

The Life and Works of Thomas Cole

By LOUIS LEGRAND NOBLE

Edited by ELLIOT S. VESELL

Thomas Cole, 1801-1848, was the leader of the Hudson River School of painting, and one of the figures most directly involved in the development of a native tradition of American art. First published in 1853, this collection of his writings, presented as a biography with narrative and commentary by his pastor and intimate friend, remains the major source of biographical material about Cole. Dr. Vesell's introduction provides a sketch of Cole's life, an interpretation of his work, and a discussion of the Hudson River School of artists. *The John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book. Illustrated. \$7.50*

The Gates Ajar

By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS

Edited by HELEN SOOTIN SMITH

First published in 1868, this novel of a young New England woman—a record of the loss and recovery of religious faith—served a vital function for a vast number of readers. In sharp contrast to rigid Calvinist doctrine, the novel offered a simple and undemanding faith which proved irresistible to thousands. In her introduction, Mrs. Smith places the author in the perspective of her environment and examines the role of this novel in American cultural history. *The John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book. \$3.75*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

American Quarterly

VOLUME XVI

FALL 1964

MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD Dixon's *The Leopard's*
A Study in Popular Racism

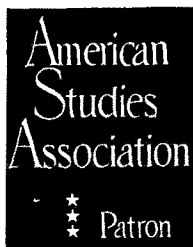
FREDERICK C. CREWS Giovanni's Garden

DAVID W. NOBLE Cooper, Leatherstocking
Death of the American Adam

OTHER CONTRIBUTORS Fred D. Baldwin David Bleich
H. Alan Wycherley Melvin Landsberg Bert James

AMERICAN CALENDAR Newsletter of the American Studies

\$1.25



INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS
of the AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
1964

ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
CARLETON COLLEGE
CHICO STATE COLLEGE
COLGATE UNIVERSITY
COLORADO COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR
WOMEN
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
DUKE UNIVERSITY
EASTERN NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
HEIDELBERG COLLEGE
HIRAM COLLEGE
HOBART & WILLIAM SMITH
COLLEGES
HOLLINS COLLEGE
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
LAWRENCE COLLEGE
MCLEAN HIGH SCHOOL, VA.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
OLD STURBRIDGE VILLAGE
PACE COLLEGE
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE
COLLEGE

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SIMPSON COLLEGE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
GENESEO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY
TULANE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
RIVERSIDE
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING
WAYLAND BAPTIST COLLEGE
WEMYSS FOUNDATION
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM
YALE UNIVERSITY



American Quarterly

Volume XVI

Fall 1964

No. 3

Dixon's <i>The Leopard's Spots</i> : A Study in Popular Racism MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD	387
Giovanni's Garden FREDERICK C. CREWS	402
Cooper, Leatherstocking and the Death of the American Adam DAVID W. NOBLE	419
The Invisible Armor FRED W. BALDWIN	432
Eros and Bellamy DAVID BLEICH	445
Mencken and Knopf: The Editor and His Publisher H. ALAN WYCHERLEY	460
John R. Dos Passos: His Influence on the Novelist's Early Political Development MELVIN LANDSBERG	473
NOTES	
The Love Comic and American Popular Culture A. W. SADLER	486
American Council of Learned Societies CARL BODE	490
ESSAY REVIEW	
Toward a New Birth of Freedom BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG	492
REVIEWS	500
AMERICAN CALENDAR	521

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address*: Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates*: \$6.00 a year; in the United States and Canada; \$7.00 in other countries; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 188 High St., Nutley, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1964, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Studies Association

Ralph H. Gabriel, *President*
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Russel B. Nye, *Vice President*
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

E. McClung Fleming, *Treasurer*
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

Donald N. Koster, *Bibliographer*
ADELPHI COLLEGE

Robert F. Lucid, *Executive Secretary*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Executive Council

John Q. Anderson
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY

Bernard Bowron
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Edwin H. Cady
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Wilson Clough
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Hennig Cohen
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

John Hope Franklin
BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Norman H. Pearson
YALE UNIVERSITY

David M. Potter
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Arnold Sio
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Robert E. Spiller
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

Hennig Cohen, *Editor*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Robert E. Spiller, *Chairman*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Editorial Board

Arthur Bestor
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Walter Bezanson
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

David B. Davis
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

John Gerber
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John Higham
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

John Kouwenhoven
BARNARD COLLEGE

Bert J. Loewenberg
SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

Leo Marx
AMHERST COLLEGE

William G. McLoughlin
BROWN UNIVERSITY

Henry B. Parkes
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Stow Persons
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John William Ward
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published by the University of Pennsylvania in cooperation with the American Studies Association. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor and be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. No responsibility is taken for injury or loss.

MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD
Ohio State University

Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots*: A Study in Popular Racism

THE FIRST FOURTEEN YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CONSTITUTED A major reform period in American history. In politics, economics and the arts new ideas and practices emerged to shatter nineteenth-century preconceptions. Crusading journalists led the way in calling for a revitalized democracy to bridge the dangerous gulf separating the very rich from the very poor. Increasingly public opinion was directed toward the elimination of class barriers by absorbing both laborer and capitalist, immigrant and old-stock native, into an expanded form of democratic state which should minister to the welfare of all.

Yet during these same years, when mass audiences responded to the idealism of class solidarity and human brotherhood, relations between Negroes and whites in America grew more embittered and violent. By 1909 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had been organized to combat a mounting wave of race riots and lynchings in both North and South. What caused this upsurge of racial intolerance in an otherwise reform-minded era? A study of the most popular anti-Negro propagandist in pre-World War I America suggests that middle-class liberalism was by no means incompatible with attacks on allegedly "inferior" racial groups.

Thomas Dixon Jr. was thirty-eight years old in 1902, when his first novel, *The Leopard's Spots*, made him a best-selling author overnight. In his earlier years he had followed a variety of occupations, each of which contributed in recognizable fashion to his development as a propagandist. Born on January 11, 1864, in the village of Shelby, North Carolina, he grew up during the turbulent Reconstruction era, when black-and-tan governments dominated state politics with the aid of federal troops. One of his earliest recollections was of a parade of the Ku Klux Klan through the village streets on a moonlight night in 1869. As the white-hooded riders swept past his window in ghostly silence, young Dixon shivered with fear. But his mother reassured him: "They're our

people—they're guarding us from harm."¹ Later he learned that his maternal uncle, Colonel Leroy McAfee, was chief of the Klan in Piedmont, North Carolina. The romantic colonel made a lasting impression on the boy's imagination, which was equally influenced in another direction by his father, the Reverend Thomas Dixon, a well-known Baptist minister.

At the age of nineteen Thomas Jr. graduated from Wake Forest College and secured a scholarship to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, then the leading graduate school in the nation. As a special student in history and politics he undoubtedly felt the influence of Herbert Baxter Adams and his circle of Anglo-Saxon historians, who sought to trace American political institutions back to the primitive democracy of the ancient Germanic tribes. The Anglo-Saxonists were staunch racists in their outlook, believing that only latter-day Aryan or Teutonic nations were capable of self-government.²

After a year's study at Johns Hopkins Dixon remained undecided about a future career. He thought briefly of becoming an actor but a disastrous experience with a traveling Shakespearean company soon changed his mind. The group, whose specialty was *Richard III*, found itself stranded in the backwoods settlement of Herkimer, New York, when the manager slipped off into the woods with the cash box. Thereafter Dixon returned to North Carolina and took up the study of law, a profession which offered considerable scope for histrionics without the hazards of one-night stands.³

While attending classes at Greensboro Law School (1884-86) he engaged actively in local politics and was elected to the North Carolina Legislature. His maiden speech aroused the interest of Walter Hines Page, editor of the *Raleigh State Chronicle* and a prominent spokesman for the "New South," who reported on Dixon for his readers. By 1886 the fledgling lawmaker seemed destined for a promising political career. Within a matter of months he graduated with honors from law school, got married, and was admitted to the state bar. Then abruptly he changed his mind. Displaying what one early biographer termed a "characteristic restlessness," he abandoned the law in October 1886 to become a Baptist minister like his father.⁴

¹ Thomas Dixon, "American Backgrounds for Fiction: North Carolina," *Bookman*, XXXVIII (January 1914), 513.

² On Adams, see: Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1955), pp. 173-74.

³ "Chronicle and Comment: Thomas Dixon," *Bookman*, XX (February 1905), 498-500.

⁴ E. F. Harkins, *Little Pilgrimages Among the Men Who Have Written Famous Books. Second Series* (Boston, 1903), pp. 113-31.

The crowded years of preaching and traveling which followed (1887-99) marked a watershed in Dixon's life. During this time he built up a stock of basic ideas which he continued to endorse, without serious modification, until his death in 1946. He also achieved remarkable success as a platform personality. Toward the close of his ministry he was reportedly attracting larger congregations than any other Protestant preacher in the country. While this personal acclaim did not prevent him from deserting the pulpit after 1900, it did indicate that he had already gained some invaluable experience in the art of mass persuasion.

Certainly his rise to prominence as a churchman was spectacular enough. He began his preaching career in Goldsboro and Raleigh, but within a year he was invited to occupy a Baptist pulpit in Boston, Massachusetts. Then, in 1889, he accepted a call to become pastor of the Twenty-third Street Baptist Church in New York City. Here his audiences soon outgrew the church and, pending the construction of a new People's Temple, Dixon was forced to hold services in a neighboring YMCA. A vivid impression of his platform appearance at this time has been recorded by the journalist A. C. Wheeler, who attended one of the YMCA meetings:

It was Sunday evening. I found the large hall with its old-fashioned gallery choked with the congregation that had outgrown its church edifice proper and taken refuge here. After the preliminary musical services a young man came down to the front of the platform, and made an extemporaneous prayer and read a portion of the Scriptures from a small Bible which he held in his hand. In the view which I had of him he appeared to be six feet three in stature and almost weirdly gaunt. He did not stand erect in the parade sense, and his long limbs betokened an enormous sinewy power rather than grace or symmetry. His dark, spare, close-shaven face, his plentiful coal-black hair, carelessly pushed backward from his temples, his strong, almost cadaverous jaw, and his black, deep-set, and scintillant eyes made up a personality that arrested my interest at once. It was a type of man especially forged for hard, earnest, fearless work in some direction.⁵

Dixon's personal magnetism accounted, in some degree, for his increasing fame as a metropolitan preacher. But more important was the gospel he brought to his hearers. In the name of the urban masses, he attacked the stand-pat Christianity of well-to-do churchgoers. True religion, he insisted, was a matter of conduct rather than of pious formulae. Christ's "creed was His life." And Christ worked to save all men, not merely a

⁵ *Dixon on Ingersoll: Ten Discourses Delivered in Association Hall, New York, by Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr. (New York, 1892), pp. 11-12.*

avored few. Dixon aligned himself with the liberal reformers of the Social Gospel Movement in demanding justice for the immigrant, the slum-dweller, the "weak and helpless." He called for an active commitment to human brotherhood and warned that the continued indifference of city churches to the plight of the lower classes might lead to eventual social revolution in America:

I hear the coming tread of a generation of men who not only know not the name of Jesus Christ, but who do not even know the name of the government in which they were born; who do not know the flag under which they are supposed to march as citizens, who one day may stand before a staggering State and challenge it to make good its own life before the stern tribunal of the guillotine, the dagger, the torch, and the dynamite bomb! Those children growing up in those districts without Christ or the knowledge of truth, or the influence of civilization, cannot be left alone with impunity. If you do not love them they will make you look after them to save your own life, bye and bye. . . . The time will come in the life of the men who tear up their churches and move them to the grand boulevards of the north, when a heavy hand may knock at their barred doors and ask of them the reason for their existence.⁶

Nor could this grim reckoning be sidestepped by any appeal to self-regulating economic laws. While Dixon accepted the theory of evolution, particularly as interpreted by Herbert Spencer and John Fiske, he refused to recognize any of its deterministic implications. The material universe, he argued, was a free world. "It was created by the free play of divine law upon matter." God, a "superior intelligence," set the forces of nature to work in a uniform way, but the outcome of the evolutionary process depended upon the creative action of man.

Alone of all animals, man possessed free will, which gave him the power to transcend his environment and to control the brute struggle for existence in the interest of the weak and the oppressed. Without such human intervention there could be no genuine "survival of the fittest." This concept, which Dixon regarded as the vital force in evolution, had for him a specialized meaning quite different from that espoused by conservative Darwinists. Dixon defined "fitness" in moral terms, rejecting mere strength or physical endurance as a criterion. Human progress he traced to the development of character in man; that is, to man's free choice of good in the face of evil. But character, as the measure of an individual's right to survive, could not be monopolized by any limited

⁶ Thomas Dixon Jr., *The Failure of Protestantism in New York and Its Causes* (New York, 1896), pp. 27-28.

class. Every man had the power to choose between good and evil, because every man was endowed with free will. Thus, in Dixon's hands, the theory of evolution took on a broadly democratic form, implying the preservation and uplift of the masses.⁷

"Jesus declared that weakness shall rule strength," Dixon observed in 1892. "Now the only history of the world is the history of the weak—the dark, vulgar crowd that used to have no history." Together religion and science were working to democratize the world, bringing the benefits of self-government and self-discipline to the lower classes everywhere. The spread of political democracy, rooted in the idealism of Christian brotherhood, seemed "resistless." Democracy was "a race movement . . . an age movement . . . the first manifest destiny of the world."⁸

In none of his early writings did Dixon display any hostility toward the Negro or even hint that the blessings of democracy should be restricted to white men only. As late as 1896, in his most influential religious polemic, *The Failure of Protestantism in New York and Its Causes*, he declared: ". . . I thank God that there is not to-day the clang of a single slave's chain on this continent. Slavery may have had its beneficent aspects, but democracy is the destiny of the race, because all men are bound together in the bonds of fraternal equality with one common Father above."⁹

Within the next few years, however, this sympathy for the black man gave way to quite different feelings, as Dixon found himself caught up in the expansionist enthusiasm that accompanied the Spanish-American War. The defeat of Spain opened new areas in the Caribbean and the Pacific to American control, including the Philippine Islands. But it also posed a novel governmental problem: What should be the relationship between American democracy and a backward colored race like the Filipinos? To Dixon and other staunch imperialists the answer seemed clear: democracy was unsuited to a semibarbarous people who lacked the judgment and self-control to manage their own affairs. At the same time the United States could not abandon its newly acquired possessions without violating a moral duty to help civilize the inhabitants. So the Filipinos and other backward natives must be governed without their consent until such time as they proved capable of absorbing the white man's culture and utilizing his political institutions.

⁷ Dixon on Ingersoll, pp. 84, 86-87, 160-61. See also: Thomas Dixon Jr., *Living Problems in Religion and Social Science* (New York, 1889), pp. 50-70.

⁸ Dixon on Ingersoll, p. 124; Dixon, *Failure of Protestantism*, p. 51.

⁹ Dixon, *Failure of Protestantism*, p. 52. For a similar viewpoint, expressed several years earlier, see: Dixon on Ingersoll, p. 150.

Inevitably the assertion of white supremacy in the new dependencies led to disturbing afterthoughts about race relations in continental America. By 1900 Dixon had re-examined the position of the Negro in American democracy and concluded that a racial crisis of national dimensions was in the making. Putting aside his earlier fears of a revolutionary immigrant mob, he resigned his pulpit in order to launch a nationwide nondenominational crusade against the "black peril." The moral fervor which had made him one of the foremost preachers in the country was now enlisted in the cause of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. As one Negro critic shrewdly charged, Dixon set out to "frighten a heedless world into the belief that the end is at hand . . . to warn your race to flee from amalgamation, as from the wrath to come."¹⁰ The first fruit of the new gospel was *The Leopard's Spots*.

This novel was at once the earliest and greatest of all Dixon's propaganda works. Into its writing went the logic of the lawyer, the social criticism of the reformer, the zeal of the religious prophet and an actor's sense of dramatic incident and timing. Subsequent books, notably *The One Woman* (1903) and *The Glansman* (1905), reached an even wider audience, but none was so representative of the full range of the author's ideas and attitudes. Without exaggeration it may be said that all of the major themes which Dixon was to develop in a score of works scattered over the next forty years may be found, clearly outlined, in *The Leopard's Spots*. As a purveyor of ideas he drew upon a limited store which he saw no need to modify with the passing of time. To read *The Leopard's Spots*, then, is to apprehend the whole corpus of Dixon's work.

"I claim the book is an authentic human document and I know it is the most important moral deed of my life," he wrote. "It may shock the prejudices of those who have idealized or worshipped the negro as canonized in 'Uncle Tom.' Is it not time they heard the whole truth? They have heard only one side for forty years."¹¹ Dixon's side of the race issue presented the Negro under two aspects: as an historical problem peculiar to the South and, more importantly, as a contemporary menace to white civilization in every section of the country. He first sought to justify, as a matter of historical necessity, the suppression of the Negro as a political force in the South. Then he added a new dimension to the problem by carrying his readers northward for a look at the threat which the black race allegedly offered to an urban-industrial society. By the time he rested his case Southern racism had been lifted from its traditional

¹⁰ Kelly Miller, *As to The Leopard's Spots: An Open Letter to Thomas Dixon, Jr.* (Washington, D.C., 1905), p. 16.

¹¹ Harkins, *Little Pilgrimages*, p. 121.

context and made a vital component in the new American sense of world mission and imperial destiny. It was no accident that Dixon subtitled his story of racial tensions in the New World "A Romance of the White Man's Burden."

From cover to cover the book is permeated with a strong sense of national pride. "I love mine own people," declares the politician-hero Charles Gaston. "I hate the dish water of modern world-citizenship."¹² Gaston speaks for a strong, centralized democratic state, the product of four years of bloody fighting between North and South. While the Civil War was ostensibly fought over the question of Negro slavery, in reality, according to Dixon, it represented a contest between two antagonistic forms of government—a democracy *versus* a republic.

The Old South stood for the aristocratic ideals of the Founding Fathers who had set up a union of republics dominated by the well-to-do propertied classes. In time, however, the laboring men of the North began to challenge this class government. As their numbers grew ever larger through continued immigration, Northern workers came to demand greater political power and a government more directly responsive to their interests. They set in motion a democratic revolution which the South was bound to resist, since it implied the eventual grant of equal rights to four million irresponsible Negroes "but yesterday taken from the jungle." Slavery, then, was but one aspect of the broader struggle of the masses against the classes—of democracy against aristocracy—in America. And in seeking to halt "the resistless movement of humanity from the idea of local sovereignty toward nationalism, centralisation, solidarity," the South courted inevitable defeat.¹³

Dixon does not mourn the passing of the slaveholding aristocracy. He identifies himself with the new forces in Southern life: the rising industrialist, the reform-minded lawyer, the poor white farmer of the back country. These groups do not look to the past; they welcome the spread of middle-class democracy. And it is as a democrat par excellence that Dixon appeals to the reading public. Even the setting of his story, North Carolina, has a symbolic value in this respect. It was "the typical American Democracy" which "had loved peace and sought in vain to stand between the mad passions of the Cavalier of the South and the Puritan fanatic of the North."¹⁴

Protected by its dangerous coastline from direct contact with the Old World, North Carolina had been an early frontier area, attracting the

¹² Thomas Dixon Jr., *The Leopard's Spots* (New York, 1902), p. 441.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 332. Dixon developed this argument at greater length in his fictionalized biography of Jefferson Davis, *The Victim* (New York, 1914), pp. 74-76, 85-87.

¹⁴ Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, p. 5.

most venturesome and freedom-loving spirits from neighboring colonies. Most of Dixon's heroes claim descent (as did he) from sturdy Scotch-Irish pioneers who fought all encroachments on their liberties and who led the way in declaring independence from Great Britain. They represent old-stock, hardworking, Protestant Americans, in other words, products of the same frontier conditions which shaped the thinking of their counterparts in every section of the Union. Dixon makes it clear, then, that his characters can not be dismissed as reflecting only "the Southern mind." What they have done to combat the "black peril," he insists, any genuine American would have done under similar circumstances.

The story purports to cover the effects of Negro emancipation in North Carolina over a thirty-five year period, from 1865 to 1900. Beginning with a long look at the evils of Reconstruction, Dixon paints a lurid picture of political and moral corruption, as carpetbaggers and scalawags join hands with Negro voters to seize control of the state government and to launch a reign of terror against the former white ruling classes. Crimes multiply against persons and property until the beleaguered whites introduce their own brand of terrorism to keep the Negroes from the polls and to rescue their state from "African barbarism." A localized struggle between two political parties thus takes on the aspect of an epic battle for racial survival.

In Darwinian terms Dixon describes the North Carolina Democrats as the defenders of Anglo-Saxon civilization, fighting for the prerogatives of white men everywhere. Their interests are identical with those of their Northern kinsmen, who can not appreciate the true state of affairs because of the lies being fed to them by radical Republican demagogues. Thaddeus Stevens and the other Radical leaders are bent upon destroying Southern civilization through a policy of racial amalgamation, which will enable them to perpetuate their control indefinitely over a degenerate mulatto race.

But of course the sinister plans of the Republicans come to naught, thanks to the efforts of those fearless fighters for racial integrity, the men of the Ku Klux Klan. As Dixon describes the Klan, it resembles a glorified Boy Scout troop beefed up with the romanticism of Walter Scott:

The simple truth is, it was a spontaneous and resistless racial uprising of clansmen of highland origin living along the Appalachian mountains and foothills of the South, and it appeared almost simultaneously in every Southern state produced by the same terrible conditions. . . . This Invisible Empire of White Robed Anglo-Saxon Knights was simply the old answer of organised manhood to organised crime. Its purpose was to bring order out of chaos, protect the weak and defenceless,

the widows and orphans of brave men who had died for their country, to drive from power the thieves who were robbing the people, redeem the commonwealth from infamy, and reestablish civilisation.¹⁵

It must be noted, however, that the Klan which Dixon so idealized was the original organization, and that only. He had no sympathy with later attempts to revive the Klan as an instrument for the persecution of racial and religious minorities other than the Negro. His novel, *The Traitor* (1907), attacked the unauthorized use of Klan costumes and organizational machinery by a group of young firebrands who sought to carry out personal vendettas after the genuine Klan had been formally dissolved in the early 1870s. And in 1924, during the heyday of the white-robed Knights in their twentieth-century reincarnation, Dixon again issued a sharp protest against latter-day bigotry. *The Black Hood* (1924) reworked much of the material on the downfall of the Klan which had previously appeared in *The Traitor*; but this time Dixon took care to make one of his heroes a Christlike Jewish merchant. "Remember this, Nathan," he wrote, in reference to the indiscriminate terrorism practiced by the "new" Ku Klux Klan. "You are an American citizen. If you are not safe, I am not safe. Freedom is a mockery. We have no republic—" ¹⁶

This concern for the rights of non-Negro minorities points up the peculiarly American framework within which Dixon developed his racist doctrines. For him "Anglo-Saxon supremacy" meant something quite different from what it meant to European agitators or even to racially-minded New England Brahmins. The onetime preacher to the urban poor never lost his concern for their welfare. Dixon drew no line between Slav and Teuton, between the "new" immigrant from southern and eastern Europe and the old pioneering stock from the northwestern areas. Like the most progressive minds of his generation, he believed that the American melting-pot was still capable of assimilating the most diverse ethnic strains without danger to the fundamental soundness of the national character. Only educate the newcomers to their obligations as American citizens, he urged, and all would be well. Here was no elitist cant, then, but a broadly democratic outlook which places Dixon squarely in the liberal tradition.¹⁷

The Negro alone found no place in an "Anglo-Saxon" America. To understand why Dixon wished to exclude him is to grasp both the strength

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

¹⁶ Thomas Dixon Jr., *The Black Hood* (New York, 1924), p. 150; Thomas Dixon Jr., *The Traitor* (New York, 1907).

¹⁷ Dixon dealt with the immigrant problem most extensively in his novel, *The Fall of a Nation* (New York, 1916).

and the weakness of Progressive democracy. For Dixon was no isolated crank, but a representative spokesman of his time. However irrational and instinctive his negrophobia may have been, he sought to justify it on scientific and humanitarian grounds. He used liberal arguments to buttress a reactionary creed, and therein lay his appeal to a reform-minded generation.

The Reconstruction chapters of *The Leopard's Spots* serve as a mere prologue to the rest of the book, in which Dixon addresses himself to the larger issue: why does the Negro continue to pose as grave a threat to honest democratic government in 1900 as he did back in 1865? Or, to put it another way, why cannot education—the traditional liberal answer to the immigrant problem—transform the Negro as well into a responsible American citizen? Dixon's answer is that the black man is a hopelessly inferior type of being, closer to the jungle animal than to the white man who first uprooted him from his African home. No amount of training or good will can lift him from the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder or make him the equal, in any respect, of the proud Anglo-Saxon. Between the two races stretches an unbridgeable gulf of thousands of years of antithetical race history. The real tragedy of the Negro does not lie in the years of slavery he endured on Southern plantations, morally indefensible as the ante-bellum regime may have been. Rather his backwardness stems from his "race's inheritance of six thousand years of savagery in the African jungle." During that immense time span, while the Anglo-Saxon was steadily enlarging his power over man and nature, the Negro remained sunk in barbarism. He could not progress in the evolutionary scale because he lacked the inner resources which Dixon's earlier forays into Darwinism had convinced him were the measure of racial fitness. As the Rev. John Durham, Dixon's alter ego in *The Leopard's Spots*, explains to a Negro critic: "You have shown no power to stand alone on the solid basis of character."¹⁸

The Negro is an amoral creature, then, unable to discriminate between right and wrong. The power to make a free and intelligent moral choice has been denied to him by his Creator, leaving him a permanent cripple in the evolutionary struggle for existence. At his best he is a good child, for whom one may feel a genuine affection (as Dixon did) akin to the love of a master for a loyal dog. But just as a dog must be told what to do if he is to be of use in a human society, so the Negro must be guided and controlled by his Anglo-Saxon superiors, on whose shoulders rests

¹⁸ Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, p. 308. Cf. Dixon's remarks in his last novel, *The Flaming Sword* (Atlanta, 1939), pp. 24-26, 39-43, 190, 271-77, 319, which seeks to chronicle the "Conflict of Color in America" from 1900 to 1938.

the burden of civilizing him, so far as his limited capacities will permit. Any attempt to reverse the laws of nature by artificially equalizing the relations between the two races can only lead to the disintegration of the white man's world. The danger is particularly acute in a democracy such as the United States, where equality is a driving force which can not well be confined to a single area of racial contact, such as politics:

The beginning of Negro equality as a vital fact is the beginning of the end of this nation's life. There is enough negro blood here to make mulatto the whole Republic. . . . You younger men are growing careless and indifferent to this terrible problem. It's the one unsolved and unsolvable riddle of the coming century. *Can you build, in a Democracy, a nation inside a nation of two hostile races?* We must do this or become mulatto, and that is death. Every inch in the approach of these races across the barriers that separate them is a movement toward death. You cannot seek the Negro vote without asking him to your home sooner or later. If you ask him to your house, he will break bread with you at last. And if you seat him at your table, he has the right to ask your daughter's hand in marriage.¹⁹

Here was the ultimate horror, as far as Dixon was concerned: the prospect of eventual social equality for the Negro. For, however deficient the black man might be in the ways of civilization, he was plentifully endowed with a primitive sex appeal. In Dixon's eyes the sex impulse was an irrational and elemental force common to man and animal alike. It represented the "herd instinct," against which civilized man struggled to assert his individual will in defense of his home and family. Marriage, like evolution, was a test of character, and the African's lack of moral scruples made him a peculiar danger to family life.

By way of illustration, Dixon pointed to the untamed passions of the Negro as the major cause of miscegenation in the South. In *The Sins of the Fathers* (1912) he explored this argument to its final absurdity as he recounted, through 462 anguish-packed pages, the pursuit of the noble Anglo-Saxon, Colonel Norton, by the voluptuous Cleo, a mulatto girl whose jungle antecedents are thrust upon the reader at every turn. Cleo is a "tawny young animal," "a young leopardess from an African jungle." She is so feline that her eyes glow in the dark, a circumstance that occasions no surprise to the long-suffering colonel. He falls prey at last to her barbaric charms, but achieves a belated moral victory by taking his own life in atonement for his betrayal of racial purity.²⁰

¹⁹ Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, p. 242.

²⁰ Thomas Dixon, *The Sins of the Fathers* (New York, 1912), pp. 25, 195, 229.

This frantic dread of sexual encounter, grotesque as it appears in Dixon's novels, did follow logically from his evolutionary theories. Once accept his personalized brand of Darwinism—

I happen to know the important fact that a man or woman of negro ancestry, though a century removed, will suddenly breed back to a pure negro child, thick lipped, kinky headed, flat nosed, black skinned. One drop of your blood in my family could push it backward three thousand years in history.²¹

—and the strict segregationist policy he outlined for the nation at large seems both necessary and forward-looking.

Why, he demanded, should the Negro continue to be treated as a ward of the federal government, now that his support was no longer needed to preserve the Union? The Spanish-American War had proved the loyalty of the South and restored a sense of Anglo-Saxon solidarity to the entire country, as rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant, immigrant and native, flocked to the colors. Overnight America had become a world power, called by God to join the other Anglo-Saxon nations in the great work of uplifting backward peoples everywhere through the exercise of a beneficent imperialism. The implications which this new-found racial mission entailed for the Negro were spelled out with Scriptural intensity:

We believe that God has raised up our race, as he ordained Israel of old, in this world-crisis to establish and maintain for weaker races, as a trust for civilisation, the principles of civil and religious Liberty and the forms of Constitutional Government.

In this hour of crisis, our flag has been raised over ten millions of semi-barbaric black men in the foulest slave pen of the Orient. Shall we repeat the farce of '67, reverse the order of nature, and make these black people our rulers? If not, why should the African here, who is not their equal, be allowed to imperil our life? ²²

Self-preservation alone dictated that the Negro be recognized as an irresponsible force whose very presence endangered the stability of a democratic society. Immediate steps must be taken to deprive him of his constitutional rights as a citizen through the repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Then he must be held at arm's length until such time as he might be returned to his African homeland. Dixon thus proposed, as a final solution to the race problem, the old rallying-cry: "Back to Liberia!" He turned a deaf ear to critics who protested that, apart from all other considerations, Liberia could scarcely absorb such

²¹ Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, pp. 393-94.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 435.

a mass colonization project, being roughly equal in size and population to his own state of North Carolina. Even so, such geographical details could wait upon a future generation. What mattered at present was to persuade the American masses to undertake the great crusade against Negro equality and to "fight it out on this line, if it takes a hundred years, two hundred, five hundred, or a thousand."²³

Dixon's fire-eating sentiments attracted a wide audience at home and abroad. The first edition of *The Leopard's Spots*, comprising 15,000 copies, was exhausted on publication. Thereafter sales continued to soar until reviewers classified the work as a "mob novel," a category reserved for books whose circulation figures reached several hundred thousand.²⁴ English and German editions brought the problem of the American Negro to still more readers overseas.

Wherever it appeared, *The Leopard's Spots* aroused a storm of controversy, as responsible critics, both white and colored, attacked its pseudo-science in the name of human dignity and minority rights. They exposed the fanatical race hatred which lurked behind Dixon's Darwinian pronouncements, a passionate negrophobia that did incalculable harm in aggravating racial tensions during the era of progressive reform.²⁵ But they failed to note the significant relationship between Dixon's vicious propaganda and the moralistic literature of the Progressive movement.

In an extreme form, Dixon's novels dramatized one of the major unresolved dilemmas which plagued American reformers at the turn of the century: how to reconcile majority and minority interests within the framework of a democracy. The muckrakers, the most vocal exponents of reform, generally sidestepped the issue by assuming that they spoke for an undivided popular will. In their fiction and factual articles they attacked specific minority groups (or "vested interests") in the name of a democratic majority. Favorite targets included: the big businessman, the white slaver, the paid lobbyist, the saloonkeeper, the labor agitator and the socialist firebrand. The battle lines were sharply drawn: on one side, the virtuous "people"; on the other, a sinister minority whose very existence threatened the "people" with some specific evil—political, eco-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

²⁴ See, in particular: Henry Dwight Sedgwick, *The New American Type and Other Essays* (Boston and New York, 1908), pp. 27-50; "Mr. Dixon Once More," *Independent*, LV (September 3, 1903), 2116-18.

²⁵ Representative viewpoints, pro and con, include: Harkins, *Little Pilgrimages*, pp. 113-31; Miller, *As to The Leopard's Spots*, pp. 1-21; B. O. Flower, "Books of the Day," *Arena*, XXVIII (August 1902), 217-18; "Books Reviewed," *Critic*, XLII (January 1903), 84; W. H. Johnson "The Case of the Negro," *Dial*, XXXIV (May 1, 1903), 299-302; Ernest Crosby, *Garrison the Non-Resistant* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 109-15.

nomic or social. Looking forward to the advent of an exclusively middle-class society, the muckrakers demanded either the extinction or strict control of dangerous minorities.

And Dixon pursued a similar line in all of his racist novels. He, too, was a muckraker in all but name, specializing in the "black peril" rather than "Wall Street" or "the demon rum." Like other publicists who sought to exalt the majority will as an authoritative, quasi-religious symbol, he had no sympathy for the give-and-take which must necessarily characterize the genuine democratic process. But his muddled thinking reflected the uncertainties of an entire generation, apprehensive about American strength in world affairs yet intoxicated by the recent acquisition of far-flung colonial populations. For a brief moment racism could be reconciled with the American dream of a middle-class millennium. Then the moment passed; the dream shattered against the grim realities of World War I; and the nation moved onward to new visions that were less grandiose but better attuned to the true nature of man, whose limitations no race—not even the proud Anglo-Saxon—could disavow.

Dixon found himself an anachronism in the postwar world. While he continued to write, publishing some ten books in the 1920s and 1930s, he never again made the best-seller lists. His arguments, reiterated over and over again, took on the mildly comic flavor associated with the literary relics of a bygone era. But in one respect his work possesses an enduring value independent of his reputation as a writer. For Dixon was the first "mob novelist" to dramatize the Negro problem as a national, rather than a sectional, issue and to insist that its solution was a matter of grave concern for all Americans. In this connection, the remarks made by one of his critics half a century ago bear special meaning for a present-day audience:

A vital question: why is it that so many Northern readers are so ready to accept today a line of argument which would have met with instant rejection, throughout the entire North, a few years ago? The answer is not far to seek. For good or for ill, that fine enthusiasm for the doctrine of equal political rights for all who are called upon to submit to the jurisdiction of our government is no longer a dominant sentiment in any part of our country. George William Curtis unquestionably voiced the general feeling when he went from platform to platform at the close of the [Civil] war, declaring amid wild applause that this doctrine was "the immediate jewel of our national soul," and that its consistent acceptance was the most essential triumph of "the Good Fight." The shameful facts of a mismanaged Reconstruction policy dealt that inspiring belief its first serious blow, but left it still in possession of the field. Its effective extrusion came only when the

vicissitudes of a foreign war drove a popular administration into an attitude essentially irreconcilable with any such belief. The natural opponents of the policy which Mr. Dixon represents were thus disarmed. The psychological moment was at hand, and right shrewdly has it been turned to account, both by the political leaders, and by Mr. Dixon, their most effective literary apologist. It is a dangerous and ill-defined path which we have thus taken, and safe egress at the other side of the morass depends upon wiser leadership than we have as yet developed; but whether it was formerly so or not, the North must now bear with the South its equal share of responsibility for these dangers.²⁶

²⁶ W. H. Johnson, "The Ku Klux Klan in Fiction," *Critic and Literary World*, XLVI (March 1905), 278.



FREDERICK C. CREWS
University of California, Berkeley

Giovanni's Garden

FEW OF HAWTHORNE'S TALES INVITE ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION MORE tantalizingly than "Rappaccini's Daughter." We may justly suspect the presence of allegory if we find patent implausibilities and systematic hints of a "higher" order of meaning, and this tale meets both conditions. The diabolical scientist Rappaccini, his spiritually pure but chemically toxic daughter Beatrice, and their fantastic garden of poisonous hybrids lend credibility to Hawthorne's ponderously coy hints at the outset that he is essentially a writer of allegories. The plot itself, focused on the ill-fated courtship of Beatrice by the shallow young hero, Giovanni Guasconti, contains further absurdities which would seem to call for some non-literal rationale. Indeed, the literal plot can scarcely be said to make sense in terms of the overt meaning Hawthorne ascribes to it. Giovanni is explicitly criticized for regarding Beatrice as monstrous, but in point of fact she *is* monstrous as a potential bride. While Hawthorne takes pains to impugn the accuracy of Giovanni's observation when he is verifying her poisonousness, Giovanni turns out to have been strictly correct. Beatrice herself seems only intermittently aware of her fatal properties, and we can hardly avoid sharing some of Giovanni's eventual exasperation with her. Yet this insecticide maiden is said to be angelic perfection in fleshly form. Hawthorne's plot, in short, encourages suspicions which his explicit moralizing condemns as narrowly materialistic.

Goaded by such imperfect correspondence between the story and the spiritual "moral" that it is evidently meant to embody, some readers have dismissed the literal level altogether. Thus Edward Rosenberry, noting the complications of the love theme, decides that Giovanni's feeling for Beatrice is nothing other than "intellectual infatuation" with "the glamor of Science."¹ Beatrice, as the daughter of a scientific pioneer, has the function of transmitting Rappaccini's secrets "to a foolish and unwary

¹ Edward H. Rosenberry, "Hawthorne's Allegory of Science: 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" *American Literature*, XXXII (March 1960), 41.

society to which her training has made her effectively a stranger."² Her persistence among the poisonous plants is thus a heroic gesture on behalf of posterity, for Beatrice knows "the tragic risks of technological progress."³ That Beatrice actually knows no secrets at all and shows no desire to learn them, much less to transmit them to posterity, and that she has never heard of "technological progress," does not give Rosenberry a moment's pause, for he has decided that the "admittedly complex narrative" of the tale will be reducible to "a consistent allegory."⁴ The consistency is all his own.

Other critics, paying greater heed to the quality of Hawthorne's imagery and to the symbolic details of the garden, have sought to mitigate or resolve the tale's contradictions by seeing them in religious terms. R. H. Fogle, for instance, after saying of the story that "accurate definition of its elements is next to impossible,"⁵ ascribes much of the difficulty to Hawthorne's demonstration of the inscrutable workings of God's will. God "shows His mysterious providence"⁶ in making Beatrice lovely, yet her death at the end somehow "reasserts the fundamental justice of Providence."⁷ Fogle does not explain why this is so, and we are left to assume that "Providence" works at cross-purposes to "providence." This way of looking at Hawthorne's tale keeps its difficulties before our attention, but it can hardly claim to have made them meaningful.

A more ambitious search for religious consistency—and one that is partially anticipated by both Fogle and Hyatt Waggoner—is that of Roy R. Male.⁸ After the customary disclaimer ("The story is almost too complex, too rich in meaning for completely satisfactory analysis"⁹), Male finds that "Rappaccini's Daughter" is unified by its religious irony. Its true subject is "the dual nature of humanity,"¹⁰ and its plot really consists of Giovanni's "undergoing the crucial experience of his Christian life"¹¹—an experience which ends disastrously because of his submission to the materialistic skepticism of Rappaccini's rival, Baglioni. Within this framework Male is able to offer coherent equivalents for Hawthorne's main symbols. Beatrice, a prototype of womanhood, is "the very embodiment of the central Christian paradox—angelic but corrupt, beautiful but damned."¹² Giovanni's moral error is to confuse Beatrice's earthly component (the poison) with her spirit, which actually remains angelic

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ Richard Harter Fogle, *Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark* (Norman, Okla., 1952), p. 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸ See Hyatt H. Waggoner, *Hawthorne: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 101-17, and Roy R. Male, *Hawthorne's Tragic Vision* (Austin, Tex., 1957), pp. 54-70.

⁹ Male, p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

to the end. The garden's shattered fountain and its pure water are emblematic of the flesh-spirit antithesis, and the gorgeous purple shrub, fed by this water yet fatal to the touch, combines the opposed powers in an ambiguous mixture exactly paralleling Beatrice's own duality.

Male's interpretation, which rests partly on Hawthorne's moralizing and partly on patterns of allusion to Dante, Spenser, Bunyan and Milton, is distinguished by its moral cogency. The ironic role of Baglioni, for example, is richly significant in Male's scheme, whereas Rosenberry had to minimize Baglioni's obvious defects and label him a "humanitarian" for his opposition to the pure scientist, Rappaccini.¹³ This is not to say, however, that Male has successfully righted the imbalance between literal and allegorical meaning. As he confesses, Giovanni's distrust of Beatrice is well founded "from an ordinary point of view."¹⁴ He simply chooses to disregard this point of view, implying through most of his chapter that Beatrice's offer of "eventual redemption"¹⁵ to Giovanni is no less holy for being embodied in a prospective marriage of two chemical freaks. Male's working vocabulary, in fact, is so studded with gratuitous religious terms that it implicitly denies the very possibility of non-spiritual meaning in the tale. The vital tensions or confusions in "Rappaccini's Daughter" tend, under Male's handling, to disappear in a mist of didactic religiosity.¹⁶

Now, some degree of reductionism seems inevitable in any reading of this portentous tale. But granted that "Rappaccini's Daughter" contains religious imagery, we cannot build a structure of total meaning upon that imagery if it fails to characterize the felt atmosphere of the plot. The issue of faith is only one among several terms that are symbolically involved in the story, and the critic's problem is not to choose his favorite theme but to show a rationale for Hawthorne's contradictions. The obvious, yet nearly always neglected, starting place for a satisfactorily broad reading is the literal situation in which Hawthorne's characters find themselves.

¹³ Rosenberry, p. 42.

¹⁴ Male, p. 68.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁶ This is how Male begins his analysis: "Hawthorne's ability to create vital women in his fiction is inseparable from his understanding of tragedy. He knew that in order to find a home and a hope of heaven—in order, that is, to develop his full human potential—man must accept either the woman or the dual promise she represents: tragic involvement with sin but also the consequent possibility of redemption. This involvement must be passionate, like Adam's; it is not a matter of rationally selecting the best that can be found in past and present and balancing these elements in an intellectual synthesis. Moral growth occurs in a series of communions in which the bread and wine of the past vitalizes [*sic*] the present" (*Hawthorne's Tragic Vision*, p. 54). That the developing of "full human potential" should be equated with finding "a hope of heaven," that "the woman" is said to offer "redemption," and that moral growth should be somehow Eucharistic—these arbitrary flourishes smooth the way for allegory.

That situation is certainly not one of testing a young man's religious faith, and still less does it concern the transmitting of scientific knowledge. Plainly, the context of "Rappaccini's Daughter" is amorous. The question upon which the plot is strung is whether Giovanni and Beatrice will be able to marry, and this in turn depends on Giovanni's willingness to regard Beatrice as a possible mate. The final reason for the plot's catastrophe is the hero's failure to reconcile his conflicting feelings about the woman who loves him. Though these feelings are aroused in part by the unique circumstance of Beatrice's poisonousness, they remain proper to the confusion of a would-be lover:

It was not love, although her rich beauty was a madness to him; nor horror, even while he fancied her spirit to be imbued with the same baneful essence that seemed to pervade her physical frame; but a wild offspring of both love and horror that had each parent in it, and burned like one and shivered like the other. Giovanni knew not what to dread; still less did he know what to hope; yet hope and dread kept a continual warfare in his breast, alternately vanquishing one another and starting up afresh to renew the contest. Blessed are all simple emotions, be they dark or bright! It is the lurid intermixture of the two that produces the illuminating blaze of the infernal regions.¹⁷

Passages like this one appear to vindicate the minority of critics who have seen "Rappaccini's Daughter" in sexual rather than in religious terms.¹⁸ If we consider Giovanni as an inexperienced lover who has met a strange girl in a strange town, the violence of his mixed reaction to her seems exaggerated—except for the fact that she is poisonous. This one circumstance accounts for the ingredient of horror in Giovanni's "lurid intermixture" of emotions, while in every other respect he is the conventional romantic suitor. Under these conditions, I think, "poison" must refer to Beatrice's sexuality as Giovanni perceives it. Instead of giving us a realistic portrayal of a neophyte's erotic misgivings, Hawthorne keeps Giovanni superficially love-struck, while allowing his deeper psychological

¹⁷ *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. George Parsons Lathrop (13 vols.; Boston and New York, 1882), II, 123. Subsequent numerals in the text will refer to page numbers in this volume.

¹⁸ Apart from casual references to the sexual level of the story (e.g., Leslie Fiedler's in *Love and Death in the American Novel* [New York, 1960], p. 282), the only extended defense of this approach is that of Richard B. Hovey, "Love and Hate in 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" *University of Kansas City Review*, XXIX (Winter 1962), 137-45. While drawing on different evidence and raising some further questions, the present article is meant to substantiate Hovey's conclusions. My especial purpose, however, is to show that a thoroughgoing consideration of the love theme on both the literal and the symbolic plane can eventually make coherent sense of Hawthorne's imagery, including his religious imagery.

insight to express itself covertly through symbolism. For if we translate the "poison" aspect of the plot back into literal terms, Giovanni's behavior makes perfect psychological sense. Hope and dread wage continual warfare in his breast because he fears exactly what he desires. His own sexual ambition triggers his fits of revulsion, for the closer he comes to Beatrice, the more he is horrified by her implied sexual power.

The reader may feel that this is simply one further exit from the story Hawthorne actually wrote. The equation of poison with sexuality differs, however, from more thoroughgoing allegorical theories in that it preserves the literal plot nearly intact and provides a rationale for its seeming excesses. We need not even suppose that Beatrice's poisonousness is "really" sexuality; it suffices that both Giovanni and Beatrice herself act as if it were. The strange inconsistencies in Beatrice's behavior as well as in Giovanni's can be explained if we see that both characters, caught as they are in the first mature love affair of their lives and betrayed by their ignorance of each other's nature, use Beatrice's poisonousness as a kind of *double-entendre* for what they cannot discuss or even contemplate without fear.

This theory helps to account for Beatrice's puzzling attitude toward her own toxic properties. She can confess to Giovanni in one breath, "I, it is true, am the horrible thing thou namest me" (p. 144), but can swear indignantly in almost the next that "it was not I" (p. 144) who poisoned him; all the blame is Rappaccini's. This self-justification appears to rest on the scarcely believable fact that Beatrice, despite her knowledge of her deadliness to other creatures and her fears for Giovanni's safety in the garden,¹⁹ has never once considered that he might be taking contagion from her. Beatrice's ignorance becomes less remarkable, however, if we see that it refers primarily to her unawareness of her power of enticement. Though she has "instilled a fierce and subtle poison into his system" (p. 123)—meaning, in this passage, Giovanni's mixture of emotions—she has done so unwittingly. What she is really disavowing is that she has deliberately exploited her attractiveness, which has been enhanced by the mysterious aura of danger attaching to her poisonousness. That Beatrice, regardless of all the evidence, has refused to imagine the possibility of her infecting Giovanni until he accuses her point-blank, indicates that "poisonousness" is charged with an especially unpleasant meaning for her with regard to Giovanni. Her innocence consists in an almost willful ignorance of her sexual power, and this ignorance is the foundation of her claim to spiritual purity.

¹⁹ At one point, in fact, she warns Giovanni away from her favorite plant because to touch it would be "fatal" (p. 132). Yet she has plucked a lethal blossom from it herself and worn it nonchalantly in her bosom (p. 120).

The sexual quality of Beatrice's allure has been obvious to every critic of "Rappaccini's Daughter"—even to those who have minimized its importance. She is repeatedly described in terms of richness, luxuriousness and dark gorgeousness, and her voluptuous beauty sets off the wildest fantasies in the impressionable Giovanni. Significantly, these fantasies are linked to her poisonousness. Again and again in the story, Giovanni's thoughts about poison are appropriate to sexual fear, and it is noteworthy that when he has forgotten Beatrice's poisonousness he has also forgotten her womanly maturity. For Giovanni she must be either childlike and innocent or poisonous and guilty; while these are crude and unbalanced alternatives, the important point is that they are the only ones available to Giovanni's imagination. This curious narrowness in him can be explained only if we suppose that for him sexual maturity and fatal toxic power are equally repugnant and indeed identical. The equation works, in fact, both ways: whenever Giovanni makes semi-intentional advances of an amatory nature, what literally checks him is fear of poison. Thus, for example, he yearns to touch Beatrice's hair, but "on the few occasions when Giovanni had seemed tempted to overstep the limit, Beatrice grew so sad, so stern, and withal wore such a look of desolate separation, shuddering at itself, that not a spoken word was requisite to repel him. At such times he was startled at the horrible suspicions that rose, monster-like, out of the caverns of his heart . . ." (p. 134). Here the association of "overstepping" the bounds of chaste courtship with the confronting of Beatrice's poisonousness is so obvious that the passage verges on comedy.

The focus of symbolic meaning in "Rappaccini's Daughter" remains largely on the garden itself, which is not only the setting for most of the action but also a kind of moralized landscape reflecting the characters' moods and obsessions. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the garden has strong sexual connotations. Beatrice's ignorance of her own passionate nature is intricately suggested in her association with, yet repugnance for, the poisonous flowers of the garden. Several of these flowers, says Hawthorne, "would have shocked a delicate instinct" by their "commixture, and, as it were, adultery, of various vegetable species" (p. 128). Such an adultery is "the monstrous offspring of man's depraved fancy" (p. 128). The gorgeousness of these flowers "seemed fierce, passionate, and even unnatural" (p. 128) to Giovanni, and Beatrice herself confesses that they "shock and offend me when they meet my eye" (p. 129). These are strangely prudish reactions to literal flowers, however outlandish in form. One might almost accuse Giovanni and Beatrice of having read up on Freudian flower symbolism.

It is, however, precisely Beatrice's insensitivity to the flowers' relevance to her own physical nature that saves her imagination from "impurity."

She does not see the ingredient of passion in her extraordinary relationship with the most poisonous shrub in the garden. "Yes, my sister, my splendor," she says to this purple plant, "it shall be Beatrice's task to nurse and serve thee; and thou shalt reward her with thy kisses and perfumed breath, which to her is as the breath of life" (p. 114). The "sisterly" quality of this affection seems questionable, and becomes more so a few pages later:

Approaching the shrub, she threw open her arms, as with a passionate ardor, and drew its branches into an intimate embrace—so intimate that her features were hidden in its leafy bosom and her glistening ringlets all intermingled with the flowers. (p. 119)

We can hardly blame Giovanni if, in watching such behavior, he fearfully imagines himself in the place of the erotically smothered branches, particularly since Beatrice herself realizes that her love for him is *replacing* her love for the deadly shrub (p. 131).

That Giovanni is appalled as well as fascinated by such implications is literally plausible, but it is also symbolically pertinent to his inexperience as a lover. Hawthorne shows him to be infatuated with his own "remarkable beauty of person" (p. 109) and naïvely anxious to test out his seductiveness. His "shallowness of feeling and insincerity of character" (p. 140) demand a love-object that will merely flatter his vanity, not make sexual demands of its own. Every hint of Beatrice's complete womanliness is thus a blow to his narcissism. But beyond this, Giovanni displays an abject terror before the whole phenomenon of female sexuality. Both he and Beatrice want to perpetuate a relationship "as unreserved as if they had been playmates from early infancy—as if they were such playmates still" (pp. 133 ff.). Beatrice, like Desdemona, has never thought of love in any other terms, but Giovanni—who will show the unjust rage of an Othello before the tale is over—has not passed his boyhood in an enclosed garden and must cope with the very reasonable suspicion that such pastoral innocence is implausible. The important thing, however, is that he does insist upon this innocence. We might say that the homesick and virginal Giovanni really wants to find a surrogate mother or sister in Beatrice, for he cannot recognize her sexuality without at once degrading her spitefully to the level of a scheming prostitute.

Thus Giovanni's "lurid intermixture" of feelings springs not only from an ambivalence between childishness and womanliness in Beatrice, but from his own combination of fear and prurient interest with regard to her sexuality. To match his revulsion there is a nearly equal quantity of ambition to win the prize. "The instant that he was aware of the possibility of approaching Beatrice, it seemed an absolute necessity of his

existence to do so" (p. 126). Hawthorne indulges in a series of blatant innuendoes to ensure that we see the nature of this necessity. The smirking crone Lisabetta, whom Male interprets in a divine light because she says such things as "For the love of Heaven, then, put your head out of the window" (pp. 109 ff.), actually functions as a pander. She reveals to Giovanni that "there is a private entrance into the garden!" (p. 126), "where you may see all [Rappaccini's] fine shrubbery" (p. 126). That Lisabetta is not referring to a passion for botany is clinched by her next sentence: "Many a young man in Padua would give gold to be admitted among those flowers" (p. 126). Whereupon Giovanni, not to be outdone by all the other potential horticulturists, places money in Lisabetta's hand, musters his courage, and declares: "Show me the way" (p. 126). Again, we need not resort to Freudian dream-equivalences for flowers and gardens to see the sexual joke. When Giovanni is eventually led "along several obscure passages" and emerges into the garden, "forcing himself through the entanglement of a shrub that wreathed its tendrils over the hidden entrance" (p. 127), the effect is virtually pornographic.

This is not to say, of course, that the symbolism of intercourse corresponds to a comparable deed, or even comparable conscious knowledge, on Giovanni's part. Once within the garden he continues to act with his previous mixture of fearful curiosity and revulsion, and the remainder of the plot is borne along on these consequences of sexual ignorance. Insofar as Giovanni's admission to the "unnatural" and "artificial" flowers might register a sexual experience, that experience has taken place in fantasy only. Indeed, this supposition explains why the flowers *are* so unnatural. They represent female sexuality not as it exists objectively but as it appears to a deprived imagination in the grip of nameless urges and misgivings. Giovanni is well advised to step gingerly in the garden, for its unwholesomeness is just the quality of his own thoughts, and its threats to life will be matched by his own destructiveness later on. As Beatrice says in her dying words, there has been more poison in his nature than in hers from the beginning (p. 147).

Now, the appropriateness of Rappaccini's hybrid flowers to Giovanni's adolescent attitudes toward womankind seems rather startling if we have been following the story in a literal or even a semi-literal spirit. Since our primary interest must be in Giovanni, it is as if Rappaccini had planted the flowers strictly for Giovanni's benefit rather than for motives of his own. We need not compromise the literal plot to the extent of regarding Rappaccini and his garden merely as projections of Giovanni's mind, but it is true that the seemingly fortuitous circumstances of Giovanni's outward experience have a deep symbolic relevance to his character. The point applies to all Giovanni's contacts, not just to Rappaccini.

What Beatrice, Baglioni, Lisabetta and Rappaccini advise him to do is essentially what his own conflicting impulses of trusting love, cynical rejection, lewdness and morbid curiosity are urging upon him. This, I think, is the source of our sense of unity in "Rappaccini's Daughter," for we see the world of this tale through the medium of Giovanni's imagination, not his eyesight. The essential action consists in the formation and resolution of his attitudes, and the personages he meets are conveniently representative of the very alternatives he has proposed to himself. To this extent we seem justified in calling the tale a psychological allegory.

This, by the way, is just the manner in which most of Hawthorne's best tales are allegorical: the characters who surround the focal hero, and all the experiences that seem to be forced upon him by chance or the design of others, become fully meaningful only if we see that they correspond to promptings from within. Most typically, a monomaniac protagonist finds himself confronted with incarnations of the very qualities he has tried to root out of his own nature. The most extensive use of this technique, as I have argued elsewhere,²⁰ occurs in *The Blithedale Romance*, but it is prominent in such tales as "Ethan Brand," "Young Goodman Brown," "The Wives of the Dead," "The May-Pole of Merry Mount," "The Artist of the Beautiful" and "The Birthmark." All these stories resemble "Rappaccini's Daughter" in straining literal events (with more or less success) to match the inner psychological drama of a protagonist.²¹ None of the action is wholly fortuitous because none of it is wholly external to the hero's private thoughts.

Recent critics have accepted this principle insofar as it applies to Baglioni, who has the Iago-like function of playing on Giovanni's lurking cynicism about the innocence of womankind. Lisabetta's equally obvious role has been slighted, perhaps because it is difficult to harmonize with a purely religious interpretation of the story. But much more important than either of these is the figure of Rappaccini, whose weird creations evidently find some echo in Giovanni's soul. No one, I believe, has at-

²⁰ "A New Reading of *The Blithedale Romance*," *American Literature*, XXIX (May 1957), 147-70.

²¹ Hence the ambiguity over the literal return of the two husbands in "The Wives of the Dead," and hence the puzzling shifts between dream and reality in "Young Goodman Brown." The contradictions of plot in the latter story are genuine, but they seem less important when we realize the extent to which Brown's original "reality" is already dreamlike. His wife, "Faith," and his devil friend stand for psychological adversaries in Brown's mind from the beginning, so that Faith's empirically verified presence at the witches' sabbath, far from proving her to be objectively faithless, only bodies forth the triumph of faithlessness in Brown himself. The problem of the newlywed Brown, by the way, is not unlike Giovanni's in the present tale, and in both cases the allegory is at once sexual and religious.

tempted to define this hidden kinship. Rappaccini is always taken as an embodiment of the *libido sciendi*, a cold investigator whose nature is opposite to his daughter's—and nothing more is said. The antithesis of head and heart is so commonplace in Hawthorne criticism that the mere labeling of one character as "intellectual" and another as "sympathetic" is presumed to exhaust the subject.

It will not do to reduce "Rappaccini's Daughter" to a moral scheme resting on these excessively vague categories. Both Baglioni and Rappaccini, who are enemies in the story, would have to represent the intellect, albeit with different emphases, and the triumph of one kind of intellect over another in the administration of Baglioni's fatal antidote to Beatrice would not provide much of a "moral." Nor can we regard Rappaccini and Giovanni as neatly antithetical exemplars of two kinds of error, one springing from unchecked intellectualism and the other from unchecked emotionalism.²² Giovanni's emotions are anything but unchecked; at every moment they are suffering inhibition from half-submerged doubts and reservations. Even his lust contains an element of calculation. Giovanni himself wonders whether his interest in Beatrice is not "merely the fantasy of a young man's brain, only slightly or not at all connected with his heart" (p. 127).²³ This alone might suggest that Rappaccini's flowers, which have sprung from an isolated brain and which provide the tangible basis for Giovanni's meanest suspicions of Beatrice, illustrate a characteristic that Giovanni and Rappaccini have in common.

Though Rappaccini has little to say, it is clear that he belongs in the gallery of Hawthorne's monomaniac investigators that includes Roger Chillingworth and Aylmer of "The Birthmark." In both these latter characters the motive force behind the fiendish passion for knowledge is sketched in for us: it is the thwarting of sexual feeling. Chillingworth's lore is pursued with spitefulness toward mankind only after he has failed as a husband to Hester. The true meaning of his researches is expressed in his sadistic tormenting of Dimmesdale, who cuckolded him; and *The Scarlet Letter* is full of insinuations that this relationship of investigator to investigated, of tormentor to tormented, is a kind of mock-marriage, a substitute for more normal sexual feeling in both parties. Similarly, Aylmer's desire to remove his bride's one flaw stems from revulsion against her sexuality.²⁴ He confesses that Georgiana's crimson birthmark "shocks"

²² This is the argument of Sherwood R. Price, "The Heart, the Head, and 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" *New England Quarterly*, XXVII (September 1954), 399-403.

²³ Price quotes this passage to illustrate a certain looseness of terminology in Hawthorne's tale—by which he means that Hawthorne has failed to match the consistency of his own (Price's) simplification of Giovanni to pure feeling (*op. cit.*, p. 402).

²⁴ The point is made by Simon O. Lesser, *Fiction and the Unconscious* (New York, 1962), pp. 87-90.

him, whereupon she cries, "You cannot love what shocks you!" (II, 48). But Aylmer, like Giovanni, *can* desire the very thing that offends his squeamish mind, and his dream of plunging his knife into the birthmark until it reaches Georgiana's heart reveals a fantasy of sadistic revenge and a scarcely less obvious fantasy of sexual consummation.²⁵ His "medical" curiosity and his willingness to risk Georgiana's death to remove a harmless blemish are thinly disguised substitutes for his urges to *know* and *destroy* her sexuality. Before the operation is over Aylmer will have both kissed and shuddered at the suggestive birthmark, and his "scientific" murder will be concluded "in almost irrepressible ecstasy" (p. 68). The *libido sciendi*, in a word, appears to have a good deal of libido in it.²⁶

The matter at hand is whether Rappaccini is treated as Chillingworth and Aylmer are. There is, of course, no Signora Rappaccini to match Hester and Georgiana in providing an impetus to morbid experimentation, but Rappaccini does resemble his slightly mad colleagues in being willing "to sacrifice human life, . . . or whatever else was dearest to him, for the sake of adding so much as a grain of mustard seed to the great heap of his accumulated knowledge" (p. 116). The mutually exclusive alternatives of "pure science" and a sympathetic, normal regard for mankind are clearly present in the story, and for Hawthorne sympathy always entails sexual normality.²⁷ We may, indeed, attach some significance to the fact that nothing whatever is said about Rappaccini's supposed former marriage. The symbolic world of the garden, tended by the pure Beatrice but laden with perverse connotations, makes up the entire realm of his

²⁵ Lest we doubt the dream's significance for Aylmer's later, real surgery upon his wife, Hawthorne adds: "Truth often finds its way to the mind close muffled in robes of sleep, and then speaks with uncompromising directness of matters in regard to which we practise an unconscious self-deception during our waking moments" (p. 52).

²⁶ We cannot pause here to show that Hawthorne's implied view of sadism as a consequence of thwarted desire and disgust, and his even more sophisticated hint that scientific experimentation can be at least partly motivated by deflected sexual curiosity, concur broadly with what Freud had to say on both subjects. Freud is more radical, of course. For him the impulses toward scientific investigation and toward surgery spring *originally* from sexual curiosity and sadism, whereas Hawthorne portrays a later "intertwining" (p. 47) of eroticism with a hitherto disinterested love of truth. Nor can we say that Hawthorne has Freud's degree of universality in his implied conclusions. For Freud sadism was a regular component of male heterosexual desire, and the benevolent doctor was to be regarded as a sublimated sadist. Hawthorne, in contrast, restricts his interest to such pathological cases as Aylmer's. Like Freud, however, he regards "normality" as a precarious juggling of passions and restraints; we shall see that the lapse of control in the thoroughly conventional Giovanni is a case in point.

²⁷ The point is implied everywhere in Hawthorne's fiction, usually by a demonstration of its converse. Thus, for example, the spiritual fanatics Ethan Brand and the Reverend Mr. Hooper ("The Minister's Black Veil") forfeit sexual normality when they turn their backs on human society. Brand performs mysterious and diabolical "scientific" experiments on a young lady while ostensibly seeking the Unpardonable Sin, and Hooper's donning the black veil conveniently saves him from an impending marriage.

affections, so that it stands as a kind of surrogate for a healthier range of feeling. And Rappaccini's mixture of attitudes toward the suggestive flowers must inevitably remind us of Giovanni's own ambivalence. On the one hand he shows deep interest, "looking into their inmost nature" (p. 112), but on the other hand "there was no approach to intimacy between himself and these vegetable existences" (p. 112). His demeanor is that of a man "walking among malignant influences, such as savage beasts, or deadly snakes, or evil spirits, which, should he allow them one moment of license, would wreak upon him some terrible fatality" (p. 112). This desperate self-control in defense against forces which fascinate him and which he has himself released is appropriate to a perverse revulsion from sexuality. Rappaccini's weird marital plan for Beatrice and Giovanni, which envisions the coupling of two mutually immune monsters, points to the monstrosity of his own imagination. Like Aylmer's surgery, this proposed marriage appears to be at once a product of sexual disgust and a clumsy remedy for it. Indeed, regardless of his surmised feelings it is certain that Rappaccini has already had the effect of foreclosing any possibility of a normal love life for his daughter. In terms of the world beyond his walls Rappaccini has made Beatrice untouchable; she is now available only for Gothic "experimentation" conducted at home under the auspices of the "disinterested scientist."²⁸

This, then, is why Rappaccini's garden is also Giovanni's garden: for both characters it appears to represent sexuality as seen through morbid inquisitiveness. In terms of the tale's psychological allegory this inquisitiveness is the alternative to normality that Rappaccini holds out to Giovanni. Unlike Baglioni's advice to stay away from Beatrice and Lisabetta's implicit urging of sexual conquest, this alternative offers both an escape *and* a conquest. To be a human pesticide married to another is, for Rappaccini, to overcome normality with sadistic triumph. This is succinctly expressed in his final speech to Beatrice:

"Dost thou deem it misery to be endowed with marvellous gifts against which no power nor strength could avail an enemy—misery, to be able to quell the mightiest with a breath—misery, to be as terrible as thou art beautiful? Wouldst thou, then, have preferred the condition of a weak woman, exposed to all evil and capable of none?" (p. 147)

²⁸ In a fascinating article Charles Boewe has shown how Rappaccini's cross-pollination of plants must have had overtones of sexual irregularity for both Hawthorne and his contemporaries (we might add, for his characters as well). Boewe concludes that in Hawthorne's time hybridization was closely associated with sterility; the "adultery," as Hawthorne calls it, of one plant with another would necessarily produce a botanical freak incapable of further reproduction. Rappaccini has had a comparable effect on Beatrice as well as on his flowers. See "Rappaccini's Garden," *American Literature*, XXX (March 1958), 37-49.

Here it is seen that Rappaccini's tampering with his daughter's metabolism has had a positively sadistic intent which he is now irrelevantly placing at her own command; with the control of poison one can surmount one's humanity, like the unsexed Lady Macbeth, and devastate one's imagined enemies. The real enemy, of course, is "the condition of a weak woman," which both Rappaccini and Giovanni seem to find unbearable.

This is not to say that Giovanni adopts Rappaccini's attitude as his own conclusive response, for Giovanni continues to vacillate until the end. The point is that there is a "Rappaccini" ingredient in his psyche; a streak of sadism originating in his fear of Beatrice. Giovanni will act with malicious fury at the crucial moment in his relationship with her. The objective basis for his rage is his discovery that his own veins are becoming filled with poison, but the manner of his reaction expresses a positive zest in administering torment. Note his behavior just before this meeting:

Recovering from his stupor, he began to watch with curious eye a spider that was busily at work hanging its web from the antique cornice of the apartment, crossing and recrossing the artful system of interwoven lines—as vigorous and active a spider as ever dangled from an old ceiling. Giovanni bent towards the insect, and emitted a deep, long breath. The spider suddenly ceased its toil; the web vibrated with a tremor originating in the body of the small artisan. Again Giovanni sent forth a breath, deeper, longer, and imbued with a venomous feeling out of his heart; he knew not whether he were wicked, or only desperate. The spider made a convulsive gripe with his limbs and hung dead across the window.

"Accursed! accursed!" muttered Giovanni, addressing himself. "Hast thou grown so poisonous that this deadly insect perishes by thy breath?"

At that moment a rich, sweet voice came floating up from the garden.

"Giovanni! Giovanni! It is past the hour! Why tarriest thou? Come down!"

"Yes," muttered Giovanni again. "She is the only being whom my breath may not slay! Would that it might!" (pp. 140 ff.)

In this subtle passage we see that Giovanni's resentment now extends to life in general. Note especially how he attributes deadliness to a "vigorous," "active" and literally *constructive* spider, the innocuous victim of his little experiment. The deadliness lies in his own poisoned mind, which, whether "wicked, or only desperate," is now ready to direct its hatred against Beatrice in person.

We should not be surprised, then, that Giovanni's delayed rendezvous with Beatrice is a vicious one. She is now to suffer for having "enticed me into thy region of unspeakable horror!" (p. 143)—an accusation of rather

graphic ambiguity. Giovanni's diatribe against Beatrice is characterized by both disgust and brutal cruelty:

"Yes, poisonous thing!" repeated Giovanni, beside himself with passion. "Thou hast done it! Thou hast blasted me! Thou hast filled my veins with poison! Thou hast made me as hateful, as ugly, as loathsome and deadly a creature as thyself—a world's wonder of hideous monstrosity! Now, if our breath be happily as fatal to ourselves as to all others, let us join our lips in one kiss of unutterable hatred, and so die!" (p. 143)

Giovanni will quickly repent of this mood when his fury is spent, but for a few moments he has shown us the true emotional meaning of his poison. His concluding sentence is worthy of Swinburne in combining a perverted lust with a sadistic longing to destroy the woman who has both inspired and inhibited it. That this destruction is also self-destruction is all the more Swinburnian, and is the final revelation of Giovanni's narcissism. Ultimately he has cared only for his own attractiveness, and when this has been threatened—not destroyed, for presumably Baglioni's antidote will succeed with him—he revels histrionically in a bittersweet fantasy of annihilation. The effect of his words, meanwhile, is genuinely murderous. Beatrice appears to realize that the antidote which he next offers will be fatal to her, and she drinks it willingly, for she *has* lived for someone else's love and has found it transformed to an unbearable cruelty.

Beatrice thus takes her place beside the other full-blooded heroines, Hester, Zenobia and Miriam, with whom her name is justly linked in Hawthorne criticism. Like them, she must suffer for the implicit threat that her sexual aura bears to the timid men who surround her. Her case, however, is more crucially ambiguous than theirs, for while they realize their womanliness and flaunt it before their tormentors, Beatrice's conscious attitude remains girlish to the end. This consistent disparity between her purity of soul and her physical allure might be said to be allegorically invoked by Giovanni's own contradictory demands of her, but it is thematically meaningful as a literal fact. Both Beatrice and Giovanni, like the Lord and Lady of the May at Merry Mount, cherish the impossible illusion of a childlike, unselfconscious love between physically mature adults. The course of the plot may be defined as the gradual dispelling of that illusion.

It is in this context that we should interpret Hawthorne's playful references to Rappaccini's garden as "the Eden of the present world" (p. 112). Indeed, we are now equipped to reconsider the whole question of religious meaning in the tale. To describe the garden as an emblem of postlapsarian nature is certainly correct, yet it barely approximates the

complex effect Hawthorne has created. The atmosphere of the garden is primarily psychological, not moral; the "fall" is a fall from the child's unawareness of sex, not from virtue. Unlike Adam and Eve, Giovanni and Beatrice are destined, not to sin, but to become cognizant of sin—and even this formulation needs revising in Beatrice's case. She is simply victimized by the consequences of Giovanni's inability to assimilate the discovery of sexuality in her, a discovery she never really makes herself. Hawthorne has implicitly emptied the concept of sin of its ordinary meaning, for in this tale evil is produced, not by overt wrongdoing, nor even by sinning in thought, but by the conflict between lustful wishes and an ideal of sexless virtue. As Hawthorne puts it, "Blessed are all simple emotions, be they dark or bright!" (p. 123). If Giovanni's view of Beatrice had been unequivocally lustful, "sinful" in the accepted sense of the word, we should not have been introduced to the "blaze of the infernal regions" (p. 123). Hawthorne is doctrinally heterodox but psychologically very shrewd in implying that the yearning for purity, and not simply the urge toward impurity, plays an essential part in the perversion of human affection.

The reading of "Rappaccini's Daughter" that translates Giovanni's problem merely into the accepting or rejecting of Christian faith is at once over-simple and over-refined: it simplifies Giovanni's psychological plight and it departs unnecessarily from the given situation. Yet the problem of faith does get entangled in Giovanni's dilemma. Wherever he renews his "faith" in Beatrice's moral innocence, the language of his thoughts seizes upon religious metaphors. Thus, for example, Beatrice's presence can bring him

. . . recollections of the delicate and benign power of her feminine nature, which had so often enveloped him in a religious calm; recollections of many a holy and passionate outgush of her heart, when the pure fountain had been unsealed from its depths and made visible in its transparency to his mental eye; recollections which, had Giovanni known how to estimate them, would have assured him that all this ugly mystery was but an earthly illusion, and that, whatever mist of evil might seem to have gathered over her, the real Beatrice was a heavenly angel. (pp. 141 ff.)

The reader will note that the imagery here is itself a kind of antidote to doubts about Beatrice's girlishness; Giovanni's mental eye sees that "the depths" of the "pure fountain" are unpolluted. Hawthorne invokes Beatrice's "passion" only to show that it is not passionate in the usual sense at all. Elsewhere Giovanni's own "passion" is treated in the same beneficent terms: "But now his spirit was incapable of sustaining itself

at the height to which the early enthusiasm of passion had exalted it; he fell down, grovelling among earthly doubts, and defiled therewith the pure whiteness of Beatrice's image" (p. 139). Such passages appear to make religious faith contingent on a "passionate" recognition of absolute, unambiguous purity in Beatrice. It is apparent that for Giovanni religious faith must rest on self-deception, for his "faith" is a faith in Beatrice's non-poisonousness. And the same point seems to hold on the symbolic level: if supernatural belief must depend on a denial of sexual feeling in Beatrice, and specifically on denying that she has (albeit unthinkingly) enticed Giovanni with her sexual appeal, then supernatural faith is made possible by a lie.

It is significant, therefore, that when Giovanni has reached the nadir of belief in Beatrice he achieves the height of blasphemy:

"Thou,—dost thou pray?" cried Giovanni, still with the same fiendish scorn. "Thy very prayers, as they come from thy lips, taint the atmosphere with death. Yes, yes; let us pray! Let us to church and dip our fingers in the holy water at the portal! They that come after us will perish as by a pestilence! Let us sign crosses in the air! It will be scattering curses abroad in the likeness of holy symbols!" (p. 144)

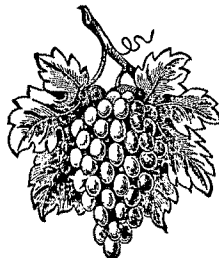
This urge to commit Black Masses, like Dimmesdale's urge to blaspheme to his parishioners as he returns from his forest meeting with Hester, expresses a momentary upsurging of sexual feeling against a self-control which has been based on the effort to exclude "impure thoughts." In Giovanni's case as in Dimmesdale's, a demonic energy is released at the price of being perversely wedded to the very system of values it opposes. Just as Dimmesdale's rebelliousness *must* take the form of defiling the religious verities that have thus far kept it in check, so Giovanni must vent his scorn on Beatrice's claim to holiness.

Now, though Giovanni wavers between blaming Rappaccini outright for his daughter's condition and deciding that she has shared in his scheme, both interpretations locate the original source of evil in Rappaccini. It is thus the "father" who is ultimately responsible in Giovanni's eyes, and in Beatrice's as well. This is highly pertinent to Giovanni's loss of religious faith, for Hawthorne has set up ample parallels between Rappaccini and God. Rappaccini has "created" (p. 142) the central shrub in his new Eden, and he presides over everything that happens between its Adam and Eve. This is not to say, however, that Rappaccini is identifiable with the Christian God. He is a parody of divinity, a creator whose productions are "no longer of God's making, but the monstrous offspring of man's depraved fancy, glowing with only an evil mockery of beauty" (p. 128). Recalling that all of Giovanni's acquaintances in the tale reflect

aspects of himself, we may say that Rappaccini is the God of Giovanni's latent atheism, the God of a godless world. To believe in him—to find nothing in existence that has not been touched by his polluting influence—is to disbelieve in goodness.²⁰

Ultimately it should be clear that "Rappaccini's Daughter" neither affirms nor denies Christianity, for except in a few moralizing lines that have a hollow ring, we are never brought outside Giovanni's subjective plight. Like Melville's *Pierre*, Giovanni gets his religion hopelessly entangled in his eroticism. In the given terms of his mind, piety depends on the verification of a total purity which really exists neither in the outer world nor in himself, and it is not Christianity's fault if this is the condition of his faith. In "Rappaccini's Daughter" as in *Pierre*, the testing-out of religious absolutes arises from the hero's incapacity to take a steady view of womankind. The difference between the two works is characteristic of the general distance between Hawthorne and Melville, for while Melville seems to see *Pierre's* psychological ambivalence only intermittently and comes, in effect, to *Pierre's* own religious conclusions himself, Hawthorne maintains a cold philosophic irony. Here as elsewhere in Hawthorne, nothing whatever is asserted about the structure of the universe. For Hawthorne the problem of belief is psychological, a question of needs and fears; and Giovanni's blasphemy, like his piety, is meaningful only as part of a pitiless symbolic anatomy of the adolescent mind.

²⁰ From a strictly Freudian point of view the attribution of blame to Rappaccini for Beatrice's sexuality is doubly significant. Giovanni's demand of sexless purity is appropriate to the phase, somewhat prior to his real age in the story, at which the unwelcome discovery of sexuality in one's mother or sister is made. The typical reaction, we are told, is first to deny the fact itself and then to cast the father as a villain who has imposed his impurity on the unwilling victim. For a psychoanalyst, indeed, the connection between the sexual and religious crises in Giovanni's mind would be obvious on a priori grounds. It is interesting that Hawthorne selfconsciously underlines both Rappaccini's "divinity" and the "brotherly" quality of Giovanni's idealization of Beatrice. We have seen how these cautious lovers want to remain like "playmates from early infancy" (pp. 133 ff.), and at one point Giovanni wonders to himself how he could "be conversing with Beatrice like a brother" (p. 131) despite his knowledge of her deadliness. For Freud this was a question that brothers and sons generally were obliged to confront.



DAVID W. NOBLE
University of Minnesota

Cooper, Leatherstocking and the Death of the American Adam

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF *Virgin Land* in 1950, ALL STUDENTS OF AMERICAN culture have been forced to begin their consideration of nineteenth-century America by taking into account the myth of the West. Henry Nash Smith has conclusively demonstrated that the imagination of Americans after 1800 was dominated by the belief that the American West represented a redemptive nature which would provide spiritual salvation for the men who settled upon it. European man, corrupted by civilization, was reborn, made innocent, when he abandoned old world history for new world nature; he was then that new man, the American.

In 1955, R.W.B. Lewis published his book, *The American Adam*, which brought the perspective of the American belief in a rebirth of innocence through the redemptive influence of physical nature to an analysis of nineteenth-century American literature. Professor Lewis found that the uniqueness of the American novel was based squarely on its acceptance of the myth of the West. European novelists placed their heroes within the confines of historical culture, within time. But the American novelist, beginning with James Fenimore Cooper, evoked heroes who had escaped from traditional society, from history, and lived freely in harmony with nature:

"If there was a fictional Adamic hero unambiguously treated—celebrated in his very Adamism—it was the hero of Cooper's *The Deerslayer*: a self-reliant young man who does seem to have sprung from nowhere and whose characteristic pose . . . was the solitary stance in the presence of nature and God. . . . The evolution of the hero as Adam in the fiction of the New World . . . begins rightly with Natty Bumppo. I call such a figure the hero in space, in two senses of the word. First, the hero seems to take his start outside time . . . and, second, his initial habitat is space as spaciousness, as the unbounded, the area of total possibility. . . . I agree with Lawrence in seeing the novel as the culmination of a process

which exemplifies the American myth. Lawrence's words seem to me at once exact, poetic, and inimitable: "The Leatherstocking novels . . . go backwards from old age to golden youth. That is the true myth of America. She starts old, old, wrinkled and writhing in an old skin. And there is a gradual sloughing off of the old skin, towards a new youth. It is the myth of America.'"

I would like to suggest, however, another way of reading the Leatherstocking series that leads to an absolute contradiction of Professor Lewis' position. I believe that if one reads the series beginning with *Deerslayer* and follows the aging Leatherstocking through his life cycle in *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Pathfinder*, *The Pioneers* and *The Prairie*, one becomes aware that Cooper is indeed writing about the American myth but with the purpose of destroying rather than celebrating the American Adam.¹

Let me begin my analysis by recalling that, according to the myth of the American West, the American Adam was to be the archetype of a new society; the myth was to become reality. The European, becoming American, was to live freely in space and in harmony with nature. The ultimate success of the myth depended upon its earthly fulfillment. Now, as Professor Lewis has declared, the figure of Deerslayer is presented at the beginning of the novel as such an earthly fulfillment of the myth. He is the American Adam. He exists freely in space and in harmony with nature. He is outside of time and society. But *The Deerslayer* is a novel that is filled with drama. And we can ask how drama can enter the life of the new Adam in the new Eden for drama depends on disharmony. How, then, does Cooper introduce disharmony into Eden?

If Deerslayer represents the perfect expression of the Adamic myth, Cooper immediately calls our attention to the fact that the human Adam and Eve, dwelling within the supposedly redemptive bosom of nature, are not innocents. Hurry Harry and Judith are magnificent human specimens but their hearts are full of disharmony. And surely Cooper tells us that no amount of living with nature will abolish that disharmony. Cooper then reveals that the only one of these first settlers on the frontier who shares Deerslayer's innocence is Judith's sister, Hetty, a girl who transcends humanity because her mind has never reached maturity. I be-

¹ The sequence in which Cooper wrote the Leatherstocking series is *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (18827), *The Pathfinder* (1840) and *The Deerslayer* (1841). From this chronology, it is obvious that Cooper did not have a unifying conception for the five novels in mind when he wrote *The Pioneers*. But it is my argument that Cooper was aware of the myth of the West and that he set about self-consciously criticizing it in *The Pioneers*. I would argue that as his criticism of the myth continued, he pursued it back to its origins in the first half of the eighteenth century and thus concluded the series with *The Deerslayer*.

lieve, therefore, that Cooper has asked the reader to distinguish between the myth of the West, Deerslayer, and the reality of the West, the Hutter family and Hurry Harry. And I believe that Cooper deliberately goes on to take Deerslayer out of those very qualities of timelessness and unbounded spaciousness which Professor Lewis sees as the necessary qualities of the American Adam.

Deerslayer is a white man living outside of society in harmony with nature. Chingachgook is an Indian living outside of society in harmony with nature. Deerslayer and Chingachgook are brothers. In a mythical West that has sprung from the imagination of Europeans, the American as natural man can live in harmony with his brother, the Indian, as natural man. But what happens when the Europeans, as men of history, come to take the West away from Indians who are also men of history? Then there will be wars, the inevitable clash between two historical cultures. And Deerslayer and Chingachgook must lose their freedom and innocence in these wars. Cooper, it would appear, is aware that the myth is of European origin and he is aware that the myth must change in response to historical events. The myth is a prisoner of time; it is a prisoner of the historical culture which gave it birth.

The action of the novel takes place at the beginning of the great struggle between England and France for the control of the West. English pioneers are wresting the frontier from the French and the Indian. Since the myth is a product of English culture, it will be used by Englishmen in their war of conquest. Deerslayer is caught in time; he does not dwell in the free space of total possibility. He has no choice but to fight for Anglo-Americans against the French and Indians. The dramatic turning point in the novel is reached, therefore, when Deerslayer loses his innocence by killing a man—an Indian—for the first time, in defense of the Hutter family. Vainly he tries to avoid conflict but he has to keep the canoe, which is the key to the safety of the family on the lake, out of the hands of the attacking Indians. Finally, the fulfillment of this act of social commitment forces him to kill the Indian who threatens to capture the canoe. It is the dying Indian who informs Deerslayer that he has lost his innocence. Deerslayer, he says, "That good name for boy—poor name for warrior . . . eye sartain—finger lightning—aim, death—great warrior soon. No Deerslayer—Hawkeye—Hawkeye—Hawkeye." Here the man and the myth have lost their innocence. The myth must abandon nature and become a man as Hawkeye fights for English culture against the Indian.

We meet Leatherstocking next in *The Last of the Mohicans*. He is a soldier of the king. He is without innocence. The Deerslayer who could

bring himself to kill a man only with the greatest reluctance is now Hawkeye, efficient, methodical, terrible killer of Indians. At the opening of the novel when Major Heyward brings an Indian scout into camp who is a Huron in background, Hawkeye warns against the Indian.

"‘Think you so?’ said Heyward, ‘I confess I have not been without my own suspicions.’

"‘I knew he was one of the cheats as soon as I laid eyes on him!’ returned the scout, ‘This thief is leaning against the foot of the sugar sapling that you can see over them bushes; his right leg is in line with the bark of the tree, and . . . I can take him from where I stand between the ankle and the knee.’

"‘It will not do.’ [said Heyward] ‘He may be innocent, and I dislike the act.’”

Hawkeye is the coldblooded frontier fighter who will shoot first and ask questions later. The English professional soldier supplies the restraint and innocence in the scene.

The purpose of this novel, as the sequel of the first, is to demonstrate the continued destruction of the myth by the demands of history. The first novel dramatized Deerslayer’s loss of innocence. *The Last of the Mohicans* dramatized the death of the myth as it found symbolic expression in the noble savage. Chingachgook, the Indian as myth, like Deerslayer, has been forced to fight for the English culture which has created him. His son, Uncas, now carries the mythical mantle of innocence which his father has surrendered in joining Hawkeye as a hardened soldier. Uncas and the white girl, Cora, fall in love. If the myth of the American Adam, stripped of the burden of history and standing in that unbounded space which offers boundless possibilities, obtained as reality, then there should be no barrier to the marriage of these two children of nature. But Cooper does present a barrier, that of history.

Englishmen are not the children of nature; they are conquerors who will impose their culture on the continent. And the Indians are not the children of nature; they are the defenders of their own culture, of their own way of life. When the English will have defeated the French, then the only barrier between them and the West will be the Indian. When the Indian is seen as the last barrier to the conquest and exploitation of the frontier, white men will no longer be able to believe in the myth of the noble savage. It is only right, therefore, that Uncas, the last of the Mohicans, the last of the noble savages, shall die with the defeat of the French. And it is only right that he should be killed by Magua. Magua is an Indian of history; he hates the white man for destroying the Indian culture. When he desires Cora, he does so like an Indian; he wants her as

an Indian squaw, as the subservient, obedient female of the Indian way of life. Dramatically, Cooper reveals the way in which Anglo-American culture will define the Indian after the French and Indian War. The Indian will be Magua, the eternally defiant Magua, who will fling his curses and his tomahawk at the white man who crosses the mountains into the Garden of the World. After 1760, the Indian can only be defined as the barbaric opponent of the spread of Anglo-American civilization westward.

The defeat of France has opened the Ohio and Mississippi valleys to Anglo-American culture. Continuing to place the Adamic myth within the development of history, Cooper now presents Leatherstocking as the Pathfinder who will lead the Europeans into the Garden of the World. According to the Americans of 1830, this area of the Midwest presented a different kind of nature than that of the east coast. For Cooper's contemporaries, European culture had been able to make a beachhead along the Atlantic. The virgin land of the coastal colonies had not been able to redeem Europeans and to make them into that new man, the innocent American. But for the Jacksonians, when settlers went across the Appalachian Mountains, geography mastered and destroyed their heritage of European civilization and left them free from history to live in harmony with nature.

And as Cooper presents Leatherstocking in *The Pathfinder*, the man as myth makes his great effort to escape from the Anglo-American culture which has robbed him of his freedom. Pathfinder dreams of giving up his life as a soldier to return to innocence. But the myth is still being defined by history. It is here in the Mississippi Valley that people are to live in harmony in a new kind of society, a society without the complexities and weaknesses of civilization, a natural society. Such a society demanded the union of Adam with an Eve in domesticity surrounded by descendants.

Pathfinder, who is now specifically identified as Adam by Cooper, is willing to accept this responsibility to marry and become the archetypical father for a uniquely natural community. Cooper demonstrates, however, that Pathfinder has led human beings committed to historical society into the new West. There is no mythical Eve to complement the willing Adam. Pathfinder falls in love with Mabel but Mabel will not, indeed, she cannot give up civilization to marry the frontiersman. It is Pathfinder himself who tells the reader that the match should not take place because he recognizes that he is not like other human beings, that he is a species apart. When Mabel finally says, "Pathfinder—dear Pathfinder, under-

stand me . . . a match like that would be unwise—unnatural, perhaps," Leatherstocking immediately agrees, "Yes, unnat'ral—agin natur."

And Cooper obviously hopes that he is driving home a moral to the American people. He has Pathfinder cry out, "What a creature is a mortal man! Never satisfied with his own gifts, but forever craving that which Providence denies!" The American people long to escape history and live with nature like the Pathfinder. But Cooper presents the Leatherstocking as an incomplete being; nature is no substitute for what God has given man: the possibility of love and families and civilization. The utter loneliness of Pathfinder, his longing for the society in which he can never dwell, is given beautiful expression by Cooper in Pathfinder's dream where he tries to exchange physical nature for human companionship: "I imagined I had a cabin in a grove of sugar maples, and at the root of every tree was a Mabel Dunham, while the birds sang ballads, instead of the notes that natur' gave."

Clearly the moral of this novel is that Americans need humility, that they need to accept their humanity and frailty. Cooper wanted to teach them that they could never escape from history.

The next novel in the life cycle of Leatherstocking, *The Pioneers*, is an extended elaboration of this point that Americans can never escape from history. With the establishment of an independent nation, free from political connection with the British Empire, it was possible for the people of the United States to assert that they had cut their cultural ties with the parent nation. It was possible for Americans to claim that, while England was connected to history, America was built on nature. It was possible to believe that a new kind of civilization, one without historical roots, had been established in the new world.

Deerslayer was the mythical embodiment of this philosophy which described Europe in terms of historical time and America in terms of physical space. But, Cooper was to argue, how can Americans justify their cultural independence from England on the strength of a myth that is English in origin? The dramatic role of Leatherstocking in *The Pioneers*, therefore, is to unite American and English culture and Cooper reminds his readers that Leatherstocking, the man as myth, is loyal to the historical culture which gave him his identity.

Approaching Cooper from the traditional viewpoint that he is celebrating, not criticizing, the myth of virgin land, Henry Nash Smith has noted an element of ambiguity in *The Pioneers*. Cooper, he declares, is presenting a case in favor of civilization when he has Judge Temple speak philosophically to his daughter who has come to the defense of Leatherstocking, guilty of hunting out of season, "Thou hast reason, Bess, and

much of it, too, but thy heart lies too near thy head. . . . Say what thou wilt to the poor old man; give scope to the feelings of thy warm heart; but try to remember, Elizabeth, that the laws alone remove us from the condition of the savage; that he has been criminal, and that his judge was thy father."

Professor Smith has interpreted the drama of the novel then as the ambiguity between Cooper's commitment to the values of nature symbolized by Leatherstocking and the values of civilization symbolized by Judge Temple. But the drama of the novel revolves around the reconciliation of the American, Judge Temple, and the Englishman, Major Effingham, a reconciliation which reaches fulfillment in the marriage of Oliver Effingham and Elizabeth Temple. There seems little doubt in Cooper's mind that the values of Judge Temple are superior to those of Leatherstocking. Indeed, the old man is presented as a decrepit myth which survives only through the indulgence of the Judge.

If Leatherstocking as Pathfinder has failed to become the archetype of the pioneers, Judge Temple is so represented here in *The Pioneers*. Leatherstocking was the myth which promised that the American pioneers would be Adams and Eves who might step out of time to live in nature's unbounded spaciousness. But in place of the Utopian settlement which Pathfinder could not establish is that which Judge Temple has built. And Judge Temple is a man of civilization who is bringing complex culture, an historical heritage to the frontier. He is the man of law because the men and women who came west to live in his community are frail and imperfect human beings who need the law to control their evil and their selfishness. Nature cannot redeem them; indeed, these people would quickly destroy nature if the law did not restrain them and in turn give protection to nature.

Judge Temple and Leatherstocking debate this issue. Natty Bumppo, still the embodiment of the myth, argues that man can live in harmony with nature only if he can approach it in a completely free and spontaneous way without the interference of law. Judge Temple makes the counter-argument that given a human nature which is always self-seeking and avaricious, men will quickly ravage physical nature if it is not protected by law. For Cooper, society on the frontier is like all societies, self-destructive unless restrained and governed by enlightened and disinterested men who uphold the law.

Understanding that Leatherstocking represents an ideal of nature which, although it is erroneous, has dignity, Judge Temple tolerates and even protects the aging myth. It is not the Judge's upholding of the law which ultimately drives Natty Bumppo out of the community, rather it

is the lawless mob which has no respect for Leatherstocking's need for privacy and isolation. It is as if the people must mock and harry the fading myth which has failed to redeem them. Indeed, the lingering presence of Leatherstocking with his superior virtue and purity infuriates the people who cannot rise to his level of behavior.

But the most important role of Leatherstocking in *The Pioneers* is to facilitate the reconciliation of Judge Temple and Major Effingham, to facilitate the reconciliation of American and English culture, to facilitate the understanding of Americans for their historical traditions.

The novel begins with Leatherstocking living in isolation with Chingachgook and a mysterious young man, Oliver Edwards. Together they carry on still more mysterious activities on a nearby mountain. Finally, we are to learn that Leatherstocking and Oliver have been caring for an old man who has been dwelling underground in a cave; an old man who is Major Effingham, Natty Bumppo's English commander from the French and Indian wars. Major Effingham, who had purchased extensive lands on the frontier, had remained loyal to the Crown when the Revolution began. He had then put his lands into trust with Judge Temple, an American patriot. At the conclusion of the Revolution, Effingham assumed that with independence Americans had repudiated all ties with those who had remained loyal to England and that the legal right to his lands was in jeopardy. He assumed that Judge Temple would be motivated by lawless self-interest. The Judge, however, as a conservator of civilization had preserved his trust and is searching for Effingham or his heirs.

Out of the purging flames of a fire which sweeps over the mountain, there comes the reconciliation of patriot and loyalist as Oliver Edwards, the Major's grandson, and Elizabeth Temple discover their love and the dying Major and Judge Temple are brought together.

Cooper does not trust, however, to the subtlety of his contemporaries to understand the symbolism of reunion and continuity with the past. He will become even more explicit about the role of Natty Bumppo in bringing together American and English culture. Did the readers understand that Deerslayer had become a soldier of the king? That the myth had been used by Englishmen to steel the nerve and arms of their invading force? Now even as Major Effingham, the last direct symbol of English culture, lies dying in America, so Leatherstocking, who has served the English conquerors so well, has lost his vitality and is withering away. His final constructive achievement is to keep his commander alive until his rightful claim to be a part of the American frontier is recognized. And Cooper will not merely suggest the commander and follower

relationship, he will spell it out in literal form, graven in the granite of Major Effingham's tombstone for all future Americans to see as the evidence of the relationship of the myth to the English heritage.

The weeping Leatherstocking is led to the grave where his finger eagerly traces the letters as Oliver Effingham reads to the illiterate frontiersman:

" 'Sacred to the memory of Oliver Effingham, Esquire, formerly a major in his B. Majesty's 60th Foot; a soldier of tried valor; a subject of chivalrous loyalty; and a man of honesty. To these virtues he added the graces of a Christian. The morning of his life was spent in honor, wealth, and power; but its evening was obscured by poverty, neglect, and disease, which were alleviated only by the tender care of his old, faithful, and upright friend and attendant, Nathaniel Bumppo. His descendants rear this stone to the virtues of the master, and to the enduring gratitude of the servant.'

"The Leatherstocking stared at the sound of his own name, and a smile of joy illumined his wrinkled features, as he said—

" 'And did ye say it, lad? Have you then got the old man's name cut in the stone, by the side of his master's? God bless ye, children! 'Twas a kind thought, and kindness goes to the heart as life shortens.' "

Leatherstocking now leaves at the end of the novel for the unsettled frontier. On his first trip to the area of virgin land as the Pathfinder, he had turned back because he could not serve as the father of settlement. The myth had failed to fulfill itself; it could not separate itself from the historical culture which had brought it into existence. And so Leatherstocking returned to the real father of settlement, Judge Temple. Here he could play the constructive role of illuminating the relationship of American and English society. If the myth could not separate itself from historical culture, it could clarify its relationship to that history and demonstrate that it was a tradition which united America to the past. Having revealed, however, that America was to be defined in terms of history and time and not in terms of unbounded space, what future and function did the myth now have?

When Leatherstocking set out for the unsettled areas of the West as an old and withered figure in the 1790s, he could not go hoping for fulfillment. That hope had been crushed a generation before in *The Pathfinder*. Leatherstocking, alone, might still find harmony with nature but he could not found a new society. And any harmony which he found with nature must be temporary because Leatherstocking was a prisoner of time. Human settlement constantly overran the virgin land which had given him strength and as the area of unspoiled nature shrank, Leather-

stocking, in turn, withered away. But as long as there was an unsettled area, Americans would continue to believe in the myth that they might escape history to live with nature. Leatherstocking could not perish as long as there was a last frontier.

It is with sadness and resignation then that the old man sets out for the West to spend his last few remaining days. He knows that these days are numbered because inevitably settlers will come to the virgin land and when there was no more land without human habitation, there would be no more myth. The stage is carefully set for the final novel of the series, *The Prairie*.

The myth, for Cooper, must end with settlement because the settlers will be human; they will carry disharmony engraved indelibly in their hearts; they will have all the human weakness that the first frontier Adam and Eve, Hurry Harry and Judith, had demonstrated in *Deerslayer*. It is difficult to visualize how Cooper could have provided greater dramatic emphasis to this point than by painting the picture of the Ishmael Bush family which is the first invader of Leatherstocking's last refuge. Here is vulgarity and brutality in its most exaggerated form.

Cooper's literary art reaches its highest level when he brings the Bush family and Leatherstocking to their first confrontation which has the dramatic implication of Leatherstocking's doom and the death of the myth. Bursting with crude vitality, the Bush family is pushing westward toward their evening camp when suddenly out of the setting sun there grew a fantastic apparition: "The sun had fallen below the crest of the nearest wave of the prairie, leaving the usual rich and glowing train on its track. In the center of this flood of fiery light, a human form appeared, drawn against the gilded background as distinctly, and, seemingly as palpable, as though it would come within the grasp of any extended hand. The figure was colossal; the attitude musing and melancholy, and the situation directly in the route of the travellers. But imbedded, as it was, in its setting of garish light, it was impossible to distinguish its just proportions or true character."

Brilliantly, Cooper has captured the situation of the myth. Only in the setting sun of the western prairie does Leatherstocking promise to be larger than life. And when the family comes to see the reality as the sun sets and shadows creep across the prairie, all they find is a peculiarly withered, almost mummified, old man.

If the myth has come to the final frontier to accept its fate, it is, nevertheless, no longer innocent. It is as if Leatherstocking, through his human suffering in the death of Major Effingham, has achieved a bond of understanding and sympathy with mankind that makes him a spokesman

for the superiority of civilization to nature. A myth that embodies nature, he cannot choose to live in civilization. But he can warn those who would attempt to flee from civilization to turn back to accept their human responsibility. He can demonstrate, in the withering of his own body, the fallacy of the American belief in the unrestricted possibilities for men in the unbounded spaciousness of nature. There is no escape from the cycle of life and death, no escape from the ravages of time.

Again Cooper has skillfully used imagery to drive home his point. The action of this final novel takes place during Jefferson's administrations. The President has dispatched Lewis and Clark to explore the vast territories acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. The nation has hopes that this tremendous area will guarantee redemptive contact with nature for generations to come. But Cooper has placed the aging Leatherstocking on this new land, which the author describes as a dry and almost lifeless desert, the perfect physical complement of the dessicated hunter.

And Leatherstocking, who in *The Pioneers* still argued against Judge Temple's advocacy of conservation, of the use of law to preserve nature, now thinks back in agony to the irresponsible rape of the virgin land:

"What the world of America is coming to, and where the machinations and inventions of its people are to have an end, the Lord, He only knows. . . . How much has the beauty of the wilderness been deformed in two short lives. . . . I often think the Lord has placed this barren belt of prairie behind the States, to warn men to what their folly may yet bring the land."

Leatherstocking now realizes that harmony, whatever harmony exists, comes not spontaneously from nature; it comes painfully from human effort; it is imposed by human law. "The law—'tis bad to have it, but, I sometimes think, it is worse to be entirely without it . . . yes—yes, the law is needed."

To dramatize this point, Cooper returns to the first settlers of this last frontier. The family of Ishmael Bush, coarse, disharmonious, evil, has come to the West to escape the law. As with Hurry Harry and Judith, as with all settlers, they will not be spontaneously redeemed by nature; they will not have a rebirth; they will not become innocent. But Ishmael Bush does grow in moral stature. Gradually, he comes to accept the moral implications of his role as head of this first family. He is the head of a new society and that society cannot exist without human justice and human law. Ishmael Bush begins to be transformed when he accepts the necessity of punishing the murderer who is part of his family. Even in the middle of an unsettled desert, man achieves dignity only through the law.

As the last days of Leatherstocking grow near, there has appeared on the prairie Lt. Duncan Uncas Middleton, a representative of the eastern aristocracy; he is the last link between the fading myth and its parent culture; he will make it possible for Leatherstocking to perish in peace, secure in the knowledge that his memory will be honored.

It was true, as Leatherstocking remarked: "I am without kith or kin in the wide world . . . when I am gone, there will be an end of my race."

The myth could not find embodiment in society and now, with the end of the frontier, it must disappear. But the myth would find after-life among the eastern aristocracy; tradition within an historical society does not die. The ancient hunter had been brought to tears of happiness as Lt. Middleton had recounted how his grandfather, Major Middleton of the British Army, had taught his children to revere the memory of the noble savage, as represented by Uncas, and the frontiersman, Hawkeye. Our grandfather, Duncan related, taught us that " 'Unlike most of those who live a border life, he [Leatherstocking] united the better, instead of the worst, qualities. . . . He was a man endowed with the choicest and perhaps rarest gift of nature; that of distinguishing good from evil. His virtues were those of simplicity. . . . In short, he was a noble shoot from the stock of human nature, which never could attain its proper elevation and importance, for no other reason than because it grew in the forest; such, old hunter, were the very words of my grandfather . . . there are already three among us who have also names derived from that scout.'

" 'A name, did you say?' exclaimed the old man, 'what, the name of the solitary, unlearned hunter? Do the great, and the rich, and the honored, and, what is better still, the just, do they bear his very, actual name?'

Assured that his memory will be preserved in living tradition, Leatherstocking can die happily. Here is the final evidence that Cooper did not intend his hero to exist outside of time. Leatherstocking is happy because he will be embedded in time forever, his name will be passed from one generation to another.

As befitting a myth of nature, Leatherstocking does not die as a man. The rituals of Christian civilization have no meaning in his last hours. The spirit of the myth will leave its earthly abode to follow the setting sun westward forever:

"The trapper was placed on a rude seat, which had been made, with studied care, to support his frame in an upright and easy attitude. . . . His body was placed so as to let the light of the setting sun fall full upon the solemn features. . . . The trapper had remained nearly motionless for an hour. His eyes alone had occasionally opened and shut. When

opened, his gaze seemed fastened on the clouds which hung around the western horizon. . . . Suddenly . . . Middleton felt the hand which he held grasp his own with incredible power, and the old man, supported on either side by his friends, rose upright to his feet. For a moment he looked about him . . . and then . . . he pronounced the word—"Here!" "

For Cooper it was here on the great plains, during Jefferson's administrations, that the myth of the frontier perished because of the penetration of the last unknown territories by human beings who, by their very presence, destroyed the mysterious potential of the virgin land. In the words of Professor Lewis, there no longer existed "space as spaciousness, as the unbounded, the area of total possibility." And from the first moment when *Deerslayer* was forced to participate in the disharmony of history, Cooper had prepared for this moment. The five *Leatherstocking* novels are a sustained argument against the autonomous existence of an American Adam. Inexorably, Cooper has forced the myth to live within the historical rhythm of the Anglo-American culture which had created it. Just as this society has a history from 1740 to 1800, so *Leatherstocking* has a parallel history.

We must disagree, therefore, with the agreement of Professor Lewis with D. H. Lawrence. It is true that Cooper wrote *Deerslayer* after the four other novels of the series. But surely the theme of these five novels is the absolute opposite of Lawrence's contention that "The *Leatherstocking* novels . . . go backwards from old age to golden youth. That is the true myth of America. She starts old, old, wrinkled and writhing in an old skin. And there is a gradual sloughing off of the old skin, towards a new youth. It is the myth of America."

It is indeed the myth of America. And we must conclude, therefore, that Cooper intended, deliberately intended, to destroy the myth of America, to take it from the freshness of youth to its end, old, old and wrinkled on the last American frontier.



FRED D. BALDWIN
Washington, D. C.

The Invisible Armor

ON OCTOBER 23, 1917, SECRETARY OF WAR NEWTON D. BAKER ADDRESSED A national conference of the newly formed War Camp Community Recreation Service. As he spoke, one American division was already in France, and three more were on the high seas. Baker spoke, therefore, on the subject uppermost in the minds of his hearers:

These boys are going to France; they are going to face conditions we do not like to talk about, that we do not like to think about. . . . I want them armed; I want them adequately armed and clothed by their Government; but I want them to have invisible armor to take with them. I want them to have an armor made up of a set of social habits replacing those of their homes and communities . . . a moral and intellectual armor for their protection overseas.¹

"These boys are going to France . . ." With these words Baker acknowledged an uneasiness in the minds of millions of Americans. The conditions they preferred to forget were not the horrors of combat—poison gas and bayonets—but rumors of loosening sexual standards in warring Europe, of rampant venereal disease and moral decay. Before 1917 Americans had not needed to worry much about the conduct of single men in barracks. The nation could, and largely did, ignore the dissipations of a few score thousand professional soldiers. (When America entered the war in April 1917, the Army numbered two hundred thousand—one-third of these National Guardsmen called for service along the Mexican border.)

The new Army of 1917, however, was a cross-section of America, or so it was a point of honor to believe. In fact—the point is of some significance—the draft laws most frequently took men from the lower social and economic levels of our society. Still in their early twenties, most of them had been reared on farms. Half of the native-born whites had not completed seven years of schooling, and the educational levels of immi-

¹ Newton D. Baker, *Frontiers of Freedom* (New York, 1918), p. 94.

grants and Negroes were lower still. (By contrast, most officers had some college work.) Poorer sections of the country, notably the South, were over-drafted in proportion to their population. Other areas redressed the balance by sending more volunteers, but volunteers were more likely than draftees to become officers.²

Whatever the social origins of the Army, intensive propaganda encouraged the public to identify its hopes and fears with the men in khaki to an extent not even approached since the Civil War. These soldiers would represent their nation on a crusade for the right, and they would do it, for the first time in our history, far from home. In doing so, they would be exposed to the old, dark life of Europe. The popular song, light as it was, asked a serious question: "How're You Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm, After They've Seen Patee?"

Those directly responsible for the discipline and welfare of the Army wasted little time in head-shaking, however. The American character is sometimes described as idealistic, sometimes as pragmatic. Our response to the challenge World War I leveled at our sexual mores evinced both attitudes. American authorities made highly idealistic decisions and executed them with thoroughgoing, even ruthless, practicality.

Of idealism there was full measure. Secretary Baker wrote of America's "high and holy mission." The Committee on Public Information, the propaganda agency of the government, released a pamphlet calling the war "a Crusade not merely to re-win the tomb of Christ, but to bring back to earth the rule of right, the peace, goodwill to men and gentleness he taught."³

More specifically, President Wilson promised:

The Federal Government has pledged its word that as far as care and vigilance can accomplish the result, the men committed to its charge will be returned to the homes and communities which so generously gave them with no scars except those won in honorable warfare.⁴

² The generalizations in this paragraph are based on research for which detailed documentation would be very extensive. The basic sources are as follows: U.S. Provost Marshal General, *Second Report* (Washington, D. C., 1919); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920* (Washington, D. C., 1922); U.S. Surgeon General's Office, *Army Anthropology*, Part I of Vol. XV, *Statistics of the Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War* (Washington, D. C., 1921); and *Psychological Examination in the United States Army*, Vol. XV of the *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, Robert M. Yerkes, ed. (Washington, D. C., 1922).

³ Quoted in William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity: 1914-32* (Chicago, 1958), p. 46.

⁴ Quoted in Raymond B. Fosdick, *Chronicle of a Generation* (New York, 1958), p. 157.

A bulletin from General Pershing to members of the American Expeditionary Forces, although dated August 7, 1918, simply reiterated America's only official attitude during the war: "Sexual continence is the plain duty of members of the A.E.F., both for the vigorous conduct of the war, and for the clean health of the American people after the war."⁵ In a word, Americans felt that when one goes on a crusade, one should behave like a knight.

In addition to idealism, the American authorities had sound medical reasons for concern over the behavior of our soldiers. All the European combatants operated brothels for their troops, relying on medical inspection to keep down venereal disease rates. (Officially, the British did not operate brothels, but accepted the French establishments.) The Americans argued, however, with absolute accuracy, that the surest way to combat any disease is to reduce exposure to it.

The American authorities were under no illusions that their position would go unchallenged. Secretary Baker and his associates had already waged a small war with municipal officials in the United States on just this subject.

At stake were two conflicting theories of vice control. The older theory, written into law in some city ordinances, and tacitly accepted in most American cities before the war, was that prostitution was a necessary outlet for the male sexual urge and hence irrepressible. The best policy, therefore, was to segregate all prostitutes into a special district. The government reformers, however, pointed out that segregation was a total failure from a medical viewpoint and insisted that prostitution could be eliminated to a great extent, if not entirely.

In this conflict, the government had the best arguments and, of course, the power. The Commission on Training Camp Activities, which spearheaded the reform program, waged a major publicity campaign against the whole concept of the red light district. To give one example of the seriousness of the issue, in August of 1917, both United States Senators and a member of the House from Louisiana and the mayor of New Orleans visited Baker to convince him that New Orleans should be permitted to keep its red light district. This formidable delegation backed down when Baker made it clear that he was prepared to remove a naval base from New Orleans and to remove Camp Beauregard from Louisiana unless city officials in New Orleans and Alexandria cleaned up completely. New Orleans proved to be the last stronghold of resistance. Within a few months, the Commission on Training Camp Activities reported

⁵ *Bulletins, G.H.Q., A.E.F.*, Vol. XVII of *United States Army in the World War*, No. 54, August 7, 1918.

that commercial vice districts had been eliminated in one hundred and ten American cities.⁶

France, however, was a more difficult problem. French authorities, unlike American mayors, could not be coerced. Prostitution was entirely legal in France, although the police regulated it under general statutes pertaining to public health and order. The police licensed women as prostitutes. These women, whether they lived in licensed brothels (called *maisons tolérées*) or walked the streets, had to submit to physical examinations at stated intervals, usually weekly. Clandestine (the misleading term for unlicensed) prostitutes were believed to outnumber licensed women by five or six to one in peacetime. The war had multiplied their numbers.

Prostitution was of crucial concern for American authorities, if only because American soldiers had limited opportunity to meet French women of any other class. From a medical standpoint, streetwalkers were less dangerous than the licensed brothels, simply because the former could not possibly infect so many soldiers. No medical inspection could guarantee that a prostitute might not infect a great many soldiers between examinations.

An early clash between the American and French attitudes came at St. Nazaire. A town of thirty to forty thousand population on the west coast of France, it was the principal port of debarkation for American troops during the summer and early fall of 1917. Nearly two hundred thousand doughboys, a tenth of the A.E.F., passed through this port.

The American authorities first requested that known brothels be closed. The French Chief of Mission with the A.E.F. Medical Corps replied that unfortunately this was impossible. He promised closer inspection of such houses, however, and added with Gallic gallantry:

Clandestine prostitution will be relentlessly repressed and severe action taken against the culprits, with this special reservation, that a careful distinction must be made between professional debauchery and passing shortcoming, and efforts must always tend to safeguard family honor.⁷

The American authorities, however, had no sympathy for either professional debauchery or passing shortcoming. Unable to close the houses, they put them off limits for all troops, with military police at the doors.

⁶ See Fosdick, *Chronicle*, pp. 143-47. The full story of the New Orleans campaign may be found in the National Archives, Record Group 120, Committee on Training Camp Activities, "Reports and Investigations," Box 582.

⁷ Frank W. Weed, *Sanitation in the American Expeditionary Forces*, Vol. VI of *The Medical Department of the United States Army* (Washington, D. C., 1926), p. 904.

On December 14, 1917, they closed off all of a disreputable section of town. As had so many American mayors, the mayor of St. Nazaire objected strongly but uselessly.

The French actually got as far as laying the foundations for three *maisons tolérées* expressly for Americans, but our authorities stopped them. One French proposal to set up special brothels for our troops General John J. Pershing passed to Raymond B. Fosdick, chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities. Fosdick passed it up to Secretary Baker. The proposal got no further. "For God's sake, Raymond," Baker told Fosdick, "don't show this to the President or he'll stop the war."⁸

The French had a different set of values and never accepted the American attitude. They may never have understood it. The two Allies sent expert representatives to a conference on hygiene in the spring of 1918. The Americans explained that since they had placed brothels in St. Nazaire off limits, not only had venereal rates declined, but that prophylactic treatments for troops who had had sexual contacts were down from about five hundred a month per thousand troops to one hundred and fifty a month per thousand. The Americans were pleased not only by the improved health record, but by the evidence of an absolute reduction in illicit liaisons.⁹

The French officials professed to marvel at the willingness of American soldiers to accept both the restriction of personal freedom and the indignity of prophylactic treatments. They said they would not have dared to attempt to enforce either in the French army. They promised more stringent inspections of the *maisons tolérées* and a ban on all alcoholic beverages within the houses, but would go no further. Colonel George Walker, an American representative to the conference, recalled an incident that explained the impasse.

After a number of discussions, Monsieur Ogier, who had been appointed to represent the French, became somewhat impatient and summed up the whole matter by saying that our viewpoints were entirely different, his being that if a man and a woman wanted to sleep together it was no one's business and no one should interfere with them.¹⁰

Paris presented the American authorities with the toughest problem of all. The city was too big to police adequately, and it was impossible to close off large areas. Moreover, as a writer in the *Journal of the American*

⁸ Fosdick, *Chronicle*, p. 171.

⁹ George Walker, *Venereal Disease in the A.E.F.* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 135.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Medical Association pointed out, most of the soldiers in Paris were staff men, office or technical workers, unaccustomed to rigid discipline. Their officers, also interested in their special jobs, were likely to ignore the personal lives of their men.¹¹

As for the great majority of troops in France, the Army reluctantly decided that it would be easier to get them back on the farm healthy if they saw very little of Paris. By the summer of 1918, leaves of men in the area were reduced, and troops in the city itself were ordered to be in barracks at 9 p.m. unless they had special passes. General Pershing hoped that all A.E.F. members might spend a few days in Paris after the Armistice, but for various reasons this proved unfeasible. Quite possibly, most of the Army never saw the city.

In the United States, the authorities had not relied solely on police measures to control the troops. Baker thought it "safe to say that no army ever before assembled in the history of the world . . . had so much thought given and so much labor performed in the interest of its social organization."¹² Acting on the assumption that most of the men would prefer socially acceptable recreation to vice if the choice were offered, the Commission on Training Camp Activities made thorough plans to keep them occupied. Old top sergeants might blanch and mutter about coddling soldiers, but into the training camps trooped hundreds of librarians, song leaders, comedians and volleyball instructors. Insofar as possible, the Army continued its program of planned recreation in France, working through the Young Men's Christian Association, the Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and the Jewish Welfare Board.

The Army decided against letting men wander about France freely while on leave. By January 1918, the Army had begun to establish special leave areas, to which men were sent in large units on duty-status leaves of seven days plus travel time. The Army paid for transportation and lodging and provided commutation of rations at a dollar a day. The Y.M.C.A. and other organizations co-ordinated by the Commission on Training Camp Activities provided recreational facilities.

This kind of leave resembled a group tour on which the individual had considerable personal freedom so long as he maintained some contact with the group. From the standpoint of General Headquarters, it was a great success, and the Army ultimately set up nineteen leave areas. The men disliked certain areas, such as three in the Pyrenees, complained that they offered nothing but magnificent scenery. On the other hand, famous

¹¹ Joseph E. Moore, "Venereal Campaign in Paris District of the American Expeditionary Forces," *Journal of the A.M.A.*, LXXIV (April 24, 1920), 1158, quoted in Weed, *op. cit.*, p. 915.

¹² Baker, *Frontiers of Freedom*, p. 87.

play areas such as Nice and Savoie were immensely popular, but the Army had to establish the kind of stringent police regulations it had enforced in St. Nazaire.

From the pragmatic, medical standpoint, the American program of social control was amazingly successful. About 5.6 per cent of the draftees entered the Army with a venereal disease. As a result, the morbidity rate for enlisted men in the United States, based on the mean annual strength of the Army during the war period, was about one hundred and thirty-four admissions for venereal infections per thousand men. In France the rate declined steadily right up to the Armistice, averaging just under thirty-five per thousand during the war period. Even after the Armistice, with two million American troops in France, it rose only slightly.¹³ This record was not approached by any European army.

It should be emphasized that the Army was pleased by more than the purely medical results of its program. Colonel Walker, already quoted, rightly denied that making medical prophylaxis available for soldiers who had sexual relations encouraged promiscuity. Rather, he said, it actually inhibited the soldiers by causing the average enlisted man to "associate in his mind the danger of disease with sex relation."¹⁴

Any soldier really wishing to do so could avoid the Army's police measures, of course, but the authorities made it inconvenient to do so. Moreover, they could virtually guarantee that the soldier's sexual experience in France was likely to be sordid and brief. Unpleasant as it sounds, this fact served the Army's goal of eliminating illicit relations altogether. The probing Army doctors won admissions from men who reported for prophylaxis that most of them had spent less than an hour with their partners, usually about a half hour. Almost none had the opportunity to spend the night.

Altogether the A.E.F. doctors recorded 242,000 visits to Army prophylactic stations in France—not an overwhelmingly large number during two years for an army that numbered two million men at peak strength. Given the close relation between the program of prophylaxis and the morbidity rate, the evidence strongly indicates that the American soldier came nearer to the official standard of continence than might have been expected.¹⁵

It seemed to occur to almost no one, neither the military authorities nor the American public, that an American soldier might wish to marry a French girl. This unconcern seems to have been justified. The Army was cool but officially neutral on the subject of Franco-American marriages.

¹³ U.S. Medical Department, *Statistics*, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁴ Walker, *Venereal Disease*, p. 31.

¹⁵ Weed, *Sanitation*, p. 952.

Americans who married in France did so under French law, which put several obstacles in the path of couples wishing to wed. Since the military authorities insisted on remaining noncommittal, one finds only estimates of the number of Yanks who found brides in France. But all are low. The closest thing to an authoritative number was offered by a Y.W.C.A. executive in November 1919, after almost all the A.E.F. had returned. She said that her organization had helped thirty-six hundred French brides get through the port at Brest.¹⁶

Of course, when one turns from the granite simplicity of official standards to look at personal attitudes, particularly of two million men, one finds confusion and ambiguities. The attitudes of the soldiers themselves, as far as they may be guessed, reveal a mixture of gaiety and loneliness, fear and flippancy, idealism and cynicism. Statistics recorded in medical and police files are of no help here, and personal records, such as letters, are understandably reticent.

The *Stars and Stripes*, soldier-edited but semi-official, wrote about American soldiers and French girls as if describing schoolboy flirtations, which may have been the truest tone. Smaller papers, like the Seventeenth Engineers' *Oo La La Times*, filled personal columns with banter: "Mess Sergt. Wheeler is of late making a great many trips into the country supposedly buying green vegetables. But there are some who have their doubts, those who know her say that she is not as green as she looks." Or, from the same issue: "Private Scharlu, the 'lady killer' from Chicago, has succeeded in making another hit, this time he has captured the affections of the 'Pride of the Fishing Smack,' the two sou queen."¹⁷

Much of the flippancy and cynicism came out in one song, "Mademoiselle from Armentières." As Mark Sullivan put it:

It became the folk-song of the army Literally every soldier sang it; and years after the war, veterans moved to song found expression for every mood, solitary or gregarious, in one or another of the countless narratives of the charms and adventures of the maid—if she was a maid—from Armentières.¹⁸

The verses were not merely bawdy, but served as a vehicle for the most varied protests against the regimentation and discomforts of army life.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, November 5, 1919. Immigration records confirm this impression. Immigration from France had been below ten thousand a year since 1905. During the war it fell to a low of 1,798 in 1918, rose to 3,379 in 1919 and to 8,945 in 1920. (All dates are for fiscal years, ending June 30.) About half these immigrants were male. U.S. Immigration Commission, *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920* (Washington, D. C., 1920), pp. 162, 183-85.

¹⁷ December 25, 1917.

¹⁸ Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, V, *Over There* (New York and London, 1933), p. 343.

One should not be surprised to find most of its references to French women uncomplimentary.

Some verses did pay left-handed compliments to Mademoiselle's experience:

Mademoiselle from Armentières, parlez-vous?
 Mademoiselle from Armentières, parlez-vous?
 She might have been young for all we knew
 When Napoleon met his Waterloo!
 Oh, hinky-dinky, parlez-vous! ¹⁹

Other stanzas warned, less solemnly than the government posters, of the risks to health the soldier ran in becoming intimate with Mademoiselle. Still others remarked on her gold-digging tendencies. The few really bitter verses commented ribaldly on her preference for officers.

One revealing complaint against Mademoiselle appeared again and again, however. After the war, Alexander Woollcott, who had worked on the editorial staff of *Stars and Stripes*, tried to explain to Americans why many Yanks disliked their French allies. Woollcott listed several ponderous reasons before clinching his point. Then he wrote "that it might as well be said plainly that the average American was scandalized at the personal uncleanness of the average Frenchman, appalled at his indifference to the dentist and his unfamiliarity with the tooth-brush." ²⁰

Woollcott was accurate. The Army had drilled its recruits in the use of showers and toothbrushes as well as grenades and rifles, and had attempted to make cleanliness a point of soldierly pride. Many, quite possibly most, American soldiers had done without indoor plumbing in civilian life, but they had been encouraged in training to think of cleanliness as an indication of social acceptability and as a patriotic virtue. The French *were* dirtier than we and laughed at Yanks who brushed their teeth at the town pump almost before they filled their canteens. The Yanks, on the other hand, sang of Mademoiselle:

She never could hold the love of a man,
 She took all her baths in a talcum can!

Or,

The cooties rambled through her hair;
 She whispered sweetly, "C'est la guerre!"

¹⁹ All quotations from the song are taken from *Mademoiselle from Armentieres* (Mount Vernon, N. Y., 1953).

²⁰ Alexander Woollcott, "Them Damned Frogs," *North American*, CCX (October 1919), 497-98.

And again, referring to every infantryman's hatred of the French farmer's practice of keeping his fertilizer near his house:

She promised me a billet pure,
And led me to a pile of manure!

When an American soldier said that French women were "dirty," however, he meant something more than a statement of physical fact, correct though that may have been. A surprising note of resentment and moral disapproval appeared in "Mademoiselle from Armentières," raucous though it was. One couplet, for example, went:

She looked high-class, but she undressed—
She's just the same as all the rest!

This might have been only an echo of Kipling's happy observation concerning the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, but it suggested something else—disillusionment and even disappointment. The American soldiers who went to France in 1917 and 1918 were, on the whole, the very opposite of *roués*; they were more likely to be as Woolcott described them: "Big, sunny, exuberant Yanks—as carefree and cheerful as school-boys. . . ." ²¹ At a time when the United States was more confident of moral values than later, when religious training was more likely to be taken seriously, there was every reason to believe that most soldiers kept many of the ideals and inhibitions they had been reared to accept.

An American lieutenant made some informal observations, which, if they hardly fit the requirements of a scientific opinion survey, produced some interesting results. He simply eavesdropped on confidential conversations in Paris cafes, on buses and at boxing matches. Altogether, he noted the opinions of one hundred and seventy-four soldiers, of whom sixty said definitely that they did not want anything to do with a woman while in Paris. They mentioned fears of venereal disease, said that Parisian women were dirty, or expressed intentions to be faithful to wives or fiancées. The lieutenant jotted down the short phrases "honest-to-God American girl" five times and "damn fine girl in the States" seven times. Thirty-six soldiers were noncommittal about their own private lives, but several of these expressed disgust with Frenchwomen (often coupled with pointed remarks about officers), and most of them talked mainly about American girls. Those who admitted to sexual relations in Paris often said that they went with the woman partly because they needed a room (plausible enough for men not speaking the language of a large, strange city), and more said that they had not planned the affair. These last had

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

been lonely, or had casually yielded to solicitation. The lieutenant realized that many, if not most, of those who stayed in Paris any length of time would find women. But his survey suggested that most soldiers were thinking mainly of home.²²

Similar results came from a unique project undertaken by Elizabeth Bain, a welfare worker. She took it upon herself to approach soldiers with French girls and to ask politely to speak to the man aside. Miss Bain claimed to have talked to twenty-seven hundred men in six weeks, dissuading almost eleven hundred from going with prostitutes. Half these men said they had no rooms, and Miss Bain helped them find shelter. Only three soldiers, she said, openly resented her intervention. She must have been a person of exceptional tact, but she insisted that almost every soldier was eager to talk to an American woman.²³ On that point, the testimony of other Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. workers was virtually unanimous.

It may be, however, that American chivalry may have confined itself largely to American women. A letter in the files of the Provost Marshal General from a French woman (engaged to an American) describes the insolent conduct of a military policeman and concludes:

I sometimes ask myself what American education can be that it allows of such disrespect of women. It must not be believed that in France, all are prostitutes and that women are in the world simply to amuse your soldiers. Unhappily, you know but the wild life of Paris. . . . This is how Americans respect decent women; they are, in France, the executioners of the female race and they are the first to cut them down.²⁴

There is also evidence that the Army's program of social control ran into serious difficulties after the Armistice. Military policemen, themselves often indifferent to violations of Army regulations, found their jobs increasingly frustrating. The commanding officer of a MP company in Tours reported:

Conditions have reached the stage where it is no longer possible for the Military Police of Tours to suffer the insults daily thrown at them by prostitutes of the city. . . . These women collect a crowd, scream, yell and spit in the faces of the Military Police.²⁵

²² Cited in Walker, *Venereal Disease*, pp. 188 ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 190 ff.

²⁴ Letter dated March 24, 1919, translated by Provost Marshal General's Office, National Archives, Record Group 120, Provost Marshal General Document File 250.1.

²⁵ Captain Robert L. Coleman to Provost Marshal, Tours, in *ibid.*

The captain added that the French police did nothing to prevent this abuse, but this complaint was unusual. In general, the records indicate that American and French authorities worked together well at the lower echelons. Moreover, a great number of complaints came from officers maintaining that they had been treated discourteously by overzealous sentries when they wandered into restricted districts by mistake. The frequency of such complaints suggests generally strict law enforcement.

To recapitulate—during the war, Americans were plagued by fears that French standards would corrupt our soldiers. After the war, everyone agreed that American morals would never be the same. Frederick Lewis Allen in *Only Yesterday* listed the war itself as the first cause of a “revolution in manners and morals.”

A whole generation [he wrote] had been infected by the eat-drink-and-be-merry-for-tomorrow-we-die spirit which accompanied the departure of the soldiers to the training camps and the fighting front. There had been an epidemic not only of abrupt war marriages, but of less conventional liaisons. In France, two million men had found themselves very close to filth and annihilation and very far from the American moral code and its defenders; prostitution had followed the flag and willing mademoiselles from Armentières had been plentiful; . . . there had been a very widespread and very natural breakdown of traditional restraints and reticences and taboos. It was impossible for this generation to return unchanged when the ordeal was over. Some of them had acquired under the pressure of war-time conditions a new code which seemed to them quite defensible; millions of them had been provided with an emotional stimulant from which it was not easy to taper off. Their torn nerves craved the anodynes of speed, excitement, and passion.²⁶

Mr. Allen is often quoted, and his prose is persuasive, but this passage is plausible only if one understands that any moral revolution in the 1920s did not represent a conscious attempt by returning soldiers to introduce what were assumed to be continental standards of morality into America. For one thing, the soldiers had not been so far from “the American moral code and its defenders” as one might think; the doctors, the military police and the propagandists had seen to that. One need not deny that the war and a break from home brought important changes to American soldiers, but one may doubt that there was anything characteristically French about the changes.

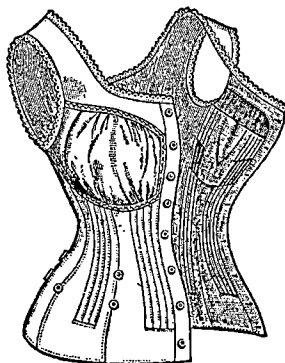
One may also doubt that any such changes deserve to be called “a new code.” One must remember that American enlisted men as a whole were

²⁶ Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York, 1959), p. 66.

an ill-educated and unsophisticated group. The double standard had long been a part of American sexual mores. The soldiers who had sexual relations with French prostitutes did not henceforth believe in free love. On the contrary, virtually every member of the A.E.F. wanted to get home immediately after the Armistice, and most especially wanted to see "an honest-to-God American girl" again. It was F. Scott Fitzgerald heroes, too young for the war, who craved "speed, excitement, and passion"—not the returning soldiers.

The very knowledge that Mademoiselle from Armentières existed, of course, might have helped bring about a change in American mores in the 1920s. The romantic picture of Mademoiselle was the only one that Americans who stayed home ever saw. This pliable Mademoiselle, who "when she was tight, she sure got loose," was the girl celebrated at American Legion conventions by nostalgic veterans and on college campuses by well-scrubbed youths who would have recoiled from a woman with bad breath, not to say lice in her hair.

Nevertheless, the men who knew her best were content to leave this dream Mademoiselle in France. American soldiers had not been coerced into continence by military police nor distracted into chastity by Y.M.C.A. workers, but both types of official measures had been highly successful. Secretary Baker's invisible armor, forged in idealism and tempered in pragmatism, had proved itself. The story of Mademoiselle from Armentières and the American soldier in World War I was actually an example of the power of a modern government, backed by public opinion, to control matters previously thought to be private and beyond official control.



DAVID BLEICH
New York University

Eros and Bellamy

TOO OFTEN UTOPIAN LITERATURE IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED. WE USUALLY DISMISS a utopian scheme as an eccentric paradise located as close to reality as the word "utopia" suggests—nowhere. At best such schemes are dubbed, "beautiful but fantastic," "radical revolutionary," or are mistaken for an offshoot of the world socialist movement. Rarely has a utopian system been publicly received as a real future possibility worth studying, elaborating and perhaps even implementing.

Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* is sometimes thought the exception which proves this rarity. Negley and Patrick in *The Quest for Utopia* write that "it is doubtful that any single utopia, including the classics, has had so great an impact on the thoughts and actions of men as can be claimed for *Looking Backward*."¹ Although this classic American utopia inspired tens of derivative and supplementative volumes, the Nationalist Movement and the People's Party, all that remains is Bellamy's initial contribution, which, under fortunate circumstances, finds its way into the classroom where it becomes a pleasant exercise in literary criticism, sociology or whatever. It seems clear, therefore, that, for some reason, the utopian vision has thus far failed to achieve prominence as anything more than a speculative venture or, simply, good literature; that only human wishes bridge the eternal schism between utopian literature and the life of want, fear and struggle for existence.

As generally acknowledged in economic circles,² the technological facts of life point to the physical possibility of establishing a utopian economy. Before considering the accuracy with which Bellamy anticipates this possibility, a brief digression into the Freudian dynamics of imagination will help define the context in which this essay will view *Looking Backward*.

¹ Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, *The Quest for Utopia* (New York, 1952), p. 76.

² E.g., Herbert Marcuse, whose work will be treated below; Gerard Piel, who suggested, at a Columbia Business School seminar, the reality of total automation within ten years. Note also the rash of articles recently appearing on the relation between automation and unemployment.

Freud postulates two principles of mental functioning: one is "primary" and the other "secondary." The "primary processes," which comprise the *pleasure principle*,

strive towards gaining pleasure; from any operation which might arouse unpleasantness ('pain') mental activity draws back (repression). Our nocturnal dreams, our waking tendency to shut out painful impressions, are remnants of the supremacy of this principle and proofs of its power.³

In a kind of reaction to the frustration of the pleasure principle,

the mental apparatus had to decide to form a conception of the real circumstances in the outer world and to exert itself to alter them. A new principle of mental functioning was thus introduced; what was conceived of was no longer that which was pleasant, but that which was real, even if it should be unpleasant. This institution of the *reality principle* proved a momentous step.⁴

The mind, now recognizing the contingency of its gratification on the power of reality, begins, in each moment of consciousness, to test this reality for obstacles to gratification, and this mechanism of reality-testing is accepted as the standard unconscious pattern of everyday living. We obtain pleasure only if reality permits: we create only if we are remunerated; we procreate only if we can remunerate.

It remains apparent, however, that life is not totally subservient to the reality principle and that there is one kind of activity which is, except under extreme circumstances, always free from real constraints.

With the introduction of the reality-principle one mode of thought-activity was split off; it was kept free from reality-testing and remained subordinated to the pleasure-principle alone. This is the act of *fantasy-making*, which begins already in the games of children, and later, continued as *day-dreaming*, abandons its dependence on real objects.⁵

Moreover, nocturnal dreaming is the unconscious counterpart of fantasy-making and daydreaming.

When scientific work had succeeded in elucidating distortion in dreams, it was no longer difficult to recognize that nocturnal dreams are fulfillments of desires in exactly the same way as day-dreams are—those fantasies with which we are all so familiar.⁶

³ Sigmund Freud, "Formulations Regarding the Two Principles in Mental Functioning," *Collected Papers*, trans. Joan Riviere (3rd ed.; London, 1946), IV, 14.

⁴ Freud, p. 14.

⁵ Freud, p. 17.

⁶ Freud, "The Poet and Day-Dreaming," p. 179.

The importance of the kinship of fantasy-making, daydreaming and nocturnal dreaming is that all are products of the only mental faculty, imagination, which is totally in the service of the pleasure principle. It is implied, therefore, that the great bulk of imaginative effort aims at fulfilling primordial wishes, on both the individual and societal levels. In the individual sphere, "imaginative creation, like day dreaming, is a continuation of and substitute for the play of childhood," ⁷ and in the societal sphere, "myths . . . are distorted vestiges of the wish-phantasies of whole nations—the age-long dreams of young humanity." ⁸ In other words, the imagination operates in a pleasurable, wantless, need-less milieu of childhood, infancy and foetushood, a milieu which, on finding itself in the real world, refuses "to forget what *can be*," ⁹ and yet remains physically subordinate to this real world of toil, hunger, scarcity and the struggle for existence. Freud called this regular, necessary and pervasive subordination, this stifling of the imagination, "repression": "the essence of repression lies simply in the function of rejecting and keeping something out of consciousness." ¹⁰ Since most people are participating in the struggle for existence, i. e., working or eating, for about three-fourths of their waking hours, they are repressing pleasurable desires for the major part of their active life: these desires either are only fractionally fulfilled in leisure hours or are exploded in the orgiastic wildness of, say, beatism. Freud was almost completely convinced that civilization must repress Eros, that progress and culture would not exist along with free gratification. The utopian imagination, speaking for the pleasure principle, challenges this contention, and Herbert Marcuse, in his searching study, *Eros and Civilization*, buttresses this challenge, first, with some new insight into Freud's thought, and second, with some astute speculation on the direction of technological progress.

Marcuse uses the term "domination" to denote the social reality corresponding to psychic repression and observes that "the gradual conquest of scarcity was inextricably bound up with and shaped by the interest of domination." ¹¹ He notes that the two basic economic systems which now procure the needs of a vast majority of the world's population depend strategically on the domination of the individual by another individual, a group or an entire political system. There would be no efficient productivity unless this were the case.

⁷ Freud, p. 182.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization* (New York, 1962), p. 135. First published, 1955.

¹⁰ Freud, "Repression," p. 86 (*italics in Freud*).

¹¹ Marcuse, p. 33.

Efficiency and repression converge: raising the productivity of labor is the sacrosanct ideal of both capitalist and Stalinist Stakhanovism.¹²

The juxtaposition of civilized progress and erotic poverty brings Marcuse to the nub of his thesis, to his rationale for the utopian reality, to his leap from the present, via the past, to the future—a leap which, I hope to show, was remarkably anticipated by Bellamy.

The utopian claims of imagination have become saturated with historical reality. If the achievements of the performance principle ["the prevailing historical form of the reality principle"] surpass its institutions, they also militate against the direction of its productivity—against the subjugation of man to his labor. Freed from this enslavement, productivity loses its repressive power and impels the free development of individual needs. Such a change in the direction of progress goes beyond the fundamental reorganization of social labor which it presupposes. No matter how justly and rationally the material production may be organized, it can never be a realm of freedom and gratification; but it can release time and energy for the *free play of human faculties outside the realm of alienated labor*. The more complete the alienation of labor, the greater the potential of freedom: total automation would be optimum. It is the sphere outside labor which defines freedom and fulfillment, and it is the definition of the human existence in terms of this sphere which constitutes the negation of the performance principle. This negation cancels the rationality of domination and consciously "de-realizes" the world shaped by this rationality—redefining it by the rationality of gratification. While such a historical turn in the direction of progress is rendered possible only on the basis of the achievements of the performance principle and of its potentialities, it *transforms human existence in its entirety*, including the work world and the struggle with nature. . . . [Such a transformation would lead to a] concerted struggle against any constraint on the free play of the human faculties, against toil, disease, and death. . . . A new basic experience of being would change human existence in its entirety.¹³ (italics mine, except for "outside")

The historical reality with which the "utopian claims of the imagination" are now "saturated" imbues *Looking Backward*, and perhaps many other utopian works, with an exciting and unprecedented relevance. Bellamy's picture of enslavement to livelihood and of domination by "hunger" is a schematic plan of the societal and economic dynamic throughout history. Only the names of the media of domination have

¹² Marcuse, p. 141.

¹³ Marcuse, pp. 141-42. Bracketed definition of the performance principle appears in Marcuse, p. 32, with italics for "reality principle."

evolved from "primal father" through "noble classes" up to the large industrial organization or the autocratic—communist or fascist—state. Moreover, Bellamy's vision of the future is not a mere remedy for the socio-economic ills of late-nineteenth-century America; rather, in affirming that

it is not our labor, but the higher and larger activities which the performance of our task will leave us free to enter upon, that are considered the main business of existence.¹⁴

Bellamy calls for the same emancipation from labor and "free play to every instinct of human nature which does not aim at dominating others"¹⁵ that Marcuse indicates are approaching realization. Clearly, Dr. Leete describes a "new basic experience of being."

Admittedly, the fact that Bellamy devotes a sizable portion of his book to the mechanics of the "industrial army" might mitigate his professed transcendence of labor. However, I suggest that he be excused from this shortcoming on the grounds that total automation was not a real possibility in his day; there were hardly any grounds even to speculate on this possibility. The industrial army disposes of labor in the neatest possible manner by making industrial service relatively short, painless and perhaps even pleasurable. Furthermore, Bellamy himself, as we have just seen, and will again see, believed in the secondary importance of labor to life.

Thus—at last—we are in position to closely examine *Looking Backward* in a 77-year historical perspective. The correspondence between Bellamy's view of domination in 1887 and the theoretical formulations of repression and domination made by Freud and Marcuse may well indicate that Julian West's Boston-2000 is considerably more than a fanciful escape from an oppressive reality.

Aside from the periodic references to the "old" system in the course of Dr. Leete's explanations, there are two main sections of the novel which move exclusively in the "old" world. The first is Julian's sardonic metaphor at the book's outset and the second is his dream at the conclusion. (The unreality of both a metaphor and a dream significantly relegates Boston-1887 to the world of fancy, while preserving the reality of Boston-2000.) The chief insight of the opening metaphor lies in its most general statement.

I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hunger,

¹⁴ Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (New York, 1960), pp. 136-37.

¹⁵ Bellamy, p. 121.

and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers who never got down, even at the steepest ascents.¹⁶

The privileged passengers were *not* the drivers. The dominating force was not an industrial oligarch, not the government, not even the economic system; it was hunger, i.e., the struggle for existence. Those riding the coach do not at all transcend this struggle; they are merely passive and lucky heirs to the few benefits that it produces. They can do no more than provide "salves and liniments"—charity—for those overcome by the struggle. If they did more, if they actually distributed their wealth equably, there would be no benefits for anyone. The pulling of the coach would then be somewhat easier for all; this situation would be fair, but it would not unseat the driver, who is the final source of pain and toil.

the subdivision of capital, if it were possible, might indeed bring back a greater equality of conditions, with more individual dignity and freedom, but it would be at the price of general poverty and the arrest of material progress.¹⁷

Because of the universal acceptance of the driver's right to drive,

It was naturally regarded as a terrible misfortune to lose one's seat, and the apprehension that this might happen to them or their friends was a constant cloud upon the happiness of those who rode.¹⁸

Bellamy's world, as well as our own, accepts the condition of universal struggle because men have always intuited, understandably, that this struggle is intrinsic to life, even though the "coach" becomes easier and easier to pull. As Marcuse reports, even Freud was persuaded of this notion. (Marcuse is paraphrasing Freud's argument.)

No matter how rich, civilization depends on steady and methodical work, and thus on unpleasurable delay in satisfaction. Since the primary instincts rebel "by nature" against such delay, their repressive modification therefore remains a necessity for all civilization.¹⁹

The fact that the wealthy as well as the indigent suffer from difficulty resulting from the necessity to work is tersely dramatized as Julian reflects on his own rather "unpleasurable delay in satisfaction."

Our marriage only waited on the completion of the house which I was building. . . . The cause of a delay calculated to be particularly

¹⁶ Bellamy, pp. 26-27.

¹⁷ Bellamy, p. 53.

¹⁸ Bellamy, p. 27.

¹⁹ Marcuse, p. 140.

exasperating to an ardent lover was a series of strikes, . . . on the part of the . . . trades concerned in housebuilding.²⁰

Indeed, Julian had to postpone his satisfaction 113 years!

While the opening coach-metaphor centers about the dominating factors of society, the concluding dream depicts the dominated members. By packing the oppressed and repressed nineteenth-century society into twelve pages, and by having Julian actually dream the sequence, Bellamy anticipates the familiar Freudian dream-characteristics of condensation and distortion so that the dreamer—and the reader—sees life with the exaggerated density and urgency of the unconscious mind. Hence the dream-newspaper reports only evil, a carnival of crime and corruption, "worldwide bloodshed, greed, and tyranny,"²¹ phenomena seen by Freud and Marcuse as brought about by the repressive nature of civilization.

Throughout the world of industrial civilization, the domination of man by man is growing in scope and efficiency. Nor does the trend appear as an incidental, transitory regression on the road to progress. Concentration camps, mass exterminations, world wars, and atom bombs are no "relapse into barbarism," but the unrepressed implementation of the achievements of modern science, technology, and domination.²²

Since destruction represents the outlet of seething libidinal desires, the ego, in the service of the reality principle, strengthens its guard against these desires; its increasing severity against the libido evinces the latter's rebellious energy, which, in turn, leads to the abnormally egocentric personality that Bellamy incisively caricatures.

"Help John Jones. Never mind the rest. They are frauds. I, John Jones, am the right one. Buy of me. Employ me. Visit me. Hear me, John Jones. Look at me. Make no mistake. John Jones is the man and nobody else. Let the rest starve, but for God's sake remember John Jones!"²³

The final condemnation of Boston—1887 occurs when the wealthy, well-educated family of Julian's betrothed advances menacingly to eject him from their household. For if the masses of harnessed toilers are caught up in the fight to earn a living wage, it is understandable, as the alternative would be abject poverty. But when the comfortable, knowledgeable leaders of a society are impervious to any new thought or attitude conceived in terms beyond the status quo, the entire social fabric is rendered worthless. All are equal in Boston—1887—equally slaves to the dominating want and scarcity: the poor are slaves lest they cannot eat; the rich

²⁰ Bellamy, pp. 29, 30.

²² Marcuse, p. 4.

²¹ Bellamy, p. 205.

²³ Bellamy, pp. 206-7.

are slaves lest they stop eating. Moreover, Freud's contention that this situation seemed inevitable and eternal, that civilization must engender domination and repression—the contention which Marcuse challenges—was identically acknowledged by Bellamy as an *apparently* immutable reality.

It was the sincere belief of even the best men at that epoch that the only stable elements in human nature, on which a social system could be safely founded, were its worst propensities. They had been taught and believed that greed and self-seeking were all that held mankind together, and that all human associations would fall to pieces if anything were done to blunt the edge of these motives or curb their operation. In a word, they believed—even those who longed to believe otherwise—the exact reverse of what seems to us self-evident; they believed, that is, that the antisocial qualities of men, and not their social qualities, were what furnished the cohesive force of society.²⁴

Although Marcuse's challenge is bold and convincing, is not Bellamy's challenge, which antedated even Freud, bolder and more prescient?

Both Marcuse and Bellamy concede that the earlier portions of man's history *had to be* dominated by the struggle for existence; the plain fact was—and in most areas still is—that there are not the food and facilities for man to live “from the sweat of his brow,” much less from the fat of the land. Just as Marcuse observes that “the very achievements of repressive civilization seem to create the preconditions for the gradual abolition of repression,”²⁵ Bellamy points out that the great dominating corporations proved to be a

necessity as a link, a transition phase, in the evolution of the true industrial system. The most violent foes of the great private monopolies were now forced to recognize how invaluable and indispensable had been their office in educating the people up to the point of assuming control of their own business.²⁶

The “industrial army” is what succeeds the “link” of the great corporations. Yet, as we previously indicated, this army is not the core of Bellamy's vision, and as an institutional form it can be viewed as background by considering, briefly, the history of modern technology. In Bellamy's age, on one hand, the industrial army might rightfully be thought of as “utopian” because the spectacular rate of technological progress was unforeseen, the airplane and the vacuum tube, for example; not being invented until 1903 and 1904, respectively. In our own age, on the other hand, we can begin to call this army obsolete because the prevalence of

²⁴ Bellamy, p. 188.

²⁵ Marcuse, p. 5.

²⁶ Bellamy, p. 54.

electronic control systems suggests that, in principle, an overwhelming portion of human toil can be done exclusively by machine. Having thus recognized the institutional industrial army as necessarily belonging to nineteenth-century thinking, though retaining as modern its concern with "occupation," we can investigate more closely the ideological character of Boston-2000.

Know, O child of another race and yet the same, that the labor we have to render as our part in securing for the nation the means of a comfortable physical existence is *by no means regarded as the most important, the most interesting, or the most dignified employment of our powers*. We look upon it as a necessary duty to be discharged before we can fully devote ourselves to the higher exercise of our faculties, the intellectual and spiritual enjoyments and pursuits *which alone mean life*. Everything possible is indeed done by the just distribution of burdens, and by all manner of special attraction and incentives to relieve our labor of irksomeness, and, except in a comparative sense, is not usually irksome, and is often inspiring. But it is not our labor, but the higher and larger activities which the performance of our task will leave us free to enter upon, that are considered the main business of existence.²⁷ (*italics mine*)

Physical toil, or "menial work" being a secondary activity in life, it is *assigned* to the new recruits in the industrial army and is compulsory for the short period of three years. Once this obligation has been fulfilled, a man may "ascertain and follow his natural bent in choosing an occupation,"²⁸ and this choice is relieved of anxiety because "a worker's income is the same in all occupations."²⁹ He does not have to worry about whether his "children or grandchildren, if unfortunate, would be deprived of the comforts and even the necessities of life"³⁰ if he chooses the occupation he most enjoys. Moreover, there are no occupations which are intrinsically repressive.

We have no sort of military or naval expenditures for men or materials, no army, navy, or militia. We have no revenue service, no swarm of tax assessors and collectors. As regards our judiciary, police, sheriffs, and jailers, the force which Massachusetts alone kept on foot in your day far more than suffices for the nation now.³¹

The struggle for existence being eliminated as a factor in the choice of occupation, the vehicle of this struggle, money, is also dispensed with. Freud once reflected that "Happiness is the deferred fulfilment of a

²⁷ Bellamy, pp. 136-37.

³⁰ Bellamy, p. 100.

²⁸ Bellamy, p. 101.

³¹ Bellamy, p. 155.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

prehistoric wish. That is why wealth brings so little happiness; money is not an infantile wish."³² The desire for money grows from the reality principle and not the pleasure principle. Business and trade, of course, are the lifeblood of the reality principle, or more precisely, the performance principle. Thus, "A system of direct distribution from the national storehouses took the place of trade, and for this money was unnecessary."³³ Bellamy strips the economic process of its repressive institutions and replaces them with a freedom for spontaneous pleasure-oriented activity.

The kind of incentive offered by Bellamy for creative work also has its roots in the pleasure principle. Money, status and arbitrary power, incentives which have value only to the ego, are superseded by "honor and the hope of men's gratitude, . . . the inspiration of duty, . . . and reputation for ability and success,"³⁴ which are libidinal in that they have a social dimension, but are not completely selfless. The drives of the unconscious, the id, we remember, are bi-directional in their quest for pleasure. First, and more obviously, there is an ontogenetic drive, the drive to satisfy the particular organism, to stimulate the erotic forces within the individual. And second, there is the subtler phylogenetic drive which aims to continue and strengthen the entire species. In this second sense, the reproductive processes associate each individual with all the others of his species, with the human race as a whole. It is not enough, therefore, to obtain sexual gratification *in vacuo*; gratification must be obtained under circumstances where all may do so with equal freedom. The aim of Eros, Freud writes, is "to form living substance into ever greater unities, so that life may be prolonged and brought to higher development."³⁵ Both the incentives and the enjoyable work which Bellamy prescribes for Boston—2000 embody this bi-directional nature and thus prefigure Marcuse's theoretical finding.

Libido can take the road of self-sublimation only as a social phenomenon: as an unrepressed force, it can promote the formation of culture only under conditions which relate associated individuals to each other in the cultivation of the environment for their developing needs and faculties.

The erotic aim of sustaining the entire body as subject-object of pleasure . . . generates its own projects of realization: the abolition of toil, the amelioration of the environment, the conquest of disease and decay, the creation of luxury. All these activities flow directly from the pleas-

³² Sigmund Freud, *The Origins of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Eric Mosbacher and James Strachey (New York, 1957), p. 247.

³³ Bellamy, p. 71.

³⁴ Bellamy, p. 77.

³⁵ Freud, "The Libido Theory," V, 135.

ure principle, and, at the same time, they constitute *work* which associates individuals to "greater unities."³⁶

Erotic drive ceases to be a "threat to culture" if "socially useful work is at the same time the transparent satisfaction of an individual need."³⁷

The alienation of work from life would not be as corrosive of personal and societal functioning if the relation between the sexes remained unaffected; these relations are the stuff of libidinal activity. Bellamy discusses them even more directly than does Marcuse, probably because the problem was more manifest in the nineteenth century than it is now. The ornamental role played by women in Bellamy's day reflects the popular endorsement of the gap between the respective social roles of the two sexes: women, and, hence, acceptable sexual activity, belonged only in the home, repressed out of social consciousness by men and women alike. Marcuse calls this limitation of sexuality to the home and family, "genital supremacy," because sex had no acceptable relevance beyond the procreative function. Psychoanalytic theory, meanwhile, being generated by a social milieu quite similar to that of Bellamy (i. e., Western industrial civilization), suggests that sexuality exists in all of life's activity, and that the public denial of this sexuality is motivated by the demands of the reality principle. Bellamy, by injecting woman-power into the industrial army seeks to develop rather than "obliterate" the differences between the sexes.

It is in giving full play to the differences of sex rather than in seeking to obliterate them, as was apparently the effort of some reformers in your [West's] day, that the enjoyment of each by itself and the piquancy which each has for the other, are alike enhanced.³⁸

The economic equality of women to men implies their social equality. Moreover, they are credited with a sexual impulse as strong as that of men, a psychoanalytic discovery still not generally accepted. What is heresy in the nineteenth century is honesty in the twentieth: "'the girls of the twentieth century tell their love.'"³⁹ The reason for this standard nineteenth-century feminine reluctance is, as we might expect, none other than the driver of Bellamy's renowned coach.

When for a woman to proffer her love to a man was in effect to invite him to assume the burden of her support, it is easy to see that pride and delicacy might well have checked the promptings of her heart.⁴⁰

³⁶ Marcuse, pp. 191, 193.

³⁹ Bellamy, p. 178.

³⁷ Marcuse, p. 192.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Bellamy, p. 174.

The elimination of the struggle for existence and of the feminine pose of passivity resulting from the struggle transforms the entire mating process and places the pleasure principle in its longed-for position of ascendancy over the reality principle.

for the first time in human history the principle of sexual selection, with its tendency to preserve and transmit the better types of the race, and let the inferior types drop out, has unhindered operation. The necessities of poverty, the need of having a home, no longer tempt women to accept as the fathers of their children men whom they neither can love nor respect.⁴¹

And finally, as a result of the purely Eros-inspired love and courtship, lifelong love itself acquires a new depth and sanctity.

As for love nowadays, one of our authors says that the vacuum left in the minds of men and women by the absence of care for one's livelihood has been entirely taken up by tender passion.⁴²

With the freeing of the spiritual, intellectual and ethical values of mankind, or, in psychoanalytic parlance, the life-forces of the pleasure principle, Bellamy evolved a system which gives "free play to every instinct of human nature which does not aim at dominating others."⁴³ Recall now Marcuse's pivotal idea that the nonrepressive civilization is one which gives "free play to the human faculties *outside* the realm of alienated labor." If we accept Marcuse's own translation of the "realm of alienated labor" as the realm in which domination takes place, we are led to the fact that Boston-2000 is *conceptually identical* to the "nonrepressive civilization."

The phrase "free play of the human instincts" is a casual cliché for neither Bellamy nor Marcuse. The latter appropriates Schiller's "play impulse," uses it as the cornerstone of the nonrepressive civilization, and explains that this impulse

does not aim at playing "with" something; rather it is the play of life itself, beyond want and external compulsion—the manifestation of an existence without fear and anxiety, and thus the manifestation of freedom itself.⁴⁴

"Free play," then is an activity very much akin to childhood play in its independence of the reality principle, although it also includes the fruits of adult maturity and wisdom. In other words, if we can bend Shaw somewhat, youth would no longer be "wasted on young people." Similarly, for

⁴¹ Bellamy, p. 179.

⁴³ Bellamy, p. 121.

⁴² Bellamy, p. 175.

⁴⁴ Marcuse, p. 171.

Bellamy, the "free play of the human instincts" occurs in its fullest strength when compulsory activity has been discharged, whence

we shall first enter upon the full enjoyment of our birthright, the period when we shall first really attain our majority and become enfranchised from discipline and control. . . .⁴⁵

The ideas of freedom and play are inseparable; in fact, they are sociopolitical and psychological versions, respectively, of an identical condition of man. For both Marcuse and Bellamy, play is the activity of free men.

Freud's statement that "imaginative creation, like day dreaming, is a continuation of and substitute for the play of childhood" now gains an important relevance to utopian thinking. Marcuse seizes upon imagination, or fantasy-making, as the vital link between reality and utopia.

As a fundamental, independent mental process, phantasy has a truth value of its own, which corresponds to an experience of its own—namely, the surmounting of antagonistic human reality. Imagination envisions the reconciliation of the individual with the whole, of desire with realization, of happiness with reason. While this harmony has been removed into utopia by the established reality principle, phantasy insists that it must and can become real, that behind the illusion lies *knowledge*. The truths of the imagination are first realized when phantasy itself takes form, when it creates a universe of perception and comprehension—a subjective and at the same time objective universe. This occurs in *art*.⁴⁶

Looking Backward, as a work of art, and a utopia as well, is, as it were, a primal product of the imagination, having a psychic and social value beyond that of conventional literature. By virtue of its artistic authority, Bellamy's novel is an affirmation of the pleasure principle in a world ruled by the reality principle; additionally, however, it is a vision of a world in which such affirmation need not be exclusively artistic, a world, in fact, in which all of life is an affirmation of the pleasure principle, a world in which life becomes art, in which work and play are identified, in which alienated labor is replaced by libidinal work relations.⁴⁷ *Looking Backward* is a wish that aims at eliminating the need for wishes.

In so aiming, Bellamy's novel seeks to transform our most common conceptions of time. The emphasis of human existence is shifted from the interaction of past and present to the interaction of present and future. "With you it was the forenoon," observes Dr. Leete, "with us it is the afternoon, which is the brighter half of life."⁴⁸ Julian is taken from the

⁴⁵ Bellamy, p. 137.

⁴⁷ Marcuse, p. 194.

⁴⁶ Marcuse, p. 130.

⁴⁸ Bellamy, p. 137.

month of May, from the infancy of a utopian civilization still under the parental domination of scarcity and the struggle for existence and which is still recipient of the parental blessing of material progress, and he is transplanted to the month of September, to the maturity of that same civilization, a civilization which is now free of all the domination of its parents and yet is able to procure the benefits of material progress on its own.

More importantly, perhaps, this translation of time onto a new coordinate system, so to speak, is dramatized by the phase of the book that deals most directly with Eros, namely, Julian's love-life. Although it is widely accepted that the love story was introduced to ensure the novel's popular palatability in the nineteenth century, this romantic dimension carries with it twentieth-century symbolic value. For Bellamy, creating Julian, and for us, identifying with him, mankind's greatest wish has been (vicariously) fulfilled. Time—and hence, in a sense, death—has been transcended by Julian's bi-centennial love. In real life, Freud writes, "the processes of . . . the unconscious . . . bear no relation to time at all . . . [and are] subject to the pleasure-principle";⁴⁹ that is, "timelessness is the ideal of pleasure."⁵⁰ The anticipation of pleasure's end is destructive of the pleasure itself.

The flux of time is society's most natural ally in maintaining law and order, conformity, and the institutions that relegate freedom to a perpetual utopia; the flux of time helps men to forget what was and what can be: it makes them oblivious to the better past and the better future.⁵¹

When Julian acknowledges the pleasure of his love for Edith Leete, he is immediately overcome by the sense of the absurdity of it all—he, a refugee from an irretrievable universe, and she, a secure citizen of a real world. His goal appears unattainable. In his depression, Julian returns to the only remnant of his own world, the only fossil of the past yet on earth, where the full fury of passing time descends upon him.

I entered the subterranean chamber and sat down there. "This," I muttered to myself, "is the only home I have. Let me stay here and not go forth any more." Seeking aid in the familiar surroundings, I endeavored to find a sad sort of consolation in reviving the past and summoning up the forms and faces that were about me in my former life. It was in vain. There was no longer any life in them. For nearly one hundred years the stars had been looking down on Edith Bartlett's grave, and the graves of all my generation.

⁴⁹ Freud, "The Unconscious," IV, 119.

⁵⁰ Marcuse, p. 211.

⁵¹ Marcuse, pp. 211-12.

The past was dead, crushed beneath a century's weight, and from the present I was shut out. There was no place for me anywhere. I was neither dead nor properly alive.⁵²

"Forgive me for following you," interrupts Edith Leete, the voice of the present-future, as it descends into Julian's subterranean past to rescue him. Edith's connection with the past is suggested at the outset of the novel, with the disclosure of her given name. Throughout the first week of Julian's arrival, moreover, it was

her hands [which] had drawn me out of the whirlpool of madness; the fact that her sympathy was the vital breath which had set me up in this new life and enabled me to support it; my habit of looking to her as the mediator between me and the world around in a sense that even her father was not—these were the circumstances that had predetermined a result which the remarkable loveliness of person and disposition would alone have accounted for.⁵³

The climactic revelation is, of course, the fact the new Edith is physically descended from the old Edith. Miss Leete's link with the past is real as well as apparent and symbolic. The love that Julian won from her is a kind of "deferred fulfilment of a prehistoric wish." The union of Julian and Edith Leete traces out the most basic patterns of the pleasure principle: "the rediscovery of the familiar"⁵⁴ and "the return of the repressed."⁵⁵ The familiar is Edith Bartlett; the repressed is Julian's love. From the chamber of the past grows the life of the future. The present is united with the past and future at the climax of Bellamy's ostensibly diversionary love story. Time has been conquered; Eros is triumphant.

In the light of the theories of Freud and the speculations of Marcuse, *Looking Backward* blurs the difference between art and ethical-and-economic prophecy, much as the Biblical prophets do from a religious rather than artistic base. The novel is publicly praised according to the standards of formal perfection and general ability to entertain. Its implications for reality are usually neglected or consigned to fancy. It is the old story of the prophet being a stranger in his native land: Julian West is an outcast in the world of 1887; pleasure is a stranger in a world of reality; imagination is a stranger in a world of toil; indeed, art is a stranger in the world of life.

⁵² Bellamy, pp. 196-97.

⁵³ Bellamy, p. 196.

⁵⁴ *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, ed. A. A. Brill (New York, 1938), p. 714.

⁵⁵ Freud, "Repression," IV, 93 (italics in Freud).

H. ALAN WYCHERLEY
United States Naval Academy

Mencken and Knopf: The Editor and His Publisher

IN THE FRENETIC WORLD OF PUBLISHERS, EDITORS AND AUTHORS, IN WHICH ambition, commercialism and tender temperaments are in continuous collision, friendships are commonly of short duration—rarely, for instance, do they endure as long as forty-six years. Yet two strongminded, flamboyant men named Henry L. Mencken and Alfred A. Knopf achieved precisely such a friendship. In view of their times, their personalities and their positions, it was a remarkable accomplishment.

The two men met for the first time in 1913. Mencken was then thirty-three and already something of a celebrity as a columnist, equaling, on the East Coast, the kind of fame that Ambrose Bierce had been enjoying in California. Knopf, twenty-one, just out of college and working for Doubleday, had come to Baltimore to talk about Mencken's reviews of Conrad.¹

Both men have left records of their impressions of that first meeting; their reactions to each other were strong, positive and quite characteristic. Mencken told Geoffrey Hellman:

It must have been in 1913 or thereabouts that I met him—a very tall, very slim young fellow, but lately out of college, with a faint and somewhat puzzling air of the exotic about him. I recall especially his moustache: so immensely black that it seemed beyond the poor talents of nature, and yet so slender, so struggling, that it was palpably real.²

Knopf, writing forty-six years later, recalls the meeting this way:

I first saw Henry L. Mencken in late 1913 in the offices of the *Baltimore Sun*, for which he was writing a celebrated column, "The Free Lance."

¹ William Manchester, *Disturber of the Peace: The Life of H. L. Mencken* (New York, 1950), p. 108.

² Geoffrey T. Hellman, "Alfred A. Knopf," *New Yorker*, XXIV (November 20, 1948). Part I of a three-part profile, p. 44.

Even then he had the reputation, chiefly with those who did not know him well . . . of being a burly, loud, raucous fellow, rough in his speech and lacking refined manners. How mistaken this opinion was I learned a little later, when on a visit to Washington I introduced Blanche Knopf to him. He met her with the most charming manners conceivable, manners which I was to discover he always displayed in talking to women.³

In 1916, Mencken published two books under the John Lane imprint: *A Book of Burlesques* and *A Little Book in C Major*. Although both were well reviewed, they did not sell, and Mencken began to cast about for a new publisher.⁴ Knowing that Knopf had gone into business for himself in June of 1915, Mencken looked him up. The consequence of the meeting was that Knopf became Mencken's publisher. But there were interruptions, and they are not without significance in the history of the relationship between the two men.

Mencken had acquired a reputation as a popularizer of Shaw and Nietzsche and as early as 1909 was communicating with Theodore Dreiser, whose *The "Genius"* had run afoul of the Humanists, led by Stuart Sherman, Paul Elmer More and Irving Babbitt. Mencken's championing of Dreiser before and during the First World War led to charges of pro-Germanism, and Knopf had done his best to defend Mencken against such attacks. Sherman wrote with calculated viciousness:

Mr. Knopf disarms anti-German prejudices by informing us that Mr. Mencken is of mixed blood—Saxon, Bavarian, Hessian, Irish, and English; or, as Mr. Mencken puts it, with his unfailing good taste, he is a 'mongrel.'⁵

Knopf was apparently more upset by the vehemence of the attack than Mencken was; in fact, the latter once described him as "too idealistic to ever make his mark in the publishing business."⁶ Although Knopf eventually brought out *A Book of Prefaces* in 1917, Mencken had told him that he might withdraw the book whenever he pleased, and that Knopf would never again get another of his works.⁷ When his good friend Philip Goodman decided to become a publisher, Mencken offered him *Damn! A Book of Calumny* and *In Defense of Women*. But Goodman's

³ Alfred A. Knopf, "For Henry with Love," *Atlantic*, CCIII (May 1959), 51.

⁴ Manchester, p. 86.

⁵ The original article appeared in *Nation*, November 29, 1917, when Paul Elmer More was editor. The quotation is found in Manchester, p. 99.

⁶ Edgar Kemler, *The Irreverent Mr. Mencken* (Boston, 1959), p. 163.

⁷ Manchester, p. 103.

plan for drugstore retailing fell through, and his tardy royalty payments and amateurishness sent Mencken hurrying back to Knopf.⁸

Mencken was quite definite about the change. He said, "By June 25, 1919, I had made up my mind that Alfred A. Knopf would be my publisher thereafter."⁹ And Knopf was to prove his competence by his handling of the Prefaces book. "Knopf," Mencken told friends, "gets out good-looking books, not abortions; he pays royalties promptly, and he is a good drummer."¹⁰ On September 2, 1920, writing to Dreiser, he said, "Confidentially, he [Horace Liveright] is forever approaching Nathan and me, and lately he offered us a blank contract, including even 50% royalty. But we are too comfortable with Knopf."¹¹

Mencken's letters are often Rabelasian in tone, and as early as 1919, he was referring to his publisher in his characteristically jocose way. This was the sort of spoofing he continually indulged in, "to the great delight of those of us who knew him well," as Knopf has said.¹²

To Philip Goodman, he wrote,

Knopf's bookkeeper, Miss Rabinowitz, who listened in on your palaver, tells me that there were many dramatic episodes. She says that when Knopf dramatically bared his breast and invited you, with his voice full of sobs, to cut out his heart and have done, she was deceived by the realism of it and came damned nigh fainting. (June 20, 1919)

Knopf has been awarded the Ordre pour le Merite with palms, by the Oheb Shalom Congregation, for horning you. A case of Rhine wine goes with the award. (July 2, 1919)

Knopf is examining every book separately and personally. When he bought out the Torah Publishing Company and took over the sex hygiene books of Dr. Maurice Hutzler, they worked off half a bale of toilet paper on him. (July 8, 1919)

And a little later,

The Knopf report is ludicrous. Knopf is assuredly not a [Christian] Scientist. He is even now taking instructions from one of the *recti* of St. Bartholomew's Church, and when he comes up for his first communion, he will be sponsored by two of the vestrymen, Otto Kahn and Mortimer Schiff. (Oct. 22, 1919)¹³

⁸ *Ibid.* Knopf raised no objections to the Mencken-Goodman arrangement. Letter to the author dated April 1, 1963, cited hereafter as Knopf letter April 1, 1963.

⁹ H. L. Mencken, "Letters to Philip Goodman." Typescript introduction. 3 vols., in the Mencken Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.

¹⁰ Kemler, p. 118.

¹¹ Robert K. Elias, *Letters of Theodore Dreiser* (3 vols.; Philadelphia, 1961), I, 277.

¹² Knopf letter April 1, 1963.

¹³ "Letters to Goodman," Vol. I, under indicated dates.

The friends got along very well indeed. Knopf wrote,

I used to attend the meetings of the famous Saturday Night Club with some frequency . . . [after 1923] I went regularly to the festival [the Bach festival at Bethlehem, Pa.,] with Mencken, staying wherever we could find accommodations.¹⁴

And Mencken noted, some years later,

I put in two days at Bethlehem, Pa., with Knopf, listening to Bach. We brought a dozen bottles of Canadian ale from New York, and it sufficed us. My share was 10.35 bottles.¹⁵

In these years, Mencken, twelve years Knopf's senior, would often offer advice, advice for which he never asked payment as editorial consultant; he assumed that such advice was part of the normal relationship between editor and publisher, and he never questioned Knopf's function. When Knopf wanted to postpone a new edition of *In Defense of Women* in 1921, Mencken wrote a characteristic response: "You are the publisher; not I. I leave all such matters to your judgment."¹⁶ Isaac Goldberg, in an early biography of Mencken, writes,

Knopf proved to be [Mencken's] cultural and commercial success . . . to the books of Mencken, Knopf brought a business acumen that was heightened by a flair for experiment, commercial adventure, novelty, individualism.¹⁷

Goldberg's words deserve some expansion here in view of the considerable and not fully appreciated impact upon the book world and upon American culture that resulted from Knopf's high purpose and artistic enlightenment. For here is a musician who once played Chopin for Mrs. Galsworthy, who used to take scores of Bruckner and Copland with him when he went to the music halls, who annually gave a party for Serge Koussevitsky on the occasion of the Boston Symphony's initial appearance in New York. He is also a dog fancier, a gardener, a camera enthusiast, a skier, a lover of national parks and a notable gourmet. Carl Van Vechten once wrote that at Alfred's dinners, guests might hear him ask "Will you taste the Quiche Lorraine? The Mousse aux Fraises? The Pampiettes de Veau?"¹⁸ Among the favorite wines of a man for whom wine-drinking is a ceremony are Batard Montrachet '49 and Clos Vougeot

¹⁴ "For Henry with Love," p. 52.

¹⁵ "Letters to Goodman," Vol. III, May 16, 1932.

¹⁶ "For Henry with Love," p. 53.

¹⁷ *The Man Mencken* (New York, 1925), p. 211.

¹⁸ *Alfred A. Knopf at 60* (New York, 1952 [privately printed]), p. 10.

'47. His apparel has long been notorious, "bright and expensive," notes Van Vechten, violently hued ties from Bronzini, raging tweeds, classy boots.¹⁹ And once he was denied admission to see Toscanini backstage because he was wearing a black shirt with a magenta tie.

It is not surprising that such a man brought individualism to the business of book publishing, nor is it that he became a scholar of type, paper, design and manufacture. Knopf did not allow the demands of business to undermine his determination to bring to the reading public authors of the highest quality, established or new. Within the first decade of its existence, the House of Knopf published Aiken, Alarcón, Baroja, Cather, Clarence Day, T. S. Eliot, Flaubert, E. M. Forster, Gautier, Kahlil Gibran, Gogol, A. P. Herbert, W. H. Hudson, Ibañez, Wyndham Lewis, Mann, Maugham, seven volumes of Mencken (including *American Language*), J. M. Murray, Nietzsche, Ezra Pound, Osbert Sitwell, Ludwig Thoma and Tolstoi.

The coming together in 1913 of two such remarkable talents as Mencken and Knopf was to prove a great boon to journalism, to literature and to an American culture that had become very parochial. In the 1920s they would continue to expand their friendship and their influence, giving inspiration to new writers, recognition to authors European and Oriental, and a high sense of excitement and enlightenment to an American reading public badly in need of both.

By 1923, Mencken felt that the *Smart Set*, which he and George Jean Nathan had been editing for a decade, had had its day. Mencken, moreover, was tired of it. He discussed the matter with Knopf, who for some time had cherished a passion to start a first-rate magazine of his own and who wanted Mencken to be its editor. For a while Alfred Knopf and his father Samuel considered purchasing the *Smart Set*, finally rejecting the plan because of the slightly unsavory reputation of the magazine. Many titles for the new venture were considered; the final selection of the title "American Mercury" was the work of Blanche and Alfred Knopf, Mencken, and Nathan. Nathan was brought in because of his long association with Mencken.²⁰ It shortly proved to be an unworkable arrangement. Neither Mencken nor Nathan had much to do with the format, which was largely the responsibility of Elmer Adler, head of Pynson Printers. Mencken described it as "whorish," which indicated his approval.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰ H. L. Mencken, "Autobiographical Notes." Bound typescript in the Mencken Collection, EPFL., pp. 115-16.

The publisher announced the magazine in the *New York Times* on August 18, 1923, and sent out a formal announcement in what Mencken described as "fancy whorehouse typography."²¹ The first issue appeared just before Christmas of that year. It was a resounding success, and the business office of the *Mercury* ran behind in recording subscription requests. Within a short time, however, differences between Mencken and Nathan became crucial, and Knopf had to resolve their disagreements. This he did, and in Mencken's favor; Nathan was neatly and amicably eased out of his editorial position. One biographer writes that Knopf was not convinced that the *Mercury* should have a political mission, but that on the issue of Mencken versus Nathan, he clearly favored Mencken, and let him dissolve the partnership as he saw fit. "The issues at the bottom of it neither of the two men ever disclosed," he states.²² Mencken, however, did disclose them. He wrote:

This partnership quickly turned out to be very uncomfortable. The "American Mercury" as I planned it went very far beyond Nathan's range of interest: he knew nothing, for example, about politics, and even less about the general life of the American people. His interests were centered in New York and especially in Broadway. . . . The net result of this was that Nathan agreed to withdraw as editor with the July 1925 number. In these negotiations, Knopf sided with me in every detail.²³

Mencken also felt that Nathan didn't do his job. Charles Angoff, who was then the managing editor, blamed Nathan's "laziness and selfishness."²⁴ Nathan often spent less than an hour a day in the *Mercury* office, and during the political conventions of 1924, which Mencken covered for the *Baltimore Sun*, Nathan continued to send him manuscripts and correspondence. It is not surprising that Alfred Knopf sided with Mencken in this difficult period; he had wished Mencken to be sole editor from the beginning.

The *Mercury* enjoyed about six years of greatness. In an era of magazine founding (*Reader's Digest*, 1922; *Time*, 1923; *Mercury* and *Saturday Review of Literature*, 1924; *New Yorker*, 1925) it wielded a powerful influence, even on periodicals much its senior, *Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly* among them. The Scopes trial in 1925 is too familiar for more than passing mention here, but it is clear that in that year, Mencken's

²¹ Marvin K. Singleton, *H. L. Mencken and the American Mercury Adventure* (Durham, N. C., 1962), p. 35.

²² Kemler, p. 171.

²³ "Autobiographical Notes," pp. 116-17.

²⁴ "George Jean Nathan," *Atlantic*, CCX (December 1962), 47.

reputation was about at its apogee. It is equally clear that the House of Knopf was profiting greatly from the books of the master, from the sales of the *Mercury* and from the towering notoriety of its editor.

But in that same year of 1926 occurred an incident that has been largely ignored by social and literary historians, possibly because the Scopes trial of the previous year had been so dramatic. The "Hatrack" case, so named from the heroine of the Herbert Asbury story, was certainly as strong a declaration for freedom of thought as the Scopes trial was, and it demonstrated, as no other single event did, the solidarity of the Mencken-Knopf relationship. For when Frank Chase of the Boston Watch and Ward Society brought legal proceedings against the *Mercury* for printing a story about a prostitute who "served" Protestant customers in a Catholic cemetery and Catholic customers in a Masonic cemetery—but worse, a story exposing hypocrisy in minister and congregation—Knopf brought all the resources at his command to the support of his editor. Mencken, knowing that he was running the risk of a two-year jail sentence, went ahead, and he was very quickly vindicated.

Mencken's reputation in 1926 is manifest in an article by Frank Swinnerton entitled "The Great Mencken Fight."²⁵ The author, believing Mencken to be a great ragged bear of letters, writes an account of a dream in which he imagines himself, a thoroughgoing conservative, in mortal combat with Mencken, the fighting liberal. Alfred Knopf is the assigned referee. Swinnerton enters the fray with what he regards as his proper arms—the books of traditional literature. Mencken joins combat aided by nothing more than the emblems of his own private deities. It turns out to be no contest, and Knopf has to call no penalties. Swinnerton in short discovered the same ambivalence that Knopf himself observed in his first confrontation with Mencken thirteen years before; the public man and the private man were but opposite sides of the same coin. Swinnerton decided that Mencken was simply a nice fellow who followed his own strange gods.

These were the years of the Mencken ascendancy, but events were soon to occur which would superannuate him. By 1930 the Great Depression was a reality seriously to be reckoned with; then came the rise to power of Adolf Hitler in Germany, the country of Mencken's ancestors and the country of his sympathies. In 1930, the circulation of the *American Mercury* had been over 62,000. By 1932, it was down to 30,000. The publisher was deeply concerned, and Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., began to retrench.²⁶

²⁵ *Bookman*, LXIV (December 1926), 463-67.

²⁶ Singleton, p. 220.

As the *Mercury's* circulation dropped more and more after 1930, Knopf would often annoy him, once provoking Mencken to shout, after Knopf had left the office, "Goddam it! He burns me up. But then what can you expect from a pants-presser's son?"²⁷ "The way the magazine is going now," Knopf once said, "we'll be out of business in a few months." Mencken replied, "Hell, I hope you haven't fallen for that depression nonsense." Knopf's reply was coolly ironic: "Everybody's wrong but you. Have you seen the latest circulation figures?"²⁸ Mencken seems to have been lost in the quagmire of debits and credits. He could say "Knopf is a good publisher, but publishers are the bane of the publishing business." A little later he was to comment, "Knopf said that what I need is a good long vacation."²⁹ He was shortly to get it.

The New York *Times* of October 6, 1933, carried the story. Under the title "Mencken Retires as Mercury Editor," the article cites Mencken as saying,

As a matter of fact, my retirement had been pretty well agreed upon some time ago, about the time the depression came along. . . . I want to make it plain that there has been no break between Mr. Knopf and myself. . . . Frankly, my reason for retiring is that I've been editor long enough. . . . I don't feel stale, or anything, but I think that someone else will be able to fill the job with more zest.³⁰

Henry Hazlitt became editor, but Knopf replaced him four months later, naming Charles Angoff to the post. Mencken had enjoyed one full decade of glory as editor of the *American Mercury*. Not long before his retirement, he had written to Goodman, "Knopf has done an excellent job with it."³¹ But within a few months, circumstances had so greatly altered that Knopf had also had enough. In November 1934 he sold the *Mercury* to Peter Palmer for \$25,000.³²

After Mencken retired from the business of editing the *Mercury*, he seemed to grow both more mellow and more intransigent. The basic ambivalence of his character became, if anything, more evident. Knopf had observed it at his first meeting with Mencken. Writing in 1959, Knopf could say

²⁷ Charles Angoff, *H. L. Mencken: A Portrait from Memory* (New York, 1956), p. 167. Hereafter cited as *Portrait*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 217 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-23.

³⁰ The item may also be found in Singleton, p. 233.

³¹ *Letters of H. L. Mencken*, ed. Guy J. Fargue (New York, 1961), p. 368. Hereafter cited as *Letters*.

³² Kemler, p. 266; Singleton, p. 239.

I knew Mencken for more than forty years, intimately for over thirty. Books have been written which describe him as a man I find it difficult to realize. His public side was visible to everyone: tough, cynical, amusing, and exasperating by turns, but everlastingly consistent. The private man was something else again: sentimental, generous, and unwavering—sometimes almost blind—in his devotion to people he liked.³³

And on the occasion of Knopf's 25th anniversary as a publisher, Mencken was sincerely laudatory:

Since I put on his silks, I have been completely free of all the concerns that other authors tell me of. I have never given more than an idle thought to the design and printing of my books, not to their merchanting, not to matters of money. Alfred's operations under all these headings are . . . plainly everything they should be. . . . He is, by my standards, the perfect publisher.³⁴

The friends made much of the fact that they had the same birthday (September 12). Mencken once sent Knopf a present with this note:

Your moustache has no greater admirer than I am; nevertheless, I am not unaware of the penalties that you must pay for cultivating it. It practically cuts you off from noodle soup, and makes you justifiably uneasy every time a salad dressed with mayonnaise is brought to the table.³⁵

Such amiabilities, however, were not without another side, one not altogether pleasant. In the years that followed Black Friday and the Reichstag Fire, the two men had some differences of political opinion.³⁶ During the First World War, when his pro-German sympathies brought the wrath of patriopaths upon his head, Mencken deserved sympathy. But he was almost totally blind to the facts of the Great Depression and of Adolf Hitler, and manic in his hatred of Hoover and "Roosevelt Minor." Despite evidence that history was running away from him, that he was commanding an ever-dwindling audience, that his attitudes were becoming even more rigid, Mencken's personal relationship with his publisher remained cordial. Their professional relationship, however, had changed. Angoff expresses it this way:

³³ "For Henry with Love," p. 54.

³⁴ Hellman, p. 44, here quotes from *Alfred A. Knopf: Quarter Century* (privately printed, 1940).

³⁵ "For Henry with Love," p. 54.

³⁶ In Knopf letter April 1, 1963, the publisher wrote, "He laughed at what he regarded as my political naivete and, in retrospect, I have always been glad to admit that he was right."

When the *Mercury* was in its infancy, Knopf seldom dared make any editorial suggestions for fear, I believe, that Mencken and Nathan might tell him to mind his own business. Later, when the magazine began to go downhill, Knopf did offer editorial suggestions, but Mencken, by then, had lost his daring and had begun to violate his own principles . . . he listened to Knopf, and thus possibly speeded the demise of the old *Mercury*, though it is possible that his kind of magazine had had its day.³⁷

When Knopf was beginning to publish, he was delighted to have Mencken as a contributor to his house. Mencken, in turn, was grateful to have a publisher who would print everything he produced. It is fairly clear that each owed the other a loyalty, and the record suggests that both held quite rigorously to their mutual indebtedness.

But the relationship between the two men must take into account Mencken's curiously uneven attitude toward the Jews. The crusader for the rights of the individual seems not to have been entirely free from anti-Jewish bias. Mencken and Philip Goodman, a Broadway producer, were good friends and familiar correspondents for many years. Reading the three-volume correspondence of Mencken to Goodman leads one to believe that there was a friendship almost perfect in its sincerity. But this same Goodman, according to Angoff, once said,

Mencken is a case for Freud. He loves the Jews and he hates them. He hates them because they have done so much for him. I published a couple of his books. Knopf publishes his books now and has taken plenty of chances on him. There's you. There's Nathan. No wonder he hates us.³⁸

Angoff also reports that George Jean Nathan described Mencken's anti-Semitism as the "rarer and more intellectual sort" that could "be sensed rather than described in words, because it was so deep-seated and furtive and so obscured by professions of loyalty to the principles of civil liberties."³⁹ And it is rather painful to note that in 1940, just before his death, Philip Goodman reported to Angoff that Mencken had written him a note asking how his gallstones were, the gallstones being a reference to a long-standing joke between them. But the note was on letter-press of the *Deutscher Weckruf*, a Nazi sheet published in Yorkville, and Mencken signed it "Heil Hitler."⁴⁰ It may be said that this was Mencken's way of dismissing the whole ugly business and that he did not intend it as

³⁷ *Portrait*, p. 190.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 168 ff.

a vicious jibe at an old friend. But it is obvious that the letter showed a cruel lapse of taste and judgment, a callousness of the heart.⁴¹

Angoff's book reports some of Mencken's rather acid remarks about Knopf, and he has indicated that he remembers many far worse than he recorded in *Portrait from Memory*.⁴² Yet the same book tells us that Mencken printed an unusually large number of works by Jewish authors, and that he was particularly taken by Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* and by Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money*. Angoff says that Knopf showed a deep concern for Mencken, when Henry showed signs of changing, of "worrying about something."⁴³ Knopf "laughed" at Angoff's suggestion that "maybe Mencken was anti-Semitic." On the same page appears the phrase "Knopf, who loves Mencken."⁴⁴ Very recently Angoff wrote, "M's stock for a while was very low, and it is to K's credit that he continued to be his publisher."⁴⁵

Thus, even in the midst of statements indicating consternation over Mencken's attitudes toward the Jews and the "foreign element," Angoff acknowledges that Knopf refused to believe them; such charges could not alter his affection and loyalty. A recent letter of Knopf's makes his position quite clear: "I cannot remember a falling out ever with Mencken over anything, and his brother August, who would have known, I am certain, if such a falling out had ever taken place, has no recollection of one either."⁴⁶

It may be fitting at this point to cite some of Mencken's own statements about Knopf made during some of their most difficult times. On November 21, 1934, Mencken wrote to Dreiser about Burton Rascoe's introduction to *The Smart Set Anthology*, which contained actionable statements about Dreiser and Knopf. "The libel on Knopf," he said, "perhaps the squarest man in money matters ever heard of, was really filthy and disgusting."⁴⁷ And in a letter to H. L. Davis, author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Honey in the Horn* (1936), Mencken wrote: "Ordinarily, every publisher devotes a large part of his time to secret whispering against his competitor's books. But Knopf is different."⁴⁸

⁴¹This trait in Mencken has been observed by Joseph Wood Krutch. See his *More Lives Than One* (New York, 1962), p. 147.

⁴²Information in a letter to the author from Professor Charles Angoff of Fairleigh Dickinson University, December 15, 1962.

⁴³*Portrait*, p. 208.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵See footnote 44.

⁴⁶Information in a letter to the author from Alfred A. Knopf, November 29, 1962.

⁴⁷*Letters*, p. 381.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 394.

Available records of the relationship suggest that Henry L. Mencken and Alfred A. Knopf enjoyed an unusual and even remarkable friendship in a world wherein malice and pettiness are so often operative. What quarrels they had, as Knopf presently declares, were mostly over politics.⁴⁹ But Angoff, writing in regret about the great days now vanished, may well have overstated disagreement or antagonism. Angoff has sharply denied the charge of malice in his *Portrait*, but Knopf and August Mencken, Henry's surviving brother, feel that the charge is justified. August, by the way, acknowledges that his brother often had disagreements with Knopf, sometimes rather sharp ones, but he insists that they were not of long duration nor very serious. The fundamental friendship between the two men remained unaffected by occasional flurries of anger or disapproval.⁵⁰ That each profited from the other, that their strong personalities now and then clashed are readily acceptable conclusions. But published and unpublished materials demonstrate a warm and abiding friendship, and an unshakable loyalty. Angoff knew both men very well, and though his account is often sharply critical, he still writes, "Knopf, who loves Mencken." And though in fairness it must be noted that the remainder of the sentence quotes Knopf as being shocked by Mencken's economic ideas, the force of the phrase remains undiminished: "Knopf, who loves Mencken." The record suggests that Mencken would have cheerfully assented to reversing the names in the phrase.

It seems appropriate to conclude this account with the words of those most closely involved with one another. Nathan said of Mencken:

Perhaps no man has ever been more accurately mirrored by his writings than this man. He has never, so far as I know, written a single line that he hasn't believed. He has never sold a single adjective.⁵¹

And Willa Cather has said of Knopf:

Among the finest books he put out were many which could not possibly yield him a quick financial return. He published them because they were fine books, by writers of proved authority, or by fresh talent—which he was quick to discover.⁵²

The last words properly belong to Mencken. Characteristically, they are fine words:

⁴⁹ Knopf letter April 1, 1963.

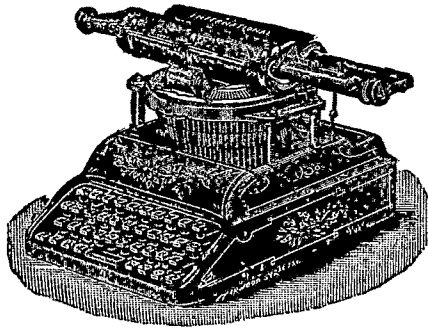
⁵⁰ Interviews with Charles Angoff (February 1, 1963); with August Mencken (February 15, 1963).

⁵¹ *The Borzoi 1920* (New York, 1920), p. 35.

⁵² *Alfred A. Knopf: Quarter Century*, p. 13.

Alfred and I have been publisher and author, and not only publisher and author, but also a great many other things, including publisher and editor, penitent and confessor, confessor and penitent, fellow slaves alike of the grape and the three B's, and political enemies. But our alliance has endured, and in late years it has actually tended to extend itself. He has promoted me to the eminence of a director in his publishing house, and I have reciprocated by having him appointed assistant photographer to a Democratic National Convention. A childless man, with no more talent for pediatrics than for poverty, chastity, and obedience, I advise him about the education of his son (who disregards, and with sound sense, both of us).⁵³

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.



MELVIN LANDSBERG
University of Kansas

John R. Dos Passos: His Influence on the Novelist's Early Political Development

JOHN R. DOS PASSOS SR. (1844-1917), THE FATHER OF THE NOVELIST, DESERVES to be remembered in his own right. I shall in this study discuss his career as a social critic, lawyer and author, and try to give some sense of its unusual tone. I shall be concerned, not with evaluating the father's career, however, but with suggesting the influence of Dos Passos Sr.'s thought on the novelist's early political development. That some of the novelist's first experiences with political doctrines consisted of simply listening to his father talk¹ is as important a fact as it is an unextraordinary one. I shall devote my attention to the early, and particularly the radical, phase of the novelist's development because it culminated, during the late 1920s and the 1930s, in the writing of the trilogy *U.S.A.*, his major literary achievement. Aspects of the senior Dos Passos' influence on the son's later, conservative thought will probably suggest themselves.² The novelist being very much a living contemporary, I will not attempt to explore his private emotional life.

John R. Dos Passos Sr. was the son of a poor immigrant from Madeira and of an American woman of Quaker family.³ Dos Passos Sr. came to New York in 1867, after a term as office boy in Philadelphia, service in the Pennsylvania state militia, and a period spent attending law lectures at the University of Pennsylvania.⁴ "The same dream of big things

¹ John Dos Passos, *U.S.A.: The 42nd Parallel* (New York: Modern Library [1939]), pp. 13-14, 57-58, 173-74.

² Dos Passos wrote to the author: "I was delighted with your treatment of my father. It's only in recent years that I have appreciated how deep his influence was on the cast of my mind." Letter, March 6, 1958.

³ Communication from Dos Passos, quoted in Georges-Albert Astre, *Thèmes et structures dans l'oeuvre de John Dos Passos*, I (Paris, 1956), p. 29.

⁴ *New York Times*, January 28, 1917, Sec. 7, p. 3. Compare *The 42nd Parallel*, p. 166. *New York Times*, January 28, 1917, Sec. 7, p. 3. Dos Passos noted after the present article was in print: "a term as office boy and apprenticeship in a Philadelphia law office." Referring to his grandmother, he substituted: "and of Lucy Catell, said to be of Quaker origin." Letter, April 20, 1964.

that leads so many ambitious young men all over the United States to come to New York led his footsteps hither," a colleague said of him in a eulogy a few days after his death. "Many of these young men are disappointed, but he was not—he made good." The comment becomes almost ironic when one remembers how the son was to play on the theme of making good in New York in his *Manhattan Transfer* (1925). The father not only made good, but he displayed unusual versatility and originality in the way in which he did it. First he became a well-known criminal lawyer. Perhaps his greatest triumph in this phase of his career was his getting the murder verdict against Edward S. Stokes set aside after Stokes had been found guilty of killing the Civil War financier "Jim" Fisk in a quarrel over a mistress.⁵ Afterwards Dos Passos Sr. opened an office in the Mills Building, opposite the New York Stock Exchange.⁶ Soon he was enjoying a lucrative practice among the brokers and operators. When he found that there was no good book available on his specialty, the law of commercial exchange, he wrote what became the standard work on the subject.⁷

There is real irony in the fact that the elder John Dos Passos did much to make possible the consolidation of American business, which was to further the growth of industry (one of his son's earliest *bêtes noires*) and strengthen the influence of corporations upon government. Many Wall Street firms employed him as a confidential advisor, for he was not only a master of corporation law but also of reconciling conflicting business interests. After the original "Sugar Trust," formed in 1887, was declared illegal by the New York Court of Appeals, H. O. Havemeyer called upon him to organize the new American Sugar Refining Company. Dos Passos Sr. did more than merely draw up papers; he actually planned the formation of the corporation.⁸ For this he received the largest fee on record for such work up to that time.⁹ According to his obituary in the *New York Times*, he was credited with much of the advice according to which the trust was for many years kept out of the reach of the law.¹⁰ In addition to helping create the sugar trust, the elder Dos Passos helped to form the American Thread Company and Cramp's Ship Works, and to reorganize the Texas and Pacific, the Reading and the Erie Railroads.¹¹

⁵ Henry Wollman, "John Dos Passos," *Case and Comment*, XXIV (July 1917), 163-65.

⁶ *New York Times*, January 28, 1917, Sec. 7, p. 3.

⁷ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *A Treatise on the Law of Stock-Brokers and Stock-Exchanges* (New York, 1882).

⁸ Wollman, *Case and Comment*, XXIV, 163-65.

⁹ H. W. Howard Knott, "John Randolph Dos Passos," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 388-89.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, January 28, 1917, Sec. 7, p. 3.

¹¹ Wollman, *Case and Comment*, XXIV, 163-65.

A mere outline of his career does not dispose of him, however. John R. Dos Passos Sr. was an intellectually aggressive man who aspired to be more than a creature of the new age. He was unusually well read, possessing considerable knowledge of classical and modern history and literature, as well as of jurisprudence. He enjoyed being able to refer his actions and opinions to ultimate principles and despised the new crop of lawyers who were nurtured on casebooks rather than on Blackstone. His economic thought, as revealed in his books and pamphlets, shows real development. Dos Passos Sr. always remained fundamentally conservative, but toward the end of his career his conservatism had become the adaptable type that is apt to be almost as unpopular as radicalism in conservative circles.

Dos Passos Sr. was a friend of William McKinley and stumped Pennsylvania and Virginia for him in 1896.¹² The opinions that he held at the turn of the century show him enthusiastic about the prospect of an American empire; however, they reveal him as a proponent of personal liberty as well as of imperialism.

During or shortly before 1896, the year of Dos Passos Jr.'s birth, there appeared a pamphlet *Argument of John R. Dos Passos, Esq. of New York in Favor of Recognition of Cuba by the United States*. In it Dos Passos Sr. wrote that this country was justified in encouraging the Cuban revolutionists because Cuba was nearby; because politically and morally she ought to be a republic; and because the United States' commercial interests there were so great that the best writers on international law, citing the doctrine of self-preservation, sanctioned the nation's intervening to protect the property and rights and to advance the interests and commerce of its citizens. He granted that these arguments alone might not always warrant intervention.¹³ One other factor did, however. The King of Spain had proclaimed Cuba under perpetual martial law. Any state which deprives its citizens of the three absolute rights of an individual—the right of personal security, of personal liberty and of private property—is a despotism. Its people are justified in rebelling to rescue themselves. Any outside civilized nation has a duty to acknowledge their belligerency and to succor and support them.¹⁴

The philosophy of the pamphlet on Cuba was much more liberal than that of a pamphlet which Dos Passos Sr. published in 1900 defending McKinley's policies in the Philippines. In this work, which took issue with the criticisms of Carl Schurz and the anti-imperialists, Dos Passos Sr. displayed a crude legalistic hardness. He did not confine himself to dis-

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *Argument of John R. Dos Passos, Esq. of New York in Favor of Recognition of Cuba by the United States* (n.d.), p. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

crediting Aguinaldo as a Philippine patriot or to pointing out that the United States had no reason to believe that he represented the Philippine people.¹⁵ He insisted that the United States had not promised or acknowledged Philippine independence and was not bound to do so under international law. When a cession of territory takes place, the inhabitants need not be consulted, he wrote. It was possible to be so tender and delicate about the rights of people as to be impracticable, visionary and "platonic."¹⁶ Science had annihilated space and time, and commerce which might not have interested the country fifty years ago might now be a necessity. Manila Bay was not as many days away as Oregon had once been, and Oregon had been annexed.¹⁷ Since the Philippines had never governed themselves or asked for independence from Spanish domination, it was legitimate to ask them to go through a period of probation, Dos Passos Sr. argued; if they should ever ask for independence with near-unanimity, as he for some reason assumed that the people of the thirteen colonies had done, then the question would be a real one.¹⁸

Also belonging to the period of the elder Dos Passos' exuberance over empire was *The Anglo-Saxon Century* (1903), a book far removed both from his professional interests and from the political issues of the moment. It was a plea for a union between the people of the United States and of Great Britain (including the inhabitants of their colonies)—for common citizenship, freedom of commercial intercourse between the two nations, and uniform currency and standards of weights and measures. Canada was to divide itself into states and become part of the United States, and an arbitration tribunal was to be set up to decide all questions that arose under the treaty between Great Britain and the newly-enlarged United States.¹⁹

Behind the plan was Dos Passos' desire to justify the American empire in the same way as the British did theirs as well as to link the destiny of the new empire with that of the older one. The American Revolution was actually, he wrote, an expansion and propagation of the Anglo-Saxon race and its principles of liberty, law and government.²⁰ The growth of Anglo-American power and influence was not determined by conscious will but by underlying forces shaping the progress of the human race.²¹ To the Anglo-Saxon peoples these forces had entrusted the civilization and Christianization of the world.²² Since fate had made the United States a world power, the nation ought to be ready to support the growing busi-

¹⁵ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *A Defence of the McKinley Administration from Attacks of Mr. Carl Schurz and Other Anti-Imperialists* (1900), *passim*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁹ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *The Anglo-Saxon Century* (New York, 1903), pp. 159-208.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

ness interests of its citizens.²³ It ought to remember the abstract rules of right and not embark on wars for mere aggrandizement; however, for its own sake and for humanity's sake, once it acquired a colony it ought never to let it go.²⁴

The elder Dos Passos was a gold Democrat, not a Republican; he had probably been a Grover Cleveland Democrat before the election of 1896.²⁵ His career as a campaigner for Republican candidates seems to have ended with the death of McKinley. The break with the party was sharp. In 1904 he published a fulminating campaign pamphlet 79 pages long called *The Trend of the Republican Party* and bearing the legend: "Thou art weighed in the balances of the Constitution and found wanting." The immediate stimulus seems to have been a strong antipathy toward Theodore Roosevelt. Beyond the fact that it had once been for the abolition of slavery, Dos Passos Sr. saw little good in the party. It was living on past achievements. McKinley had sought to revive it, but his death had extinguished all hope.²⁶ His successor, Theodore Roosevelt, had not only violated international law by arranging a revolution in Colombia, but he had also, in the Spooner Act which he had negotiated with Nicaragua, violated the command of Congress.²⁷

The Republican Party had begun to "do things" to the Constitution long before Mr. Roosevelt's accession, the elder Dos Passos charged. Roosevelt was not "the author of *all* their strenuosity."²⁸ First, the party had kept the Southern states out of the Union, although the entire purpose of the war had been to keep them in; the Republicans had, moreover, placed the South in the power of carpetbaggers and adventurers. Second, the party had attacked the executive branch of the government by unjustly trying to impeach Andrew Johnson. Third, it had packed the Supreme Court in order to reverse its decision declaring unconstitutional the law creating greenbacks legal tender; this packing had created a precedent that might be used by unscrupulous factions to defeat the Constitution. Fourth, the party had dishonestly placed Hayes in the Presidency, though Tilden had been elected.²⁹ Finally, it had undermined representative federal government by "muzzling free speech" in Congress through a Committee on Rules and by placing Congress under the domination of an oligarchy of 24 members.³⁰

The Republican orators claimed responsibility for the material wealth of the nation. The elder Dos Passos doubted the justice or even the pertinence of this claim. It was true that the incentive to wealth was honorable

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

²⁵ Letter to author from Dos Passos, June 26, 1956.

²⁶ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *The Trend of the Republican Party* (New York, 1904), p. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

and useful, he added, and that the nation ought to encourage it. But money had become a substitute for character. It was being used to buy social and political position. Of what use was the new material prosperity, he asked, if the nation was not more elevated and refined than before?³¹

The elder Dos Passos once stated in his son's hearing that with his ideas he could not be elected a notary public or a dog-catcher in any county of the state, not if he had all the money in the world.³² The idea of a common Anglo-American citizenship would certainly have been used against him with telling effect if he had sought public office. At least two other of his ideas would have harmed him. First, there was his desire to deny citizenship—or at least the vote—to the foreign-born in the United States. In *The Anglo-Saxon Century*, Dos Passos Sr. had maintained that admixture of blood makes a nation strong and is necessary for the diffusion of civilization. In the United States, he had added, foreigners assimilated themselves almost immediately to the laws, manners and conditions of the country; they became the most fervent advocates of democracy.³³ Four years later, in an address that he delivered to the Virginia State Bar Association, he reversed the opinion. There were two defects hampering government in the United States, he told the audience. One was the inordinate increase in the number of representatives in the lower houses of the United States Congress and of state assemblies. The other was the indiscriminate admission of foreigners to citizenship and suffrage.³⁴ Liberal naturalization laws, inevitable in the early days of the republic, had now become a menace. They had destroyed the prestige and honor that had once been attached to American citizenship and had dampened the patriotism of native-born citizens. So long as interchangeable citizenship between countries where English law and the English language prevailed remained an unrealized dream, he wished to strengthen the United States so that it could advance its destiny alone. To make America a union of citizens who understood and valued the rights of life, liberty and property, he called for the denial of suffrage to the "rabble and refuse of foreign countries." Only "descendants of American parents" should be allowed to vote. If the country had to encourage immigration, it should grant newcomers citizenship without suffrage.³⁵

Most of the evils in the country arose, Dos Passos Sr. felt, from the ignorance or apathy of the voters. There being no way of curtailing the

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

³² Dos Passos, *The 42nd Parallel*, p. 174.

³³ Dos Passos Sr., *Anglo-Saxon Century*, pp. 103-5.

³⁴ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *The Results and Responsibilities of Our Representative Democracy* (n.d.), p. 7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

suffrage, he stated subsequently in an argument against proposals for direct primaries, the true friend of the people was the one who provided means of protecting them against their own imperfections:³⁶ "Vox populi, vox dei" did not apply when the people were drunk with passion; then *vox populi* was the voice of the devil.³⁷ The indirect nomination of officials was in sympathy with the form and theory of the United States government, while the increasing number and complexity of public questions made the professional politician necessary.³⁸ If the people chose, nominated and elected their officers, there would be mob elections.³⁹ The direct primary reminded the elder Dos Passos of the secret ballot, a disastrous experiment which, he charged, had converted the free American citizen into a sneak; its abolition would be a real reform.⁴⁰

He expressed his suspicion of democracy again two years later in a pamphlet arguing against a proposition to have United States senators elected directly by the people. The pamphlet as a whole dealt with the rights of property, the nature of the original Union and the fact that the Senate was an advisory and a judicial as well as a legislative body.⁴¹ The United States Senate, like the British House of Lords, Dos Passos declared, protected property against attacks by excited masses. All classes of the people being property owners, property interests were entitled to as much protection as the personal rights of the proletariat. (The word *proletariat*, which was coming into use, he added interestingly, was in this country as yet happily limited to the individual who could pack his belongings in a satchel and segregate himself from society.)⁴² Unless the identity of the Senate were maintained, he warned, America might be faced with a situation reminiscent of the French Revolution.⁴³

Law reform was one of the elder Dos Passos' continuing interests. During the final years of his life he worked for it more actively than ever before. He went so far as to get William Jennings Bryan, against whom he had campaigned in 1896, to insert in the platform of the Democratic Party a plank pledging such reform. Dos Passos Sr. tried to effect changes in criminal law procedure. The idea that a defendant in a criminal trial ought not to be compelled to testify against himself he traced back to the ecclesiastical insistence on forgiving sins. The doctrine ought never, he declared, to have been transferred to the criminal system.⁴⁴ He insisted

³⁶ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *Observations of John R. Dos Passos upon the Question of Direct Primary* (1909), p. 4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

⁴¹ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *Some Observations on the Proposition to Elect United States Senators by the People* (1911), *passim*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁴ John R. Dos Passos Sr., special article on desirable reforms in administration of New York State criminal law, *New York Times*, March 1, 1914, Sec. 5, p. 4.

that equality before the law did not exist. Two thousand dollars bail was a bagatelle for a millionaire but might be impossible for a poor man to raise. Court-appointed lawyers did not work as long or as well as the expensive lawyers whom rich men hired. After his conviction, a wealthy man could get a "stay," but a poor man went to jail. Part of the solution which he advocated was a less reverent attitude toward mere legal technicalities and the establishment of an office of Public Defender to protect the rights of the accused.⁴⁵

To Dos Passos Sr. law reform included reforming the lawyer, or purifying and ennobling the profession,⁴⁶ as he put it. In one of his most memorable books, *The American Lawyer*, he noted that until the Civil War, lawyers had been the social and intellectual aristocrats of the country.⁴⁷ At about that time, law had begun to change from a profession to a business.⁴⁸ Wealth had stolen the lawyer's social position. Many of his duties, such as title searching and collecting bills, had been taken from him by business organizations composed of laymen. Now the lawyer was merely a good businessman. He cared nothing for jurisprudence. Too often he cultivated "every kind of equivocal quality" as a means to success.⁴⁹ As for patriotism, many lawyers would mangle the Federal or a state constitution beyond recognition to win a case.⁵⁰

The modern lawyer, Dos Passos Sr. charged, was dishonest. He did not concern himself with how his conduct affected the administration of justice or the welfare of the state. He knowingly put forth false pleas and defenses; while claiming to be the representative of his client in court, he was actually the principal actor.⁵¹

Dos Passos Sr. closed *The American Lawyer* with a list of underlying difficulties and with some suggested remedies. The remedies included better prelaw and law school education and a longer apprenticeship; the abolition of case law as the fundamental method of legal instruction; an increased emphasis on jurisprudence; a reduction in the number of lawyers in order to improve their morale; and a distinctive gown or badge for lawyers to wear in court to increase respect for the profession.⁵²

Dos Passos Sr. wrote two books in which he dealt with a subject that has never ceased to occupy his son's attention, the concentration of corporate wealth in the United States. It was probably the most vexing economic problem of the day. Dos Passos Sr.'s first book on the subject, *Com-*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, February 8, 1914, Sec. 2, p. 4; letter to the editor, *New York Times*, February 7, 1915, Sec. 8, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Letter to the editor, *New York Times*, January 4, 1914, Sec. 2, p. 14.

⁴⁷ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *The American Lawyer: As He Was—as He Is—as He Can Be* (New York, 1919), p. 23. The book first appeared in 1907.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 164-85.

mercial Trusts, was a revision of an argument that he delivered before the Industrial Commission in Washington, D. C., in 1899.⁵³ The second book, *Commercial Mortmain*, was published seventeen years after his appearance before the Commission. They are significant books because they describe the development of his outlook on the growth of huge corporations.

In *Commercial Trusts*, Dos Passos Sr. stressed the fact that modern commerce could not thrive without aggregated capital.⁵⁴ As trusts were simply one form of such capital, there was no sense in attacking them alone, he wrote; a realistic attack would have to include partnerships and corporations and would imperil a system under which the country had developed and become prosperous.⁵⁵ (What was more, if it was wrong to combine capital, it was wrong to combine labor.)⁵⁶ Restrictions such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Acts remained unexecuted because the natural laws of trade defy human legislation.⁵⁷ These same natural laws could be relied on to prevent or demolish most commercial monopolies, particularly if they attempted to raise prices to an unusual level.⁵⁸ Legislators ought to remember that when they attacked any of the great industrial combinations, they were harming not the leaders, who could take care of themselves, but hosts of innocent stockholders.⁵⁹

If aggregated capital forced some individuals to suffer, he added, such misfortune during the course of economic development had been the rule from the beginning of the world; the question was one of discovering the greatest good for the greatest number.⁶⁰ If corporations corrupted legislators or judges, there were already penal laws to cover the situation. Besides, it was an unfortunate fact that legislatures often forced businesses to use illegitimate methods to obtain privileges that were entirely proper and necessary.⁶¹

Though Dos Passos Sr.'s argument in 1901 was against either the Federal or the state governments' imposing further restrictions on the growth of aggregated capital,⁶² it conceded that the problem was new and that answers were not yet available; a few more years of experience with the huge combinations would show whether they were good or bad for the country.⁶³ Perhaps his professional commitments at the time led him, consciously or unconsciously, to minimize the dangers of aggregated capital. By 1916 he had altered many of his opinions. The desire to concentrate had become a craze, he wrote. In a few years every business would

⁵³ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *Commercial Trusts* (New York, 1901), p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69, 71-72.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 118-26.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

be merged into a corporation. Great aggregations of capital would run all industrial enterprises and would allow people with brains and talent to be no more than their clerks and liveried servants. The commercial and industrial oligarchies would profoundly change the form of the government. They might seek control of newspapers. Their leaders might one day be able to dictate the financial policy of the United States.⁶⁴

Already, he noted, some individuals had become so rich that they could force any industry into one corporation and arbitrarily assign to themselves enormous compensation as promotion expenses.⁶⁵ Was it not possible that the magnates would eventually gain control of all three branches of the Federal government, if not by outright bribery, then by indirect methods?⁶⁶ One could no longer rely on restraint based on moral sense, properly the most important bulwark of the republic. Money had no conscience.⁶⁷

The belief that the fundamental aim of an individual or a nation was to make money had, he added, become widespread. It had led to an aristocracy of wealth, claiming social superiority only because it possessed money. This class threatened to become a fourth branch of the government, one that would gradually wipe out the checks and balances of the republican system.⁶⁸

Dos Passos Sr. insisted, as he had in *Commercial Trusts*, that the answer did not lie with antitrust acts. The country could not treat the normal processes of business as a crime.⁶⁹ It should look to certain "natural remedies" to aid it in controlling trust and other forms of aggregated capital. These remedies included new inventions; the concentration of labor (which, nevertheless, he again insisted was as obnoxious as that of capital); extravagance; and mismanagement. The country should deny tariff protection to articles controlled by trusts. Finally, it should give the Federal government full power regarding questions of aggregated capital and wealth, rather than seek to deal with them through forty-eight different states. The power, which should be wielded through a reapplied common law punishing acts against public trade, should not be applicable indis-

⁶⁴ John R. Dos Passos Sr., *Commercial Mortmain* (New York, 1916), pp. 52-64.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁶⁶ A former law partner of Dos Passos Sr. wrote: "I have not read *Commercial Mortmain* in many years, but should say that my late uncle and partner in writing it was expressing himself in general terms, and not in opposition to any particular group of financiers.

"You see, my uncle was both an advocate and an author. In the former capacity he was intent on advancing the interests of his clients, while in the latter he was expressing his own views as based upon historical precedents." Letter to author from Cyril F. dos Passos, June 16, 1957.

⁶⁷ Dos Passos Sr., *Commercial Mortmain*, p. 63.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

criminally to all aggregations of capital, but only to those which were real evils.⁷⁰

The nearest approach to a remedy for the problem of unlimited individual wealth and of trusts, he held, was through taxation, much of which could be imposed under the new income tax amendment. The government might license monopolies for a fee, or it might heavily tax corporations that had attained monopolistic powers, the taxes being a charge for the privilege of enjoying the powers. The government could fix prices of the products of monopolies at reasonable levels and receive thereby almost enough money to operate without further taxation. Under all circumstances, the government would always retain the power of dissolving monopolies.

A good criterion for declaring a "monopoly," Dos Passos Sr. wrote, was the earning power of a person or a business. A point had now been reached where huge corporate and individual incomes had to be taxed by the government and individual fortunes limited. (Some of the fortunes were so large that it would require a most phenomenal extravagance to dissipate them.⁷¹) Twenty-five million dollars might be set as a limit for personal fortunes and all annual income in excess of 4 per cent of that amount (one million dollars) be subjected to taxation. A chartered steel monopoly earning one hundred and fifty million dollars in profits might pay one third in taxes.⁷²

The elder Dos Passos lived through his son's Harvard days and remained a public figure during that entire period. The effect upon Dos Passos of his father or the memory of him has been complex. It is easy to speak of the son as, early in life, rebelling against his father's ideas and attitudes. The elder Dos Passos' sympathies were usually with the top-dog. Although Dos Passos Sr. was the son of a Portuguese immigrant, he identified himself with a triumphant Anglo-Saxon race. He would have denied suffrage to immigrants. He advocated imperialism on the ground that it would benefit American business. In so far as he called for reform, he seems to have done so, not from an urge to help particular human beings, but from a desire to perfect institutions. The son, on the other hand, found himself in sympathy with Mediterranean anarchists, exploited immigrant laborers and Mexican peons.⁷³

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-100.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 79-100.

⁷³ See, for instance, John Dos Passos, *Rosinante to the Road Again* (New York, 1922), *passim*; *Facing the Chair* (Boston, 1927), pp. 57-58; "Zapata's Ghost Walks," *New Masses*, III (September 1927), 11-12.

Nevertheless, the extent to which the novelist shared interests, ideas and attitudes with his father is significant. The father was and the son was to become vitally interested in politics and economics. Both men declared that an increasing concentration of wealth might destroy democratic government. The elder Dos Passos believed in reform, and he asserted his views with courage and independence, just as his son was to do. The father's thinking had an ethical basis. Despite some of his views on domestic politics and imperialism, members of the family remember the elder Dos Passos as a libertarian and an antimilitarist.⁷⁴ Some of his ideas, such as that of an Anglo-American union, were as unorthodox as any that his son was to express. Both father and son complained of the tendency in America to over-value material goods, and both contrasted material surfeit with intellectual and artistic distinction.

Let us compare two quotations. The first is from the elder Dos Passos' pamphlet condemning the Republican Party in 1904. Dos Passos Sr. raised the problem of how important material prosperity is.

But the nation is deeply concerned with the question as to the influence which this prosperity has had upon the manhood and character of our people. Are we better for it? Have we made real ethical progress? Do we know ourselves better? Are we more elevated, refined and enlightened? How is our literature? How is histrionic art? Do we better understand the duties of citizenship? In the treatment of our neighbors—of our inferiors—are we just and fair? The picture of prosperity has two sides. The Republican party has only shown the nation the material, sensuous one.⁷⁵

The other is from his son's impassioned essay "A Humble Protest," which appeared in the undergraduate literary magazine *Harvard Monthly* during his senior year. The essay is a condemnation of the industrial era.

Except for the single triumph of liberalism over superstition in all its forms, religious, political, moral, which was the French Revolution, can we honestly say that life is intenser, that art is greater, that thought is more profound in our age than in the reign of Elizabeth? . . . You cannot honestly affirm that opportunity for producing great art,—and art is certainly one of the touchstones, if not *the* touchstone of a civili-

⁷⁴ Cyril F. dos Passos stated in his letter: "Mr. dos Passos [*sic*] was always a 'liberal,' and would be called today a libertarian. . . . He was a great individualist, and believed that no restriction should be placed upon anyone's action, so long as he did not commit a breach of the peace."

John Dos Passos added an unexpected note: "It's hard for you to imagine how normal for an American an anti-militarist attitude was before 1917—My father bitterly opposed the Spanish-American war." Letter to author, January 1957.

⁷⁵ Dos Passos Sr., *Trend of the Republican Party*, p. 77.

zation,—or even the opportunity for a general interest in the forms of beauty, is greater than it was three centuries and a half ago. Most thoughtful people will say it is less. . . .⁷⁶

Like his father, Dos Passos attacked materialism; but he showed in his essay a concern with the economically depressed classes of society which was absent in the father's writings. Dos Passos also placed a much higher value on the French Revolution than did Dos Passos Sr. who seems to have steeped himself in the philosophy and values of eighteenth-century American Federalism.

If we are to discuss revolutions, we ought not to forget that eighteenth-century Federalism did not disown them. Nor ought we to forget the elder Dos Passos' pamphlet on Cuba, for part of his reasoning there is based on Locke's defense of the English Revolution of 1688 and on the philosophical justification of the American Revolution. It may seem strange that we should stop to consider arguments that must have been on the tongues of many people during the Cuba crisis of the 1890s and with which everyone is more or less familiar. But it is important that Dos Passos was exposed to a philosophy that held rebellion to be a possibility and a right and that he very likely heard it vigorously proclaimed by a conservative gentleman who admired Burke,⁷⁷ abhorred radicalism and never dreamed of his son's applying revolutionary doctrine to the United States. What might happen, though, if the son should become convinced that personal liberty and personal security were being abolished by an oligarchy (the father used that word over and over again⁷⁸) in the United States and should become despondent about the possibility of democratic redress? The novelist was to come to such convictions and despondency between 1917, when the United States entered World War I, and 1927, when Massachusetts executed the radicals Sacco and Vanzetti.

⁷⁶ John Dos Passos, "A Humble Protest," *Harvard Monthly*, LXII (June 1916), 118.

⁷⁷ Dos Passos Sr., *Commercial Trusts*, p. 121.

⁷⁸ Dos Passos Sr., *Commercial Mortmain*, pp. 52, 84, 97.



Notes

The Love Comics and American Popular Culture

ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY, IN SMALL TOWN DRUGSTORES, AT ROADSIDE drive-ins, or in big city news-and-tobacco shops, the wall-shelf arrayed with dime comic books is a familiar sight. Here is a form of popular literature, and, like any literature, it must have its *raison d'être*. If you begin to browse, you will soon notice that these little booklets fall into specific categories. There are, for example, the "love comics," which seem to be directed, for the most part, to the interests of teen-aged American girls. Their heroines are usually girls in their late teens. Usually, they are distinctly lower-middle-class girls. Their families have achieved a measure of ease and comfort, but not without impressing upon their daughters the struggle that was required of them. Girls in these stories are ordinarily finishing high school, or else they have just lately graduated and are working at non-career jobs, as stenographers, general office help, or as practical nurses, or in a few cases as waitresses. Their main concern, while ostensibly love, is actually marriage—an early marriage, and one with stability and security.

Where the girl's home life is portrayed, we usually find an aproned mother, looking old before her time, puttering in the kitchen and freely giving advice ("Why do you stay at home, instead of going out with some nice young man?"). The character of the heroine is defined for us in terms of her social background; her job is a temporary affair, and is only incidental to the story. With the men, on the other hand, our impressions are based on occupation and ambitions. The boys who finally win the heroines' affections generally are several years older, and quite well established in their jobs. Some are white-collar workers, and can afford to be free spenders. Others are blue-collar workers (truck drivers, factory foremen, cab drivers), with ambitions of one day becoming a partner in the firm, or having a business of their own. A few are wealthy, and have college degrees. Quite common too (in magazines written predominantly for small-town girls) is the boy who has been promised management of his dad's store.

The names of these magazines, then, may be misleading (*Love Journal*, *Teen-Age Temptations*, *True Life Secrets*, *Romantic Secrets*), unless one

understands the special meaning behind these titles. The love comic does not deal simply with the happy anticipation of romance and courtship. But neither does it attempt to deal directly with its readers' specific anxieties regarding an early marriage and security. These separate anxieties are reduced to a single question: How is one to know who is the right man to marry? And the stereotyped answer is this: that for every woman, security and true love are to be found in one and the same man; that she cannot fail to find genuine dollar security with the man who really loves her, and, on the other hand, she will never find security of any kind with a man whose love for her is false. The message of the girls' comics is that there is a mystique that connects (1) a girl's concern for goodness in a man (his honesty, his reliability, his character), (2) her desire for a good provider, and (3) her wish for love and romance. These stories offer their readers two kinds of advice: advice on how to judge character in men, and advice on how a girl can best come to terms with her own ambitions and desires. Above all, they teach the lesson that the girl must know how to recognize and value what is genuine, both in life and in love. Each story is but a dramatization of this lesson.

In each of these magazines there are three or four stories. The stories are endlessly repetitive, all having the same form and roughly the same subject matter. The basic pattern of the narrative is quite simple: the heroine is dissatisfied with her situation in life, and decides to embark on some sort of adventure—either a job in the city, or a more lively circle of friends, or a play for the most handsome boy in the neighborhood—and through this adventure the true nature of love is revealed to her. The little escapade is the heart of the story, and constitutes her “sin.”

The locale of most of these stories is the American small town. Occasionally it is given a name, like “Westfield.” Boredom with life in her home town is generally what provokes the heroine into her escapade. A few magazines, aimed specifically at city girls, attempt to transplant the frustrations of life in a small town into a city neighborhood setting, but the basic plot remains very much the same. The heroine's boredom may be with her home town, or her parents, or her high school clique, or her “steady” boyfriend—or, most commonly, with all of these put together. The dull boyfriend (“conservative,” he is sometimes called) is a recurrent figure, and must present quite a problem to the girls who follow these stories devotedly.

The heroines also feel they aren't being treated royally enough by their boyfriends, that they aren't receiving enough attention, that they aren't the center of excitement for their beaux and their friends. In a word, they would like to be pampered just a bit more. This desire for excitement

and for attention accounts always for the heroine's escapade. She may want success and fame (although success may only mean becoming a private secretary in an advertising agency, and fame may only mean going to New York to dance in a chorus line). More important, she wants the luxuries of a glamorous (city) life. She wants the gaiety of night life. She wants fine dresses and furs, and perhaps a yellow convertible. And she wants to be escorted by a Broadway smoothie. In the end, of course, she is taught that all these things are false, and that lasting happiness (and lasting excitement) can be found only in life's simpler things. She is taught to be content with the homey life she grew up with. Yet while she is made to repent her adventure, she generally comes off with a better man than she would otherwise have found; and she is never made to feel that she was wrong in wanting more lavish attention from her beaux than she was getting. She gives up her desire for luxuries; but she is left with at least a promise ("I fell in love with you, not your clothes! After we're married, you'll have all the pretty clothes you want!").

The story may on occasion revolve around some flaw in the heroine's character—jealousy, or deceitfulness, or irresponsibility; but only when the story is to be especially melodramatic. All but a few magazines avoid this sort of material. Ordinarily we are led to believe that there are not good and bad girls; only good girls, who have to learn, through experience, to discriminate between good men and bad men. Some of the better magazines attempt to deal with specific problems of teen-aged girls, in a serious and constructive way, thus avoiding in each case the temptation to moralize. But this too is an exception to the rule.

One does occasionally come upon a story in which the heroine seems to be completely lacking in character, and is tossed back and forth like a football between the good men, who try to help her, and the bad men, who try to use her to their advantage. This type of heroine is a passive agent in a world of men, who contend for her attentions and affections and trust. She makes a very bad sort of heroine, and, happily, she is a rare species.

Most stories conclude with the heroine repentant of her encounter with what is false in life, and joyful over her discovery of the true meaning of love—and of course the prospect of an imminent marriage. In the end, a lesson in morality has been taught—a lesson drawn from a moral code that has vaguely Calvinist undertones. Its emphasis is on loyalty and purity of character, truthfulness, honesty and self-respect. It also endorses a genuine anxiety about success in the workaday world. It teaches self-discipline and self-denial where money is concerned, and often preaches "work hard, and save your money." Surely it is a surprise to find that

magazines with titles like *Brides' Romances* and *Real Love* are actually concerned with the religion of frugality; but ostensibly to the writers, and presumably also to the readers of these magazines, frugality and real love can be as closely fitted as the key to the lock. "Love Can't Be Dishonest," reads the title of one of the most revealing of these stories. The heroine, Marge, has been going steady with her classmate, Jimmy. They are rather poor, and cannot afford many of the social functions their school puts on. Jimmy works afternoons at Mr. Robbins' fancy groceries store. One day Jimmy wants so badly to take Marge to the school picnic that he pockets some cash from Mr. Robbins' cash register. Marge persuades him to put it back, and Jimmy tells her: "You're wonderful, Marge, darling . . . I feel clean again!" And she answers: "And that's the way we'll stay, Jimmy—all through life. And after we're grown up and married, you'll be successful, Jimmy. Our good times are coming!"

In some ways this story is not typical. For one thing, it is very unusual for the boy to take the initiative and precipitate the misadventure. For another, this couple is relatively young, and the hero and heroine must wait for financial independence. What is characteristic is that the heroine is *ready* to wait for prosperity. Above all, she has expressly subordinated her desire for affluence to her desire for a clean life and for genuine love. It is this integration of virtue with economic reward that reminds one of the Puritan ethic. If a girl is honest and sincere at all times, if she is truthful with her boyfriend, and if she never pretends to be something that she is not, she will find a good man with these same qualities, and prosperity will come to them, in marriage.

It would be harsh and inaccurate, I think, to say that the morality of the girls' comic is wrong, or that it is unrealistic or harmful. It is oversimplified. It draws the world in black and white—in terms, that is, of the good *versus* the bad; but who can say it is wrong in its fundamentals? We may smile at the overdrawn characters, and the conventions relied upon in telling the story: the older bachelor-villain (probably in his thirties), with his slick black hair and his black moustaches, always lighting his pipe as he schemes (he never actually smokes the pipe), or the younger bachelor-villain, blond and handsome, who is usually a gambler, or a New York promoter. According to the clichés of the love comic, successful career girls always drive yellow convertibles; well-meaning parents always grow anxious when their daughters decide to move to the city and seek their fortunes; and a girl can always rely on just that one decisive kiss to tell her whether or not her boyfriend really trusts and admires her. Yet can we really say, leaving aside these conventions of story-telling, that the girls who read these magazines get a misleading picture of the

world they will have to contend with? If we are impatient with the oversimplification of this "world," we should remember that the girl who counts upon love comics to give (or reinforce) a true picture of life cannot wait too long for the values she will act upon; she must marry early. After her marriage, she will have time enough to absorb the ifs, ands and buts of life; for the present her concern is with how to make the best possible marriage. Granting the immediacy of her concern, these comics must serve her wants more than adequately.

Finally, the stranger to these magazines will be struck, I think, by the feeling of stability he receives in reading them. It is a hard thing to explain, but one senses that he is reading of people for whom life is never easy, for whom every common comfort is the reward of hard work, and yet who never find life an unwieldy, incomprehensible thing. Life is ever challenging, continually putting one's virtues to trial; but the good and bad are always clearly discernible; the fundamentals of life are always in plain view. After reading through a sampling of these magazines, one is apt to come away with an inexplicable feeling that everything is right with the world. It is perhaps in conveying this feeling for the stability of society and the world, that popular culture fulfills its most significant function.

A. W. SADLER, *University of Vermont*

American Council of Learned Societies¹

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES IS THE CO-ORDINATING ASSOCIATION for the humanities. It is made up of 31 societies, of which ASA is one of the newest. The benefits of a body which can speak for the humane associations and in a general sense offer the humanities some leadership are so plain that it is surprising that the ACLS has often had to struggle to stay alive. Currently it enjoys a measure of prosperity but there is no certainty that the noted foundations, rich though they are, will provide the constant support that it needs.

The affairs of the ACLS are managed by a board of directors plus a permanent staff. Aside from electing the directors from a slate, the delegates from the member societies have little to do. They attend the annual meetings of the ACLS, are addressed and fed, and vote on the items set before them. The only way the delegates have shown their independence in the last few years is by rejecting, twice, the request of the board to admit another society to membership. This is not to say that the affairs of

¹ Professor Bode has been ASA delegate to the ACLS since 1962.

the ACLS are managed badly; it is merely to report that it follows the model of a Greek rather than a Jacksonian democracy.

The most important act of the ACLS this past year has been to sponsor, along with Phi Beta Kappa and the Council of Graduate Schools, the formation of a Commission on the Humanities. The creators of the commission no doubt felt, and continue to feel, that what the National Science Foundation has done for the sciences a humanities foundation might do for the humanities. The report stating the plans and policies of the new commission appeared some months ago. In the main the report was sensible if not surprising; the only important point at issue was how official, how political the commission would have to be to enjoy federal funds. There was a perceptible reluctance to become involved with the federal government, along with a certain show of innocence about how the government actually operates. However, this innocence may have been genuine enough, for when the printed report was ready the chairman of the commission, a distinguished educator, asked to see President Lyndon Johnson for a few minutes to present a copy to him and was turned down.

One of the implications of the incident, to me, and of the whole report is that the ACLS as well as the commission will have to pay increasing attention to Washington and the effect of the federal government on the humanities. The center of gravity is moving from New York to Washington, and I should think that it would be a good idea to have an office of the ACLS in Washington, where as a matter of fact it had its headquarters for many years.

During the past year the standard activities of the ACLS included the operation of its program of fellowships and grants-in-aid; the sponsoring of several academic conferences; the continued support of area studies; the facilitating of American attendance at meetings of foreign scholars; and the award of grants to American Studies programs in western European universities and to European scholars interested in American Studies. This allocation has been made by a committee chaired by Professor Robert Spiller. All such activities are clearly worth-while; for these and other accomplishments—the most notable recent one being the role the ACLS played in the emergence of the Commission on the Humanities—the ACLS deserves our support.

CARL BODE, *University of Maryland*

Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

Toward a New Birth of Freedom

SCIENCE IS DIFFICULT AND ITS HISTORY COMPLICATED, BUT IT IS SIMPLER TO describe the advancement of science than to account for the identification of western man with science itself. To account for that identification and to give shape to its meanings is the task of responsible scholarship. Scholars whose first concern is the future of man have no more pressing duty, for it is not two cultures that threaten to divide us. Two visions of man already separate us. Nor is the cleavage one in which science is ranked in opposition to other varieties of knowledge. The cleavage is within science and within what Robert Oppenheimer, somewhat ineptly, has labeled the common understanding. Alfred North Whitehead gave these problems classic dimensions in *Science and the Modern World*.¹ They are historical, moral and metaphysical. The issues have since been deepened by complexity and intensified by misunderstandings of the uncommon man. Whitehead gently chided his colleagues whose sensitive human minds established that they really had none. This suggested a paradox worthy of study. The paradox remains and has sired others. How could knowledge which emancipated man also limit him? Science, it is felt by some, has enslaved mankind. "The logic and tyranny of progress," writes one perceptive student, "gave to the world the progress of total tyranny."² The progress here referred to is the progress of science; tyranny, the sway of mechanism and determinism. If science in truth created the image of a purposeless world of automatic responses and revealed man as the creature of its "forces," the direction of recent scholarship, including science, indicates an altered state of mind.

By what historical process did laymen become devotees of the alleged methods of science and custodians of its putative values? What was the nature of the events which conspired to implicate man so irrevocably in the results of science? "Layman" distinguished the man of the middle ages from the clergy; it now distinguishes the untrained man from specialists, usually scientific ones.

¹ J. Robert Oppenheimer, *Science and the Common Understanding* (New York, 1953). Alfred N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1925). Mentor Edition, 1956.

² Albert Salomon, *The Tyranny of Progress; Reflections on the Origins of Sociology* (New York, 1955), p. 104.

These are the questions which inform the volumes under consideration.³ They are books noble in accomplishment and noble in purpose, for they are written in the humane spirit of criticism which, as Barzun says, seeks "to make two thoughts grow where only one grew before."⁴ Both are designed to mend man's broken image, to restore "the ancestral liberal vision" of the whole man.⁵ Each study parallels the other. Matson is the more detailed since he strives to assess the growth of the physical sciences in relation to the growth of the sciences of man. The rise and fall of the mechanical view of nature in physical and social science constitutes his majestic theme. Little from Descartes to Polyani, especially in the encyclopedic references, is permitted to elude the careful reader. Barzun's approach is also historical but with greater stress on art, literature and the creative life of the spirit. Science as such and its history are pivotal to neither, yet the sweep of scientific developments from the seventeenth century, and particularly from 1750, provides the backdrop for analysis. The specifics in either case are less vital than their symbols; the serried stages of evolution less consequential than their crucial transitions. Central are the results and the subtle texture of social and intellectual mutation. The delicate balance that Whitehead discerned between a "passionate interest in detailed fact" and an "equal devotion to abstract generalization" no longer exists. The time and the balance are out of joint.

A certain verity attaches to older apprehensions. John Donne feared that the philosophy new in his day

. . . calls all in doubt,
The Element of Fire is quite put out;
The sun is lost, and th' earth, and no man's wit
Can well direct him where to look for it.
'Tis all in peeces, all cohaerance gone;
All just supply, and all Relation.⁶

Galileo and Newton amplified the fears of those who later gave voice to John Donne's lament. Disciples of the new science ignored earlier sources of "cohaerance" and substituted tight links of mechanical causation. Matter and force, energy and motion thereafter established "all Relation." Darwin followed Newton and supposedly shattered what remained of the

³ Jacques Barzun, *Science: The Glorious Entertainment*. New York, Harper and Row, 1964, \$6.00. Floyd W. Matson, *The Broken Image Man Science and Society*. New York, George Braziller, 1964, \$6.95.

⁴ Barzun, p. 7.

⁵ Matson, pp. vii-viii.

⁶ Quoted in Matson, p. 20.

world of Donne's companions in thought. Newton and the Enlightenment, in Carl Becker's compelling phrase, "ravished the eighteenth century";⁷ the scientists of Darwin's age demolished the nineteenth. The goal of science, declared Thomas Henry Huxley, is to extend "the province of what we call *matter* and *causation*, and concomitant banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call *spirit* and *spontaneity*."⁸

Huxley's generation did not quite banish spirit or spontaneity from human thought if only for the reason that they could banish neither from their own. They succeeded in banishing feelings, emotions, values and states of mind from the serious consideration of most scientists by the perilous process of ignoring, rejecting or submerging them. They succeeded in separating further the human mind and the human heart from the life and works of man. They substituted a static fragmentary man for a dynamic personality in the process of becoming. They succeeded, in short, in preparing the contemporary world for the climax of the scientific world view. In Michael Polyani's summation it was a world which made "art an emolient of nerves, morality but a convention, tradition but an inertia, God but a psychological necessity. Then man dominates a world in which he himself does not exist."⁹

In 1954, a volume on the psychology of politics was dedicated to a youth "in the hope that he will grow up in a society more interested in psychology than in politics."¹⁰ The transformation on one level had run its behavioral course. Psychology in this version was "behavioral science"; politics was manipulation. Man, no longer a subject, had become an object. When man, with the machine as model in society as in physics, became "natural," Darwin and the Queen's English were both violated. Man was then stripped of his humanity and deprived of his heritage. If in the age of hidden persuaders—a perversion both of language and of thought—scholars heralded the demise of "the technologically obsolete paraphernalia of traditional democratic processes,"¹¹ they also heralded the demise of self government. Although less blatantly, they heralded the demise of man. There can be no self government without selves. Except in a society of men who are persons democracy is a contradiction. Unless we can conceive of men who do things to and for themselves rather than as mere items for whom and to whom things are done, there can be no free society and no free government.

⁷ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁹ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁰ H. J. Eysenck, *The Psychology of Politics* (New York, 1954). Cited in Matson, p. 87.

¹¹ George A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?* (New York, 1947), p. 39. Quoted in Matson, p. 89.

John Donne in the verse already quoted erred in one particular. At every stage men of wit offered the benefit of their insight. At times they were not entirely clear. At other times they were as certain as the most aggressive scientists. Regardless of their differences, a common conviction united them. Science—neither its methods nor its splendid results—did not constitute the whole of life. They protested that knowledge of the external world alone did not provide the sole key to understanding or the sole source of joy. To that extent the intellectual trend was mistaken in its emphasis, mischievous in its assumptions and destructive of human values. Such assumptions violated the total past of human history and exchanged one set of human drives and one set of social results for the whole range of human thought and feeling.

Critics probed these implications from varied grounds; theology, metaphysics, literature, art. Scholars, questing in every branch of learning with or without scientific credentials, exposed unruly particulars as they erupted everywhere and made havoc of clipped generalization. Before the methodologists of science assayed its multiple methods, it was apparent that every induction shared the common fate of statistical probability. Charles Saunders Pierce admonished that the more neatly concepts are formulated, the less they reflect the truth. Louis de Broglie later stressed the need to examine "whether all 'idealizations' are not that much less applicable to reality when they become more complete." "Nothing," he said, "is more misleading than a clear and distinct idea."¹² No inductions are insulated from events in time whether they are events called ideas or ideas called discoveries of science or whether they are the ideas devised to explain other occurrences in the changing lives of men. Even the lordly Bacon contributed a note of warning:

I foresee that if ever men are roused by my admonitions to betake themselves seriously to experiment . . . then indeed through the premature hurry of the understanding to leap or fly to universals and principles of things, great dangers may be apprehended from philosophies of this kind; against which evil we ought even now to prepare.¹³

To prove Bacon mistaken would be hard; it would be harder, short of repression, to prepare for the contingencies of innovation. And repression brings contingencies of its own. Freedom to explore, to criticize, to re-evaluate alone afford protection against the premature hurry of the understanding, a guarantee, however, less certain if specialism has indeed become "as much a chance for protected irresponsibility as for scientific

¹² Louis de Broglie, *The Revolution in Physics* (New York, 1953). Quoted in Matson, p. 317.

¹³ Quoted in Barzun, p. 296.

thoroughness." ¹⁴ Certainly we have beguiled ourselves in equating reputations for particular achievements with a capacity for wider judgment. I. I. Rabi has reminded us that many

have gained the public ear on the basis of prestige acquired through a technical accomplishment quite limited in scope. . . . The fear of being guilty of judgment based on partial knowledge of the facts misleads many judicious people into accepting judgments by others whose knowledge is often even more partial.¹⁵

Democracy, it cannot too often be stressed, requires the *service* of experts; it can *never wholly* depend upon them. The values of a technological civilization, moreover, have enabled men—on all the escalators of life including the escalator of scholarship—to manufacture reputations instead of making them.

The gradual triumph of science since Bacon has become the major premise of a philosophy; the progressive expansion of deterministic mechanism a catalytic of social research. Chroniclers of the scientific movement have organized a large-scale industry among historians who have recorded the outlines in meticulous detail. Following the Enlightenment, the work of Darwin provides the clue to development. The Darwinian debate established the hegemony of science as a vital institution and clothed scientists with the special authority since augmented and retained. Roughly at the same time, events soldered technology and science together. But the electro-magnetic discoveries of Clerk-Maxwell in the 1870s weakened the analogy of machine and cosmos. Magnetism and electricity did not yield to machine analogies and the equations by which Maxwell expressed their relations eluded general understanding. Science gradually became more technical and abstract and the machine became the symbol for science in the popular imagination.

The Darwinian debate broadened the base of science; it also narrowed the base of philosophy. The debate widened the arc of understanding; it also widened the arc of misunderstanding. "The modern malaise deepening to disease," writes Barzun, "cannot be cured until every man has made up his mind about his mind." ¹⁶ Critics of Darwin's partisans diagnosed the malaise in the mid-nineteenth century, and as the future absorbed the past, it became clear that the diagnosis was correct. The debate provoked by the *Origin of Species* cannot be contained within the clichés of historians. The notion of a conflict between science and reli-

¹⁴ Barzun, p. 27.

¹⁵ Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 7-8n.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

gion obscures the more profound clash between two competing views of the world and of man, a clash as old as humanity and as recent as the sciences of behavior. Irrespective of cultural conditions or the terms of controversy, the issue has always been one between concepts of causal necessity and concepts of individual and cultural freedom.

Darwin's contribution to hypotheses of causal mechanism was considerable, but is seldom described adequately by historians of science. While the pattern of his direct influence has been mistakenly presented, his collateral influences have usually been misinterpreted. Social Darwinism, for instance, is a misnomer reflective of a shoddy logic and a shoddier scholarship. After more than a hundred years, Darwinism is still stereotyped as all descent and no man, and evolution conceived as all drift and no mastery.

Matson's vignettes of the history of ideas and Barzun's incisive commentary cannot be abstracted from the context of argument. Scientific techniques and scientific analogies were increasingly applied to man and society. B. F. Skinner, a behavioral psychologist and author of *Walden Two*,¹⁷ wished to purge the vocabulary of science of intractable words. Words such as *meaning*, *intent* and *understanding* inhibited research, but even if they were rooted out of the consciousness of history, their referents could not be. In addition, he devised a psychology of control together with a theory of government in which he seemed "to bestow upon the rulers all the rationality . . . denied to the rules."¹⁸ The search for control has a latent anti-democratic tendency which emerges in an effort to establish the controls discovered. The zest to unravel the laws of behavior seemingly carries with it a zest to enforce them. Extremist claims for the rule of Reason conceal an incipient paternalism. Reason demands a constant balancing with the nature of things. Some things are less subject to control than other things; some can survive only without controls. Reason, though one of the stoutest of human reeds, never grows in isolation.

When the studies of man became behavioral, language was molded into scientific paradigms and behavioral patterns. Lionel Trilling's parody of Romeo and Juliet makes an irresistible point: "their libidinal impulses being reciprocal, they activated their individual erotic drives and integrated them within the same frame of reference."¹⁹ If these scientific words are preferable to Shakespeare's anthropomorphic ones,

¹⁷ *Walden Two* (New York, 1948), a volume of scientific fiction or a utopia based on a version of science. See also his *Science and Human Behavior* (New York, 1953). Matson, pp. 70 ff.

¹⁸ Matson, pp. 76, 69.

¹⁹ Quoted in Barzun, p. 176.

there is hardly a man who was ever alive who has not said it more meaningfully. To stretch such language one scintilla beyond the range of its legitimate purpose is to make a mockery of the most important experiences in human life. The result of such a science of man, as Barzun remarks, is that "the observer is caught in the contradiction . . . which denies man's chief characteristic: articulate consciousness." Leibnitz was probably right after all. To the Lockean formula, *nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu*, Leibnitz added, *excipe: nisi ipse intellectus*. We may safely reject the "subjective, anthropomorphic, hocus-pocus of mentalism" without accepting the "objective, mechanomorphic, hocus-pocus of physicalism."²⁰ To generalize the regularities of experience into ideal categories is as natural as it is indispensable. But we are almost never forced to choose between the magic of vagrant intuitions and the alchemy of irrefutable inductions.

A distressing tinge of naïveté clings to certain unexamined premises of behavioral social science. The historic drive for exactitude, for control and for prediction is understandable, albeit exactitude is often narrow, ideals of control sometimes fanciful and faith in predictability frequently unrestrained. Faith in the unlimited scope of prediction is a form of determinism which discounts the future and commits the historic fallacy. Prejudice is the only warrant for a belief that the science of the future must repeat the patterns of the past.

The "passion for unity" which, as William James tells us, "is in some minds insatiate" affords a more convincing explanation of scholarly drives. While dissecting the compulsions of scientists, James anticipated the psychological shock of recognition that followed the disclosure of relativity.

The stronghold of the deterministic sentiment is the antipathy to the idea of chance. . . . This notion of alternative possibility . . . , is, after all, only a roundabout name for chance: and chance is something the notion of which no sane mind can for an instant tolerate in the world. What is it, they ask, but barefaced crazy unreason, the negation of intelligibility and law? And if the slightest particle of it exist anywhere, what is to prevent the whole fabric from falling . . . ?²¹

The scientific monopoly did not go undisputed. Frenzied humanists, however, were prone to concede too much. To make humanist arts and studies—in other words the oldest and largest segment of the history of mankind—"scientific," constitutes a surrender, not to science, but to

²⁰ Quoted in Matson, p. 107.

²¹ Barzun, p. 287; Matson, p. 310.

criticism. To make man a means rather than an end, is a reversal of the obvious. Objectivity, either of the nature of things or of attitudes toward them, is not a quality inherent in observers or in the things observed. It is a quality of the observation after it has been critically examined and evaluated. It is in itself a judgment.

Practitioners of behavioral science have created their own postulates and a vocabulary appropriate to their use from which, in Santayana's language, they "have not learned to extricate their affections." Despite minority demurrer and the thrust of humanists, science itself provided the source of the "great transformation." "Only experimental research itself . . .," concludes Werner Heisenberg, "provided the basis for a critical analysis . . . and finally resulted in the dissolution of the rigid frame."²² The rigid frame or the great machine, as Oppenheimer described it, was "not only causal and determinate; it was objective in the sense that no human act or intervention qualified its behavior."²³

Quantum physics and atomic research broke up "the stable foundations of physics" and rendered "the old foundations of scientific thought . . . unintelligible." What sense is there, Whitehead asks, in "talking about a mechanical explanation when you do not know what you mean by mechanics?"²⁴

Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy and Niels Bohr's principle of complementarity revised the substance of hypotheses and the canons of method. Simultaneous knowledge of position and velocity was unattainable in microphysics. Nature on this level at least could not be studied without altering it. Einstein's findings of 1905 had already indicated that observation is inseparably linked to the observer, and Heisenberg affirms:

We can no longer consider 'in themselves' those buildingstones of matter which we originally held to be the last objective reality. This is so because they defy all forms of objective location in space and time, and since basically it is always our *knowledge* of these particles alone which we can make the object of science. . . . From the very start we are involved in the argument between nature and man in which science plays only a part, so that the common division of the world into subject and object, inner world and outer world, body and soul, is no longer adequate and leads us into difficulties. Thus even in science the object of research is no longer nature itself, but man's investigation of nature. Here, again, man confronts himself alone.²⁵

²² Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy: The Revolution in Modern Science* (New York, 1958), p. 198. Quoted in Matson, p. 130.

²³ Oppenheimer, *Common Understanding*, pp. 13-14.

²⁴ Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, Mentor Ed., pp. 17-18.

²⁵ Werner Heisenberg, *The Physicist's Conception of Nature* (New York, 1958), p. 24. Quoted in Matson, pp. 144-45.

Students of nature and therefore students of society had to learn to accommodate themselves to the "tolerance of ambiguity":

the course of all events is much more like a continual game of dice, so that each separate step corresponds to a new throw. The decision, as between a causal and a statistical view of the world, has fallen in favour of statistics.²⁶

Percy Bridgman is even more emphatic:

It is a commonplace that we can never know anything about anything without getting into some sort of connection with it, either direct or indirect. . . . This means that no knowledge of any physical property or even mere existence is possible without interaction.²⁷

Bohr's principle became an "evocative analogy" ²⁸ for the study of human experience. Those who studied man could escape it no more than those who studied nature. The evocative analogy has led to fresh insights, new appraisals and new departures in all branches of learning. Bohr's principle—and Einstein's and Heisenberg's as well—have led students of man back to the "ancestral vision" and forward to revisionary analyses of mind, self and society. Research has rediscovered the personality, the ego and the human identity. Together they promise a new birth of freedom for man and for scholarship. If man did not have a mind, a conscience and a personality, he would have been forced to invent them.

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG, *Sarah Lawrence College*

LAWRENCE W. CHISOLM, *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture*. xiv, 297 pp. 13 plates. Yale University Press, 1963. \$7.50.

WILLIAM L. NEUMANN, *America Encounters Japan*. xii, 354 pp. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963. \$6.50.

THESE highly engaging books prove the vitality of two traditional historical genres, biography and narrative, for examining the interactions of two nations. They succeed, in spite of the limitation that neither draws upon knowledge of Japanese scholarship. Both in fact betray ignorance in basic misconceptions of Japan and in a variety of howlers. Both are also inadequate in the simple historical discipline of acknowledging

²⁶ Hans Reichenbach, *Atom and Cosmos: The World of Modern Physics* (New York, 1953), pp. 278-79. Quoted by Matson, p. 312.

²⁷ Percy Bridgman, *Reflections of a Physicist* (New York, 1950), pp. 94-95, 373. Quoted by Matson, p. 431.

²⁸ The phrase is Robert Oppenheimer's.

sources. We would like to know the dates of the newspapers Mr. Neumann so pointedly quotes and whether he has read Stimson's memoirs himself. Mr. Chisolm's footnotes sometimes indicate only his lesser debts to his sources, and he manages to cite works in Japanese, which he does not read. Misunderstood Chinese characters enrapture him in Chapter 17, "A Poetics for Cosmopolis," whatever that may mean.

Yet it is true that the books will interest even those who consider themselves well-informed. Mr. Neumann writes with great force and a sense of historical drama. He is perhaps too conscious of writing a revisionist history—arguing that intransigent and conflicting American ideals led to the Pacific War—ideas taught me while a soldier at the University of Wisconsin in 1944. Ideas are no less true for repetition, however, and carry conviction when born of reflection and presented with vigor. If necessarily narrower in scope, Mr. Chisolm's book is the more profound because based upon more thorough, genuinely fresh research. Fenollosa and many others, ideas and feelings, artistic issues and historical currents stir anew in his copiously detailed and yet warmly humane study.

In these books the old historical genres live again because they live in the minds of their authors. Mr. Chisolm's humane discernment and Mr. Neumann's good judgment suggest that the success of biography or narrative in inter-cultural study can depend not so much upon linguistic training as authorial character.

EARL MINER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

WALT WHITMAN, *The Correspondence of Walt Whitman*, Volume III, 1876-1885. Edited by Edwin Haviland Miller. ix, 473 pp. New York University Press, 1964. \$10.00.

WALT WHITMAN, *Prose Works 1892*, Volume II, *Collect and Other Prose*. Edited by Floyd Stovall. viii, 445 pp. New York University Press, 1964. \$10.00.

THE third of five volumes of *The Correspondence* makes available over six hundred and fifty letters, the great majority never published before. The chief interest lies in their revelations concerning Whitman's personal life. Covering the years in which Whitman was weakened by the crippling paralysis of 1873, the letters nevertheless radiate a personal magnetism which contrasts dramatically with his physical debilitation. The letters testify to Whitman's worldwide fame and to the many foreigners who came to the modest Camden home to pay him homage. Scattered through the letters are acute and sensitive observations on the American scene.

With the present volume, Professor Stovall completes his monumental edition of the writings that Whitman collected in 1892 under the title *Complete Prose Works*. The selections range widely. "Democratic Vistas," his most pretentious prose work, is a penetrating analysis of American democracy with its depravity and corruption in business and public life, its hypocrisy and unbelief in religion, and its vulgarity and shallowness in culture. Democracy, however, with all its weaknesses, is the only hope for the future since it alone provides the highest possible freedom for the individual. Other selections warn that the wealth of America must not blind her to the life of the spirit and that the facts of science must not vitiate man's faith in the divine purpose in life. Accepting Darwinism as a significant advance, he is unwilling, however, to admit that it finally answers questions of origin and destiny. One of the several essays devoted to Abraham Lincoln records in vivid, journalistic prose the details of his assassination; others assess his significance for America and the world. There are terse, realistic memoranda of the Civil War; brief but penetrating notes on strikes and other social and economic concerns of his day; and sensitively recorded impressions of varied aspects of the American scene. The volume also contains critical essays and the three early Prefaces to *Leaves of Grass*, in which Whitman displays unusual acumen in appraising his own work as well as that of his contemporaries.

The chief impression to emerge from these volumes is that of the sensitivity and insight of Whitman as he records in vigorous, although at times delicate, prose the many-faceted life of the America in which he lived.

CLARENCE A. BROWN, *Marquette University*

BEATRICE WEBB'S AMERICAN DIARY, 1898. Edited with an introduction by David A. Shannon. xvi, 181 pp. University of Wisconsin Press, 1963. \$4.50.

MADELEINE B. STERN, *We the Women, Career Firsts of 19th Century America*. xii, 403 pp. Schulte Publishing Company, 1963. \$7.95.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL, *American Feminists*. xii, 223 pp. University of Kansas Press, 1963. \$4.50.

WHILE these three books concern women who contributed to social changes in the nineteenth century, they vary in a number of ways. Mrs. Webb's diary deals with women's rights only incidentally, because the Webbs were studying municipal government during their 1898 trip to the United States. Miss Stern concentrates on women who struggled to succeed in a man's world but who were not interested in women's rights

as such. Professor Riegel describes the American feminist movement with some stress on significant figures.

Students of U.S. urban history and government should be especially rewarded by Mrs. Webb's diary. The Webbs came to the United States in 1898 to learn what they could of municipal government. They questioned mayors, aldermen, governors, businessmen and other American leaders. They observed city councils, state legislatures and Congress in action. Mrs. Webb recorded her reactions candidly, somewhat colored by her English point of view.

The diary compares English and American approaches to government. It presents delightful cameos of American leaders. Above all, it provides additional knowledge of Beatrice Webb's personality and ideas.

We the Women depicts the careers of fourteen women who pioneered in fields generally open only to men in the nineteenth century—dime-novel writing, architecture, telegraphy, dentistry, chemistry, college teaching and business. Miss Stern maintained that women's rights were more effectively advanced by individuals working in occupations of their choice than by feminist lecturers and demonstrators. A successful female architect or business woman proved what the lecturers were saying, that women were equal in ability to men and should be allowed equal rights.

Miss Stern's capsule biographies are packed with interesting and pertinent information about her subjects and their chosen fields. In addition to recounting the tremendous odds facing career women in the nineteenth century, Miss Stern captures the stirring social ferment of the times. She shows that the American desire for independence was not just a male trait, but one shared by both sexes.

Professor Riegel attempts much more than Miss Stern in much less space. Perhaps this is why *American Feminists* seems a bit incomplete in spots. The subject is fascinating and much of what Professor Riegel presents is provocative. However, there are frustrating blanks that come where some climaxes in the account are expected. This may result from gaps in the available documents or from the limited space of the book.

The focus is on the feminist movement including its crackpot phases as well as its constructive goals and accomplishments. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan Brownell Anthony and Lucy Stone are given the most thorough treatment in a rather extensive cast of characters. Probably the most fruitful element of *American Feminists* is Professor Riegel's speculation as to the motivations of the feminists.

Taken together, these books reveal the great variety in the advances made by women in the nineteenth century.

FREDERIC COPLE JAHER, *Doubters and Dissenters: Cataclysmic Thought in America, 1885-1918*. 275 pp. The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964. \$5.95.

MOST of the sitters for this group portrait were never in their lives together under the same roof. The larger figures, except for the Adams brothers, were not linked by ties of class, church, school or party. And except for Brooks Adams, whose *Law of Civilization and Decay* affected Jack London's thought, none of the group seems to have influenced other members of it at a distance. Yet Mr. Jaher has a legitimate reason for posing his deliberately random assortment of Populists, Brahmins, jingoists, anti-imperialists, socialists and racists so that they may be viewed as a group. When he shows us likenesses between Ignatius Donnelly and Henry Adams or between Mary Elizabeth Lease and Homer Lea, he lets us see that they are accounted for by factors which cut across the lines of blood, social position and region. From the common elements of thought and feeling of disparate contemporaries we gain a sense of the national culture.

The people Mr. Jaher studies were not men and women of good hope. In their pessimism about the drift of American events they discerned a senseless cycle of rise and fall or they awaited a day of wrath which would end all and begin nothing. Mr. Jaher believes that they feared too much and hoped too little. He sees a paranoid element in their despair, an inclination to read their personal misfortunes as omens of national doom; and he permits himself ironies about their prophecies which clash with the pervading warmth of his tone. The dire pronouncements of his cataclysmic thinkers, he tells us, were uttered at a time when "undoubtedly, the United States was on the rise." He does not tell us on the rise to what. Perhaps the historian of personal and class disaster has to establish his own point of view before he can make effective use of irony.

Doubters and Dissenters might be conveniently (and honorably) shelved in a personal library next to Charles Madison's *Critics and Crusaders*. Such catchy titles raise a problem of style which concerns anyone who would turn a good dissertation into a better book. Mr. Jaher's solution, it appears, is to give way to alliteration. From the title to the conclusion ("A Postscript from the Past") he smites us with a relentless parade of "tattered troops" and "ragged regiments" which form the background for "Populist Portraits" and the analysis of "Populist Perspectives." Meanwhile, from the serried though anxious ranks of the Bostonians ("Uneasy Aristocrats") emerges "Brooks Adams: Belligerent Brahmin." It is a pity to see an intrinsically rational and valuable work defaced by nervous ornamentation.

DAVID HERRESHOFF, *Wayne State University*

SUSAN J. TURNER, *A History of The Freeman, Literary Landmark of the Early Twenties*. xi, 204 pp. Columbia University Press, 1963. \$4.50.

WILLIAM WASSERSTROM, *The Time of The Dial*. 194 pp. Syracuse University Press, 1963. \$4.95.

A Dial Miscellany. Edited with an introduction by William Wasserstrom. xxx, 372 pp. Syracuse University Press, 1963. \$9.00.

THESE two journals, *The Freeman* (1920-24) and the *Dial* of the Thayer-Warren era (1920-29) were perhaps, with the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, the chief agents in giving form and direction to the movement of the previous decade which Van Wyck Brooks named when he called Randolph Bourne a "literary radical." As organs of that movement, each of them picked an aspect of what had been merely a revolt against the nineteenth century and so helped to create the literary renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s.

Miss Turner has given us a straightforward account of the career of the *Freeman*. Founded by Mrs. Helen Swift Neilson for her British husband Francis Neilson as a Single Tax organ, it was soon dominated by its principal editor, Albert Jay Nock, and its literary policy was formed by Brooks in his "The Reviewer's Notebook." "Radical" only in the sense that it broke with the "genteel tradition" and proclaimed the responsibility of the artist to his society, it for a few years led the attacks on Roosevelt imperialism and Wilsonian idealism in the name of a vague form of "socialism" which skirted the dogmatic commitments of both the Right and the Left. In its literary policy it gave vigorous expression to its "intellectual and emotional interest in the writing which lay close to the changing moral and social structure of America," but under Nock's leadership, the eclectic dogmatism of its political philosophy soon undermined its literary energy and it came to an abrupt end. In Miss Turner's scholarly hands this process and its significance become apparent.

The *Dial* was bought by Scofield Thayer and James Sibley Watson Jr. about the same time, was moved from Chicago to New York, and immediately became the spokesman of those who also believed in literary reform but held that it could be accomplished only by a pure faith in the capacity of Art to produce a better society by being faithful to itself. This was the other side of the "radical" movement, but also a product of Progressivism's criticism of the status quo and faith in reform. Under the editorship of Thayer, ably succeeded by Marianne Moore, it was as dogmatic and eclectic as was the *Freeman* under Nock, but its policy opened the door to much of the best work being done at the time in poetry, criticism, drama, fiction and the plastic arts.

Unfortunately Mr. Wasserstrom's handling of his story in his two books becomes involved in his own desire "to recall the prophetic function of the organic idea in American art, criticism, politics and character" and to place the *Dial's* "appearance and weight among historicist prophets of American organic utopia," rather than to let the facts which he has so conscientiously assembled speak for themselves. The *Dial's* real achievement must therefore be extracted from a foggy mass of pontifical statement and discussion of irrelevant people and factors.

This can be done, however, by the patient reader, and the two stories can be seen to supplement each other in the writing of a new chapter—or at least a new paragraph or two—in American literary history.

ROBERT E. SPILLER, *University of Pennsylvania*

WILLIAM V. SHANNON, *The American Irish, A Political and Social Portrait*. 458 pp. The Macmillan Co., 1963. \$7.95.

THE coming-of-age of the Irish in America, many of them upon arrival among the poorest of the poor who migrated here, will undoubtedly be dated henceforth from the election and tragically short tenure of office of President John F. Kennedy. William V. Shannon, author of *The American Irish*, is himself a first-generation American, a graduate of Harvard, where he studied immigrant history with Professor Oscar Handlin, and a respected columnist for the *New York Post*. Though I've seen his book classified as "sociology," he develops his story largely through the biographies of paired types: the Irishman as soldier and sports idol, politician, writer, priest. Like Thomas D'Arcy McGee, journalist and author of *A History of the Irish Settlers in North America* published in 1852, who saw the Irish as a "fallen but very teachable race," Shannon does not overlook Irish shortcomings in the United States, particularly their lack of solid intellectual achievements.

His main theme, that there is a liberal and Catholic strand in the fabric of Irish experience, may be questioned by some, but even a deep-dyed Orangeman should be able to appreciate Shannon's judicious, sympathetic, scholarly and eminently readable interpretation of the last hundred years of Irish social and political history in the United States. It includes sixteen pages of illustrations, chapter notes, index, and only two tiny *Trifolium dubium* leaves on the jaunty, tastefully designed dustjacket.

JOHN J. APPEL, *Michigan State University*

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933*. 307 pp. University of Minnesota Press, 1963. \$6.50.

THIS work is the latest attempt to discover what happened to the reform impulse in American life in the 1920s. Not content with accepting the view of some "tired radicals" and disillusioned progressives that the decade was marked by irrevocable defeats, and determined to fill a notable gap in recent scholarship, Professor Chambers is concerned with the activities of voluntary reform associations and their leaders during the Jazz Age.

The author skillfully demonstrates that the decade from Armistice to panic was not a wasteland for reform. It is true that at times, social reformers, suffering from confusion and disunity, were frustrated and rebuffed. Nevertheless, such voluntary associations as the National Consumers' League, the Association for Old Age Security, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Child Labor Committee, and the National Federation of Settlements, among many others, never surrendered to the forces of reaction. Moreover, in voluntary action, Progressivism not only survived in the decade of normalcy, but witnessed a subtle advance from the prevention of social ills to more constructive measures which sought the positive creation of a more secure and abundant life for all. Thus, by sharpening issues and offering constructive alternatives in an age of political drift, these reformers, who anticipated many of the welfare measures which marked the years after 1933, kept alive and vital the crusade for social action and made immeasurable contributions to the New Deal.

The book, clearly written, well organized and meticulously documented, is based largely on manuscript collections and contains an excellent bibliographical essay; it suffers only from repetitiveness. *Seedtime of Reform* is a valuable addition, and corrective, to the history of a complex decade.

WALTER I. TRATTNER, *Northern Illinois University*

CARL W. CONDIT, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925*. xviii, 238 pp. University of Chicago Press, 1964. \$8.50.

THIS book is a substantial revision of the author's *The Rise of the Skyscraper* (1952). Everything about it is serviceable: the wealth of information, the expository style, the excellent illustrations. It is not a complete history of the Chicago School, purposely omitting its achievements in residential architecture; but, then, neither is it confined to its dates,

sketching in both what preceded and followed them. Chicago architecture, more or less, is its theme and is under review; and as a result even the work of the celebrated Chicago School is not thoroughly treated. The book expresses the rightful pride of Chicagoans in their architecture and their indignation at its destruction. The date of demolition follows the names of many buildings and is a powerful refrain.

Mr. Condit has a fine sense of the expressive aspects of architecture as well as a sound knowledge of its technological development. The former, however, is often subdued by the latter, at the expense, it seems to me, of the kind of social history Mr. Condit would like to write. He himself contributes to social history (Peter Brooks' letters of instruction to his architects are superb materials) but he does not write it—few architectural historians do. One reason, perhaps, is that he minimizes or neglects the dialectic that is the life of developments. He assumes, for example, that one factor in the phenomenal rise of the Chicago School was the high general cultural activity of Chicago, when that activity was essentially genteel. Not sufficiently concerned with using ideas thematically, he fails to make strongly enough the point of his book—that the Chicago School, especially Sullivan whom he places highest, expressed the humanism of an age of science: man's creative liberation through technology. It is for this reason that the passing of the School is a comment upon the loss of this humanism as is also the fact that its second generation (the Prairie School) turned to residential architecture. The Chicago School went down because of the advent of a sensibility opposed to its exuberant, masterful, democratic organicism.

SHERMAN PAUL, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

NATHALIA WRIGHT, *Horatio Greenough: The First American Sculptor*. 382 pp. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963. \$8.50.

HORATIO GREENOUGH (1805-52) was the first American to devote himself wholly to a career as a sculptor. Most of his adult years were spent abroad, chiefly in Florence, where he could be close to the source of the marble in which he worked and the artisans upon whom he relied. He remained fiercely loyal to America, whose artistic taste he tried to elevate and shape. His bias toward the heroic classical ideal, however, was counter to the growing taste for realism.

This is the first attempt at a full length biography. Nathalia Wright has fully and carefully made the most of the relatively scanty primary sources available. Without attempting to set up shop as an art critic she

soberly and at length catalogues Greenough's achievement to the inescapable conclusion that his accomplishment fell far short of his intention, a conclusion amply documented by a large selection of illustrations. A few of his essays reflect a mind of some originality and perception, giving glimpses of a personality that made an impression upon such contemporaries as Cooper, Emerson and Longfellow. In Oliver Larkin's words: "To reverse Margaret Fuller's phrase, this man who could not write his thoughts of beauty in stone, wrote it in words." Miss Wright carefully documents Larkin's judgments about Greenough.

ROBERT A. WIGGINS, *University of California, Davis*

GERALD RABKIN, *Drama and Commitment, Politics in the American Theatre of the Thirties*. 322 pp. Indiana University Press, 1964. \$6.00.

GERALD RABKIN lived and acted in London and Paris for four years in the late 1950s. Perhaps for this reason, he frames his brief study of the 1930s with a discussion of the debate over commitment and the artist which was so important to the European (particularly the English) theatrical world in the 1950s. It is his contention that a look at the American theater and the serious American playwright of the 1930s might illuminate the problem for us today. The outcome is not as happy as the intention. When he writes of the contemporary problem, he writes as one involved; in the historical chapters, he too often sounds like a man going through an academic exercise. His material leads to no very useful conclusions for the theater today, ending rather in this kind of on-again-off-again generalization: "that political commitment *in itself* is an inadequate test of esthetic effectiveness." His search for such a conclusion, however, forces him to limit his study to organizations and playwrights that presumably illustrate specific aspects of the problem. The three chapters on organizations—Theatre Union, Group Theatre, Federal Theatre—are too slight to be of much value in terms of idea or information; better short descriptions can be found in Morgan Y. Himelstein's recent *Drama Was a Weapon*. Rabkin is more interesting in his treatment of individual playwrights. He treats two—John Howard Lawson and Clifford Odets—in terms of Marxist commitment, and three—S. N. Behrman, Elmer Rice and Maxwell Anderson—as examples of commitment in the more general sense of concern with the social and political currents of the time. Lawson, who is a classic case of the confused intellectual whose arrival at certainty turned him from a playwright to a dialectician, provides Rabkin with his best chapter. In the others—

particularly those on Odets and Behrman—his conclusions are a little suspect because his discussion of the plays does not necessarily lead to the too neat summations that he makes of the dramatists. There are incidental virtues in his approach to the playwrights, however, for his subject has made him back away from the usual critical clichés about the men he treats.

GERALD WEALES, *University of Pennsylvania*

JOHN EDWARD HARDY, *Man in The Modern Novel*. x, 228 pp. University of Washington Press, 1964. \$5.00.

HERE is still another volume of exegesis of the ubiquitous "quest for identity" theme in representative novels (six British, five American) for the past sixty-odd years. Since the author sees his topic "simply as inevitable, in no sense original" he can scarcely mind if much of what he says—on *The Great Gatsby*, *The Sound and the Fury*, *A Farewell to Arms* and such—seems "inevitable" to anyone who has led two or three academic generations through these woods. We are told, for instance, that Hemingway's rootless, alienated, impotent, uncommunicative heroes are not tragic, merely pathetic; that Gatsby and his biographer, Nick Carraway, are dichotomized versions of their ambivalent creator, Fitzgerald; that in motif, symbol and subtle allusion Faulkner used the Bible (especially Christ figures) extensively, etc. Here and there are some really provocative flashes, however, and the chapter on Eudora Welty's *Delta Wedding* seems remarkably good, if only because this work has not yet been overstudied.

What interests Hardy chiefly is the relationship between thematic material and formal process in the novel and he implies that only a few writers have successfully solved the problems of giving aesthetically viable expression in this genre to a besetting social malaise of our century—the loss of individual identity (the loss, even, of an adequate sense of time and place) and the submergence of the self in the faceless masses of a changing social order and an expanding technology. Avoiding the cant of so many academic critics on this subject today, Hardy writes fluently and articulates his views easily. If his approach is eclectic and his tone reasonable, there is too little "social ballast" here to give his ideas more than a purely literary context. His book challenges comparison with such older studies as those by Daiches, O'Faolain (with whom he quarrels briefly), Fuller, *et al.*, and amid this company it comes off second best.

CARL R. DOLMETSCH, *College of William and Mary*

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS, *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830*. x, 507 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1964. \$8.75.

THIS is a detailed study of education, libraries, publications, religion, fine arts, nine branches of science, belletristic literature, law and oratory, politics, economics, and the agrarian society of Virginia from the convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution to the convention for the adoption of a new state constitution. Winner of the first American Association for State and Local History Manuscript Award, the work contains excellent bibliographies for each chapter.

Building on earlier works, bibliographical studies and a large number of primary sources, Professor Davis presents the whole spectrum of intellectual life of Virginians of all classes from the great land owners to the small farmers and laborers. The work and the thought of the prominent Virginians and of dozens of lesser figures are clearly shown so that Virginia's contributions to the larger pattern of the intellectual life of the nation are made apparent.

The work is a good one, showing admirably that, as Henry Adams, who is quoted by the author, said, ". . . the Virginians at the close of the eighteenth century were inferior to no class of Americans in the sort of education then supposed to make refinement. . . ."

CLYDE E. HENSON, *Michigan State University*

NATHANIEL BURT, *The Perennial Philadelphians*. xiv, 625 pp. Little, Brown and Company, 1963. \$12.50.

THIS book does for Philadelphia what *The Proper Bostonians* does for Boston. Burt expended six years interviewing members of Old Philadelphia families; reading letters, memoirs and diaries; and scrutinizing the *Social Register*, the records of social clubs and the rosters of prominent professional and business organizations.

The group studied is small, less than 10 per cent of the 1 per cent of Philadelphia's population listed in the *Social Register*. But it is a significant group to the serious student of American culture. This Fox Hunting Aristocracy looking "to the South and England" is, Burt contends, "the most important single factor" in the life of Philadelphia that is often hidden from the casual visitor and, one might add, from the scholar depending on only conventional academic sources and techniques.

Most helpful to this study is a diary kept from 1834 to 1871 by Sidney Fisher, a prototype of Old Philadelphians. In it Burt found volumes of

comment about nineteenth-century life in Philadelphia including often ignored details about houses, furniture, parties and people. Some of us might regret that Mr. Burt—an insider, himself—makes such a Grand Gesture defending snobbery, but the code of life imposed by the family-centered Establishment in Philadelphia, a code of life covering every aspect of living—"the economic, the spiritual, the aesthetic, and the alcoholic"—gives us an insight into some of the values commonly held by the American elite everywhere.

JOHN HOVE, *North Dakota State University*

W. PATRICK STRAUSS, *Americans in Polynesia: 1783-1842*. 187 pp. Michigan State University Press, 1963. \$5.00.

SINCE the motives of Americans in sailing to Polynesia, in sending other Americans there, and in writing about the area are as important culturally as what they saw and did there, *Americans in Polynesia* must reluctantly be judged as too narrow to constitute an example of American Studies scholarship. In the 135 pages of text in this survey, the relations of Americans with Polynesia are subordinated to events taking place in Polynesia and men actively involved: seamen (traders, whalers, sealers, beachcombers); missionaries; officials (naval officers, consuls, explorer-diplomats). Fifty pages of bibliographical footnotes and index attest that Strauss has efficiently combed the vast sands of standard histories, dissertations, manuscript journals and official archives for facts; but his general conclusions and last chapter (American attitudes toward Polynesia) require more than facts for adequate support. To overcome the limitations of an historical monograph, this book needs broader scholarship (anthropology and psychology are little used) and a solider structure of ideas (American primitivism appears only in the form of the "noble savage" cliché, ignoring Pearce's thorough study of the subject).

Strauss' conclusion that American writers in the period first presented the Polynesian as either a noble savage or as a depraved barbarian, then finally both at once, is possibly even more significant than he claims, but the shift is not explained in any way, neither position is related to later ideas, such as the "completely romantic fantasy" he identifies with Melville, and—finally—the parallels of American and Polynesian history are almost denied: "American penetration of Polynesia, except for Hawaii, represented little of significance compared to, say, the contemporaneous westward expansion, and even less in her overall history." As Spiller

suggests in his introduction to Henry Adams' *Tahiti*, one of the most significant connections between American and Polynesian experience has been our ability to see parallels and thus to make history meaningful.

JOSEPH EVANS SLATE, *The University of Texas*

PAUL R. BAKER, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800-1860*. x. 264 pp. Harvard University Press, 1964. \$5.95.

THIS book is continuing testimonial to the love affair that traveling Americans always have had with Italy. Mr. Baker is concerned with why the Fortunate Pilgrims went to Italy, what they did there and how they assessed their experience. His book is packed with information and valuable as a compendium of its subject. The author has done his homework well, both in American and Italian libraries, and as his bibliography shows, his study is built on a voluminous literature dealing with Italo-American relations.

It is too much to expect a work like this to contain novel insights. American attitudes and reactions to Italy were about what one would assume. The early travelers, such as Jefferson in the period prior to Mr. Baker's study, visited Italy looking earnestly for ideas that could be taken home. The later travelers, the romantics, saw Italy through Byronic eyes and were delighted with the quaintness and antiquity. But most travelers never penetrated very deep and returned convinced of the superiority of American government, social institutions and business enterprise. Those who stayed on, the Hiram Powers and the Margaret Fullers, of course, were changed by their experience.

The inclusive dates of this study are somewhat inaccurate, for Mr. Baker does indeed summarize American travel to Italy before 1800 in an introductory chapter, and on occasion he quotes some of the more interesting travelers like Howells, James and Twain, who visited Italy after 1860. One hopes Mr. Baker will extend his research through the end of the century in a sequel to this book. *The Fortunate Pilgrims* is a useful book, and some of its topically arranged chapters are especially good, particularly those on the American reaction to the world of art and religion in Italian life.

JAMES WOODRESS, *San Fernando Valley State College*

PAUL C. NAGEL, *One Nation Indivisible: The Union in American Thought, 1776-1861*. x, 328 pp. Oxford University Press, 1964. \$7.00.

PROFESSOR NAGEL has written a book setting forth the meaning of Union in American political thinking down to the Civil War. He has diligently sought out the statements on Union of all our major political thinkers and of many minor ones as well. The book essentially consists of innumerable short quotations on the nature of Union which the author has, somewhat arbitrarily, categorized under various headings. Professor Nagel has, in his own words, attempted "to portray the complex of beliefs which made up Union's ideology."

Perhaps the main theme running through this book is the change from Union as experiment to Union as absolute. To exemplify these conceptions he selects such thinkers as John Randolph of Roanoke and William H. Seward, respectively. By 1861 Union as absolute appeared to many to be enshrined. It was, concludes Professor Nagel, "a people's tradition, encompassing Security, Progress, Destiny, the Glorious Past, and a Divine or Natural Order. All this had grown from a frail experiment. . . ."

In sum, we have here a valuable collection of statements which are distillations of the best thinking we have had on the meaning of Union. Professor Nagel's handling of the statements is subtle—sometimes over-subtle—but students will be arrested by his dissection and classification.

J. THEODORE HEFLEY, *Eastern Michigan University*

Southeastern
American Studies Association
and the
University of Alabama

*Proceedings of the
Conference on the Social
Sciences and the Development
of the Deep South
held April 23-25, 1964,
at the University of Alabama*

The Deep South in Transformation

A Symposium

EDITED BY ROBERT B. HIGHSAW

This book reveals the major social, political, economic and cultural problems which presently influence the transformation of the Deep South.

Scholars, both regional and national, teamed with administrators and a newspaper editor to describe the changes active in this most troubled region. The book demonstrates a blunt recognition of real and imaginary problems, and provides guidelines for America's intellectual leaders. In assembling these papers, Professor Highsaw has achieved a certain unity of purpose and method, offering new perspectives for university and school oriented readers into the problems of changing laws, attitudes, mores, literature etc. The casual reader will gain new insights about this troubled and disturbed but nevertheless progressing section of the country.

All readers will welcome *The Deep South in Transformation* as an important addition to the literature of the region. It merits careful review by American Studies teachers and those who are concerned with the role of the Deep South in a 20th century United States.

CONTRIBUTORS: *Oliver C. Carmichael, Ford Foundation / Frank Freidel, Harvard / Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce / Philip Hoffman, Houston / Everett C. Hughes, Brandeis / E. William Noland, Purdue / Rembert Patrick, Florida / Louis Rubin, Hollins / Donald S. Strong and Hudson Strode, Alabama / and others.*

192 pp., clothbound

\$5.95

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA PRESS

University, Alabama



PAMPHLETS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Edited by **BERNARD BAILYN**

Watch for this first volume of the *Pamphlets of the American Revolution*, soon to come. The publication of this original documentary material marks an important "first" for the John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book. Coming in January.

\$12.00 tentative

NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1788

By **J. P. BRISSOT de WARVILLE**

Edited and Translated by **DURAND ECHEVERRIA**
Translated by **MARA SOCEANU VAMOS**

An account of a French revolutionary and reformer's travels through America, this is the first full English translation of a book that caught the spirit of the U.S. on the eve of its becoming a federal republic. *The John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book.*

\$6.50

ANCIENT SOCIETY

By **LEWIS H. MORGAN**

Edited by **LESLIE A. WHITE**

Published in 1877, *Ancient Society* was the first comprehensive and original attempt, after publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, to present a theory of the evolution of human society as a whole, tracing "the lines of human progress through savagery and barbarism to civilization." His materialistic interpretation provoked the opposition of both church and state, and turned his book into a Marxist classic. *The John Harvard Library. A Belknap Press Book. Coming in November.*

\$7.95

DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

VOL. I: JANUARY 1820 - JUNE 1825

VOL. II: JULY 1825 - SEPTEMBER 1829

*Edited by AIDA DiPACE DONALD
and DAVID DONALD*

A massively detailed and intensely personal record, these first two volumes of Charles Francis Adams' Diary chronicle his undergraduate years at Harvard, his life in Washington while his father was Secretary of State and President, his training as a lawyer, his courtship of Abigail Brooks, and end with his marriage. *The Adams Papers. A Belknap Press Book.* \$20.00 the set

HENRY ADAMS

The Major Phase

By ERNEST SAMUELS

With this book the author brings to completion his widely acclaimed definitive biography of Henry Adams. Beginning with *The Young Henry Adams* (1948) and continuing with the prize-winning *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* (1958), this third and last volume covers the years 1890-1918. Mr. Samuels has recreated the growth, maturity, and second harvest of an extraordinarily gifted and perceptive man. *A Belknap Press Book.* \$10.00

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES

By WAYNE G. BROEHL, JR.

In the most authoritative study of the case yet published, the author uses original documents, available for the first time, to tell the story of the shadowy role of an Irish secret society, the Molly Maguires, in the efforts of the Pennsylvania coal miners to form a labor union in the 1870's. *Illustrated.* \$8.95

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY PRESS



**Four important new books
from JOHN WILEY & SONS**

THE BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENT

Edited by EARL F. CHEIT, *University of California, Berkeley*. Eight outstanding authors contribute their views on the social and political issues that arise from the interplay of business and society. This unique and timely collection of essays includes the work of ROBERT L. HEILBRONER — JOHN WILLIAM WARD — HENRY NASH SMITH — RICHARD HOFSTADTER — EARL F. CHEIT — PAUL A. SAMUELSON — PHILIPPE DE WOOT — and GILBERT M. SAUVAGE. 1964. 248 pages. \$4.95.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

By BRUCE WATSON *and* WILLIAM TARR, *both of Diablo Valley College*. Integrates major concepts from the social and behavioral sciences into a penetrating analysis of man in America. The book focuses on the individual as he develops into an adult who affects society, and is in turn affected by it. 1964. 584 pages. \$7.95.

CITIES OF OUR PAST AND PRESENT

A Descriptive Reader

Edited by WILSON SMITH, *The Johns Hopkins University*. A selection of descriptions that convey the entire condition of a city and its people—or reveal the city's overall status at a particularly important moment in its development—or characterize some aspect of a city that is representative of other cities of the time. 1964. 292 pages. \$2.45.

CITY ON A HILL

A History of Ideas and Myths in America

By LOREN BARITZ, *University of Rochester*. Illustrates the intellectual substance of Puritanism, the Enlightenment, and Romanticism by analyzing the works of important men in each period. 1964. Approx. 320 pages. Prob. \$7.50.

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016



PROTESTANTS AND PIONEERS

Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier
By T. SCOTT MIYAKAWA

This work is a temperate but penetrating corrective to overstatements of the role of individualism in settling our continent. It is Mr. Miyakawa's thesis that the pioneers, contrary to accepted notions, led lives which were not only conforming, but regimented. They also, he suggests, contributed distortions to the American view of race, education, and the role of the intellectual, which affect contemporary attitudes and policies. 320 pages \$7.50

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925
By CARL W. CONDIT

Mr. Condit surveys the history of Chicago architecture in a volume which goes far beyond his earlier book, *The Rise of the Skyscraper*. It is the long-awaited definitive history of the most radical transformation in the art of building since 12th century Gothic—the invention of complete iron framing or skeletal construction which made possible the skyscraper and related developments in the art of building. 488 pages, 196 plates \$8.50

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Edited by WILLIAM B. NELSON with the collaboration of FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

At home and abroad the American system of government is under greater stress than ever before. For good or ill, its smallest decisions affect all of mankind. The purpose of this book of essays prepared by distinguished political scientists and historians is to examine certain aspects of the American political tradition in the light of present circumstances and current scholarship.

182 pages \$5.50

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

**Chicago and
London**

IMPORTANT NEW **DOUBLEDAY** ANCHOR BOOKS

Since 1953, the first name in quality paperback publishing

DEMOCRACY AND THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

by M. Ostrogorski;

edited and abridged by Seymour Martin Lipset

The first serious attempt to analyze the consequences of democratic suffrage by a comparative analysis of political systems, Ostrogorski's two-volume* landmark in political science was first published in 1902 and has been long out of print in this country. Recent empirical studies have borne out many of Ostrogorski's findings about the American political system, and his work continues to be directly relevant to our time.

An Anchor Original. * The first volume, on political parties in England, is also newly available in an Anchor edition. \$1.95

THE CONGRESSMAN HIS WORK AS HE SEES IT

by Charles L. Clapp

A vivid and human picture of what really happens on Capitol Hill. Culled from round-table discussions with House members are descriptions of the Congressman's relationships with various groups; his legislative activities; what he thinks of the committee system; what his wife thinks of Congressional life; the problem of being re-elected; and whether or why he thinks it is all worthwhile. \$1.95

WHITE MAN, LISTEN!

by Richard Wright

The author of *Native Son* and *Black Boy* shows how the non-white people of the world feel about their situation, their future, and the involvement of the white man in it. 95¢

At all booksellers or from

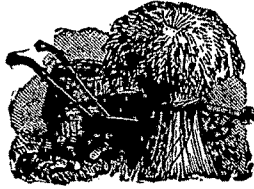
DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOKS

Garden City, New York



American Calendar

Fall



1964

SEASA. The Southeastern chapter sponsored a three-day spring conference, in conjunction with the Sperry and Hutchinson College Lectureship Program and the University of Alabama, on "The Social Sciences and the Development of the Deep South." Held on the Alabama campus April 23-25, the conference featured an address by Secretary of Commerce Luther C. Hodges, and papers by O. C. Carmichael, Consultant to the Fund for Advancement of Education and the Ford Foundation, "The Place of the Social Sciences in University Training for Responsible Citizenship"; Rembert Patrick, University of Florida, "The Deep South, Past and Present"; and Louis Rubin, Hollins College, "Is Southern Literature Becoming Less Southern?" In addition, Everett C. Hughes, Brandeis University, Donald S. Strong, University of Alabama and E. William Noland, Purdue University, spoke on "The Challenge of the Deep South to Research in

the Social Sciences." The University of Alabama Press has scheduled publication of these papers, edited by Robert B. Highsaw, for November, under the title *The Deep South in Transformation*. Priced at \$5.95, the book will be sold to ASA members at a 10 per cent discount if members identify themselves when placing orders.

Sessions of the meeting were chaired by Frank A. Rose, president of the University, Charles D. McGlamery, University of Alabama, Arthur Thompson, University of Florida and Edd Winfield Parks, University of Georgia. Commentators and panelists at the conference included John Ezell, University of Oklahoma, Ernest M. Lander, Clemson College, Frank Freidel, Harvard University, Carl Benson, Auburn University, Hudson Strode, University of Alabama and Walter Sullivan, Vanderbilt University. SEASA president Clarence P. Mondale was in charge of the ASA aspects of the conference.

ROCKY MT. The Rocky Mountain chapter held its spring meeting on May 18 at the University of Wyoming. Papers were given by J. Golden Taylor, Utah State University, "Hawthorne's Transmutations of Puritanism"; Robert Edson Lee, University of Colorado, "Washington Irving's Tour of American History"; Charles H. Nilon, University of Colorado, "The Ending of *Huckleberry Finn*: A New Hypothesis"; Courtland P. Auser, Air Force Academy, "'Master of Barbaric Lore': Satire in Henry Adams' Fiction and History"; and John Williams, University of Denver, "The Cowboy." Officers elected at the meeting were Stuart B. James, University of Denver, president; Charles H. Nilon, vice-president; B. June West, Eastern New Mexico University, secretary-treasurer.

N. CALIF. The Northern California chapter held a spring dinner meeting at the faculty club of the University of California, Berkeley, on April 27. The featured speaker was Seymour Martin Lipset, of the University of California at Berkeley, who discussed "America, the First New Nation." An extended period of informal discussion, presided over by president Reynold M. Wik, followed the address.

CHESAPEAKE. The spring meeting of the Chesapeake chapter was held May 16 at Evergreen House, the Garrett Mansion, in Baltimore.

A luncheon and tour of the house were followed by an address from John Littleton, Chief of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, National Park Service, on "National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings and the Registry of National Historic Landmarks: Uncle Sam Takes Stock of His Historical Heritage." New officers are Robert H. Walker Jr., George Washington University, president; Wilcomb E. Washburn, Smithsonian Institution, vice-president; Francis S. Grubar, University of Maryland, secretary-treasurer.

WIS.-N. ILL. Two papers, with commentators, a business meeting and a luncheon made up the program for the Wisconsin-Northern Illinois chapter meeting, held at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin April 18. The papers were "*The Education of Henry Adams*: Experiment with Literary Form," John Conder, University of Wisconsin, commentary by Donald Emerson, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee; and "The Days of Desiderata of Popular Culture: John T. McCutcheon and George Ade," Archibald Byrne, Northwestern University, commentary by Gordon Milne, Lake Forest College. Elected as new chapter officers were G. Thomas Tanselle, University of Wisconsin, president; Edward Noyes, Wisconsin State College, vice-president; and Claude William L a S a l l e , Northwestern University, secretary-treasurer.

OHIO-IND. The Ohio-Indiana chapter held its spring meeting at the Ohio State University campus in Columbus on May 15-16, in conjunction with the Hawthorne Centenary Celebration there. Papers on the first day were by R. W. B. Lewis, Yale University, "Hawthorne and the Sanctity of Human Heart," and Lionel Trilling, Columbia University, "Our Hawthorne." Roy Harvey Pearce, University of California, LaJolla, presided. The second day, chapter president Ward Miner, Youngstown University, presided. The program featured "Problems of Editing *The Papers of Henry Clay*," James F. Hopkins, University of Kentucky; "On Editing Hawthorne," Matthew J. Bruccoli, Ohio State University; and "Inside the House of the Seven Gables," Terence Martin, Indiana University. At the luncheon, chaired by William Charvat, Ohio State University, ASA Executive Council Member for the Great Lakes Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University, spoke on "A Generation of American Editing."

N. Y. STATE. The New York State chapter held its spring meeting April 25, at Wells College. The afternoon session, presided over by Kendall Birr, State University at Albany and NYASA vice-president, featured a paper by Kenneth O'Brien, Colgate University, "The Academic Novel." Commentary was provided by Lionel Wyld, State

College at Buffalo. A dinner session, chaired by chapter president Miriam Small, Wells College, centered around a paper by Derek Colville, Harpur College, "From British College to American Campus: The Impact of Change."

N.Y.C. On May 8 the Metropolitan chapter held a symposium on the present state of American Studies in the United States, at the Baruch School of the City College of New York. The guests of the chapter were the editor of *American Quarterly*, the executive secretary of ASA and Marshall W. Fishwick, director of the Wemyss Foundation and president of the Middle Atlantic States chapter. At a business session the chapter elected to office William D. Gettel, City College, president; Sidney Ditzion, City College, secretary-treasurer; and Grace Stuart Nutley, Brooklyn College, member-at-large on the executive committee.

MICHIGAN. The Michigan State University campus has been the scene of three significant developments in American Studies. From May 13 to June 3 a series of four American Studies colloquia was presented, to large audiences. Heyward Ehrlich, head of the American Thought and Language department, began the series with an analysis of the relation of Poe to the origins of mass culture, and members of his department presented the remaining three sessions:

Frederick Feied and Gary Groat, "Jack Kerouac and the Fiction of the 1950's"; Robert Fogarty and Don Hausdorff, "Utopianism in Nineteenth Century America"; and Connie Williams, "The Sociology of Literature." Subsequent to the colloquia, the Michigan chapter members on the MSU campus formed a subchapter, in order to better facilitate local American Studies activities, and elected Professor Hausdorff chairman, Charles Hirschfeld vice-chairman, and Professor Fogarty secretary. Russell B. Nye, MSU and vice-president of the national ASA, has announced that effective this fall a full-scale undergraduate program of American Studies has been put into operation under his chairmanship.

WASH. STATE. Somewhat similarly to Michigan State, ASA people at the Washington State campus, Pullman, Washington, have organized a local group. They adopted an organizational format last April 28, naming as a Program Committee for 1964-65 Carol L. Bagley, chairman, Robert McLean and Mike Malone. The group, which has considerable graduate student as well as faculty backing, plans to hold four meetings a year, one to feature a distinguished guest, two for reading and discussion of local papers and one for business.

KY.-TENN. The tenth annual meeting of the Kentucky-Tennessee chapter was held April 10-11, on the

campus of East Tennessee State University, in conjunction with the meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society. Papers included Robert L. White, University of Kentucky, "Constance Fenimore Woolson's Italian Stories"; Carl Sclarenco, University of Louisville, "Lewis Mumford's Utopian Focus"; Francelia Butler, University of Tennessee, "The Rise and Fall of the Ruskin Commonwealth"; George N. Dove, East Tennessee State University, "The Great American University"; James Hodge, The College of Wooster, "The Great Textile Strike in Elizabethton, Tennessee—1929"; and Glynn Thomas, Tennessee Archives, "The Highlander Folk School: The Depression Years." The last two papers were given commentary by Earl Williams, University of Tennessee. Officers elected for 1964-65 were Robert Crawford, East Tennessee State University, president and George Robinson, Eastern State College, vice-president.

Elected secretary-treasurer for the chapter at this meeting was the late Durant da Ponte, whose long and generous career tragically ended in July, 1964, when he was killed in an airplane accident. Professor Robert White, University of Kentucky, will fill out Professor da Ponte's term.

MINN.-DAKOTAS. The annual meeting of the Minnesota-Dakotas chapter, on the topic "The Social Sciences and the Humanities: Can

American Studies Provide a Rap-prochement?", was held at the University of Minnesota on May 16. Six University of Minnesota faculty members discussed this topic, in symposium, during the morning session; they were Robert Berkhofer, history, David Cooperman, social science, Jacob Levenson, English, Francis Sorauf, political science, Donald Torbert, art, and John Turnbull, economics. The afternoon session featured a paper by Sigmund Diamond, Columbia University, "The Value of Interdisciplinary Techniques in Assessing American Culture." Newly elected officers are Margaret Boddy, Winona State College, president; Douglas Stenerson, Winona State College, vice-president; and David Cooperman, secretary-treasurer. New executive board members, elected for a three-year period, are Harold Vatter, Carleton College and John Imholte, University of Minnesota, Morris campus.

B.A.A.S. The British American Studies Association held its annual meeting at the University of Keele, April 3-6, on the general theme of "The American West." Papers given included "The West, Myth and Reality," John Hawgood; "The Life of Brigham Young: A Biography That Will Not Be Written," P.A.M. Taylor; "The Hollywood Novel," James F. Light; "The West as a Geographical Concept," W. H. Parker; "Some Remarks on Thoreau," Carl Bode; "Barry Goldwater

and the Western Impact on National Politics," Robert Elson; "The Frontier in Maps," Brian Rodgers; "Reflections on the Passing of Faulkner, Hemingway et al.," John W. Aldridge; and "The B.A.A.S. Survey of American Studies in Britain: A Report," J. Potter. The Conference was under the direction of Dr. D. K. Adams, of Keele.

NORDIC A.S.A. The Second Conference of the Nordic Association for American Studies was held in Oslo June 21-26, on the Blindern campus of the University of Oslo. The conference was aimed primarily at Scandinavian secondary school principals and teachers, and all of the speakers with the exception of Professors Sigmund Skard and Roger Asselineau were Americans. The papers included "Tensions in American Foreign Policy," John M. Blum, Yale and Cambridge; "The New South," C. Vann Woodward, Yale; "The Magic Circle of 'Walden,'" Charles R. Anderson, Johns Hopkins; "The Changing Intellectual Climate in the USA since World War II," Henry W. Wasser, City College of New York; "Ishmael, or the Theme of Solitude in American Literature," Roger Asselineau, the Sorbonne; "Recent Discussion of the Social Structure of the USA," Nathan Glazer, University of California, Berkeley; "Is There a Method of American Studies?" Sigmund Skard, Oslo; and "The

American in Europe—Then and Now," Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania.

MISS. QUAR. The Spring 1964 number of *The Mississippi Quarterly* is a special issue on the theme of "The Humor of the Old Southwest," and contains the following papers: "The Humor of the Old Southwest," Lewis P. Simpson; "Scholarship in Southwestern Humor—Past and Present," John Q. Anderson; "The Humor of the Old Southwest: Yesterday and Today," John K. Bettersworth; "Mark Twain and the Political Ambivalence of Southwestern Humor," William C. Havard; and "Some Uses of Folk Humor by Faulkner," Otis B. Wheeler. Copies of the issue may be obtained without charge from Robert B. Holland, Editor, Box 23, State College, Mississippi. This symposium was first presented as a program of ASA of Lower Mississippi held at the University of Southwestern Louisiana.

STUDENT MEMBERS. Dues for student membership in ASA, including a subscription to *AQ*, are \$3.00. Teachers are urged to encourage their graduate students to take advantage of this special rate. They are also invited to request student membership forms from the National Office to be distributed to their classes and to encourage student attendance at ASA chapter meetings and joint sessions.

ABSTRACTS. A new periodical, abstracting articles on American history from a wide range of hitherto untapped sources, is called *America: History and Life*. Published by the American Bibliographical Center, Santa Barbara, Calif., the guide to periodical publications covers all periods in American history, all regions, and includes a useful general information section on research in history, the humanities and the social sciences. Inquiries should go to 800 E. Micheltorena St., Santa Barbara, 93103.

BEHAVIORAL SCI. January, 1965, has been designated as the publication date of a new, interdisciplinary quarterly, the *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. The editorial interest extends from sociology to neurophysiology. Manuscripts on the history of philosophy, science and education are also desired. Editorial offices are at 4 Conant Square, Brandon, Vt.

COPYRIGHT. The Librarian of Congress, Quincy Mumford, has submitted a comprehensive revision of the U. S. copyright law to both houses of Congress. The result of nine years of work by the Copyright Office, the bill (designated S. 3008 and H. R. 11947) contains marked revisions such as changes in the duration of copyright term from the present 28 years to a much longer period, replacing the present dual system of common and federal law coverage with a single national

system, and introducing a statutory provision of "fair use" of material by those not holding a copyright. For further information, consult the Information and Publications Office of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

STATUS. *The New Yorker* of April 11, 1964, contained a clothing advertisement for "Michaels Stern's Ph.D. sport coat," with a cut of a model, languidly stuffing a pipe. The copy reads: "Ask the historian. The one whose crisp, colorful sport coat belies his academic calling. Fortrel is the fiber that keeps even the liveliest sport coats in line, free of wrinkles. Through a spellbinding lecture on the battle of the Coral Sea. Late sessions in the senior lounge. Breakfast with the dean. Good reasons to look for Fortrel in all your clothing."

IN BRIEF. The last "American Calendar" erroneously stated that John Clendenning, San Fernando Valley State College, had the middle initial "C." and taught at San Francisco State. The information concerning his ACLS grant, however, was correct. . . . Other ASA members who received ACLS grants for 1964-65 are: Philip C. Durham, UCLA, *A Biography of Owen Wister*; William H. Harbaugh, Bucknell University, *A Biography of John W. Davis*; Frederick J. Hoffman, University of California, Riverside, *The Little Magazine in the 20th Century*; Moses Rischin,

UCLA, *A Biography of Abraham Cahan*; and Alan Z. Trachtenberg, Pennsylvania State University, *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol*. . . . ASA members who were appointed Guggenheim Fellows for 1964-65 are: Frank Freidel Jr., Harvard University, *A Biography of FDR*; William M. Gibson, NYU, *Critical Study of Twain*; Brooke Hindle, NYU, *The Transit of Technology to the U.S. 1783-1812*; Edward Lurie, Wayne State University, *Transformation of American Society and Ideas, 1861-1876*; Hyatt H. Waggoner, Brown University, *A Critical History of American Poetry*; Christof Wegelin, University of Oregon, *History of the American genre of International Fiction*. . . . An incomplete list of Association members who will travel abroad this year on Fulbright grants includes: Edwin W. Gaston Jr., S.F. Austin State College (Finland); Edward Fiess, State University of New York, Long Island (France); George A. Knox, University of California, Riverside, Ann S. Witmer, Temple University and Norris W. Yates, Iowa State University (all Germany); Earle E. Stibitz, Southern Illinois University (Greece); John Ashmead, Haverford College, Arthur Bestor, University of Washington, Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin and Egbert S. Oliver, Portland State College (all India); William Pierce Randel, Florida State University (Italy); Joseph F. Wall, Grinnell

College (Sweden); and Rush Welter, Bennington College (United Kingdom). . . . A July report from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare says that in 1968 a total of 575 candidates for advanced degrees in American Civilization were registered in American universities. . . . Miami University, in Oxford, Ohio, has begun a full-scale undergraduate program in American Studies, with Robert Merideth as director. . . . *Comparative Literature Studies*, a new quarterly published by the University of Maryland, features the diffusion of ideas and literary relationships between America and Europe. . . . The winter issue of *American Quarterly* will be devoted to articles and notes on Mark Twain. . . . R. F. L.

RHETORIC OF RACIAL REVOLT

By ROY L. HILL
Department of Speech
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Foreword by Dr. Robert T. Oliver,
Head, Dept. of Speech, the Penna.
State University, and President of
the Speech Association of America.

For the teacher of composition and
rhetoric, public speaking and persuasion,
history and sociology.

A chronological and biographical documentation of the more than a century of Negro oratory aimed at compromising, inflaming, or persuading in the cause of racial equality.

378 pages, hard cover library edition. . . \$5.50

GOLDEN BELL PRESS
2400 Curtis Street, Denver, Colorado

MARK TWAIN'S FABLE OF PROGRESS

Political and Economic Ideas in
A Connecticut Yankee

What happened to Mark Twain in the course of writing *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*? "At some point in the composition of this fable," says Henry Nash Smith, "he passed the great divide in his career as a writer." This brief, lively study discusses the impact of Twain's own book as work-in-progress on one of the major American writers. It has grown out of a reconsideration by the foremost Twain authority of a tragic American hero, Hank Morgan, "a stranger and forlorn," who dies an exile from any hope of redemption. Short and incisive, *Mark Twain's Fable of Progress* is a bench mark in the survey of American literary criticism. \$3.50

by HENRY NASH SMITH

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Brunswick, New Jersey



American Quarterly

A MARK TWAIN ISSUE

ROGER B. SALOMON Realism as Disinheritance:
Twain, Howells & James

BRYANT MOREY FRENCH Laura D. Fair & the
New York Criminal Courts

SYDNEY J. KRAUSE The Art & Satire of Twain's
"Jumping Frog" Story

OTHER CONTRIBUTORS

Leslie F. Chard II

Myrtle M. Duffy

James Hiner

Louis J. Budd

Regina Soria

Hamlin Hill

John Lydenberg

C. Merton Babcock

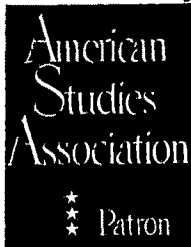
Joseph O. Baylen

Arthur M. Kompass

J. J. Chambliss

AMERICAN CALENDAR Newsletter of the American Studies Association





INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS
of the AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

1964

ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
CARLETON COLLEGE
CHICO STATE COLLEGE
COLGATE UNIVERSITY
COLORADO COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR
WOMEN
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
DUKE UNIVERSITY
EASTERN NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
HEIDELBERG COLLEGE
HIRAM COLLEGE
HOBART & WILLIAM SMITH
COLLEGES
HOLLINS COLLEGE
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY
MCLEAN HIGH SCHOOL, VA.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
OLD STURBRIDGE VILLAGE
PACE COLLEGE
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE
COLLEGE

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SIMPSON COLLEGE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
GENESEO, NEW YORK
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY
TULANE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
RIVERSIDE
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN
MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING
WAYLAND BAPTIST COLLEGE
WEMYSS FOUNDATION
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM
YALE UNIVERSITY



American Quarterly

Volume XVI

Winter 1964

No. 4

Realism as Disinheritance: Twain, Howells and James ROGER B. SALOMON	531
Mark Twain, Laura D. Fair and the New York Criminal Courts BRYANT MOREY FRENCH	545
The Art and Satire of Twain's "Jumping Frog" Story S. J. KRAUSE	562
Mark Twain on Joseph the Patriarch LOUIS J. BUDD	577
Mark Twain, Mencken and "The Higher Goofyism" C. MERTON BABCOCK	587
Mark Twain's "Hadleyburg" and Fredonia, New York LESLIE F. CHARD II	595
NOTES	
Mark Twain and Vedder's Medusa REGINA SORIA	602
Mark Twain, W. T. Snead and "The Tell-Tale Hands" JOSEPH O. BAYLEN	606
Twain in Howells' <i>A Modern Instance</i> MYRTLE M. DUFFY	612
Barnum, Bridgeport and <i>The Connecticut Yankee</i> HAMLIN HILL	615
Twain's Use of Music: <i>A Note on Life on the Mississippi</i> ARTHUR M. KOMPASS	616
Mark Twain: Ambivalence Not Disjunction JAMES HINER	620
Twain in Progress: Two Projects PAUL BAENDER AND FREDERICK ANDERSON	621
ESSAY REVIEWS	
New Books on Twain JOHN LYDENBERG	624
Chauncey Wright's Enduring Naturalism J. J. CHAMBLISS	628
REVIEWS	635
AMERICAN CALENDAR	651

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; in the United States and Canada; \$7.00 in other countries; \$1.25 single copy. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1964, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Studies Association

Ralph H. Gabriel, *President*
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Russel B. Nye, *Vice President*
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

E. McClung Fleming, *Treasurer*
WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

Donald N. Koster, *Bibliographer*
ADELPHI COLLEGE

Robert F. Lucid, *Executive Secretary*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Executive Council

John Q. Anderson
TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY

Bernard Bowron
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Edwin H. Cady
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Wilson Clough
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Hennig Cohen
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

John Hope Franklin
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Norman H. Pearson
YALE UNIVERSITY

David M. Potter
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Arnold Sio
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Robert E. Spiller
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

Hennig Cohen, *Editor*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Robert E. Spiller, *Chairman*
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Editorial Board

Arthur Bestor
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Walter Bezanson
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

David B. Davis
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

John Gerber
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John Higham
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

John Kouwenhoven
BARNARD COLLEGE

Bert J. Loewenberg
SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

Leo Marx
AMHERST COLLEGE

William G. McLoughlin
BROWN UNIVERSITY

Henry B. Parkes
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Stow Persons
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

John William Ward
AMHERST COLLEGE

AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published by the University of Pennsylvania in cooperation with the American Studies Association. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor and be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. No responsibility is taken for injury or loss.

ROGER B. SALOMON
Yale University

Realism as Disinheritance: Twain, Howells and James

NOWHERE ELSE IS THE MOOD OF THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY BETTER described than in the *Autobiography* of William Butler Yeats. One important aspect of this mood was the feeling of psychic and spiritual disinheritance—the sense widely shared by some of the most sensitive minds of an entire generation that they had been “deprived” of the past by an empirically and technologically oriented present. In one passage Yeats describes the varying ways the process of disinheritance affected his father and himself; he also implies a relationship between the problem of the past and the development of realistic schools of painting:

It was a perpetual bewilderment that when my father, moved perhaps by some memory of his youth, chose some theme from poetic tradition, he would soon weary and leave it unfinished. I had seen the change coming bit by bit and its defense elaborated by young men fresh from the Paris art schools. “We must paint what is in front of us,” or “A man must be of his own time,” they would say . . . they were very ignorant men; they read nothing, for nothing mattered but “knowing how to paint,” being in reaction against a generation that seemed to have wasted its time upon so many things. I thought myself alone in hating these young men, their contempt for the past, their monopoly of the future, but in a few months I was to discover others of my own age, who thought as I did.

Three points are of special significance here: first, the ambivalence of Yeats’ father, unable to bridge the gap between his memories and his artistic principles; secondly, the belligerent insistence of the realists that their subject-matter be both tangible and contemporary; and finally, the unwillingness of Yeats and certain of his immediate contemporaries to accept the cultural situation in which they found themselves. One way of looking at Yeats’ own literary development is to say that it represents a

continuing and increasingly successful effort to bring past and present into a viable relationship through a style supple enough to accommodate the claims of both.

Ambivalence, acceptance, constructive and creative rebellion—these are possible responses to the problem of disinheritance. My concern on the following pages is to show these responses at work in three writers of the first American generation to feel the full impact of realism and, at the same time, to shed further light on a literary movement whose assumptions and implications are still far from adequately defined.

Critics of American realism have been unduly preoccupied with the question of its national origin. For some it reflects the triumph after 1860 of science and patriotism—of the new empirical vision mingled with a heightened national consciousness. It has been described as the product of a society shaken by war, transformed by technology, and discovering the sound and look of its own regions, especially the West. A less nationalistic version of our literary history minimizes the influence of native elements and describes American realism as largely the local response to literary currents already widespread in Europe.

Fortunately it is unnecessary for our purposes to referee the eternal battle between redskins and palefaces. Rather we must examine an assumption common to the entire realistic movement here and abroad: that past and present are discontinuous, that the past can and should be rejected as without serious relevance to the present. Realism denies the continuum of time as meaningful dimension of experience because time cannot be seen or touched—the ultimate empirical criteria. This point is made abundantly clear in the work of French critics of realism during the formative years of the movement from 1840 to 1870. The final aim of literature, says one (I quote at random from their work), “is a thing real, existing, comprehensible, visible, palpable: the scrupulous imitation of nature.” Another affirms even more explicitly the existential aspects of realism: “Realism forbids the historic in painting, in the novel, and in the theatre so that it will not find itself lying, and so that the artist can not borrow his intelligence from others. . . . Realism wishes from artists only the study of their epoch.” A third critic makes the crucial distinction between “strong intelligences” and what he calls the personal romancer, “who has only to look within to, at a certain age, rediscover in a bottom drawer the dried bouquets of his youth.”¹ This last critic might well have been making specific reference to the work of Mark Twain.

¹ These and similar quotations are collected in Bernard Weinberg, *French Realism: The Critical Reaction, 1830-1870* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 122-23. Translations are my own.

It is important to observe that Twain gave his intellectual allegiance to a movement which tended to denigrate the memorial and associative qualities of the mind as devices for recapturing the past. To the "strong intelligence"—the sober and tough-minded individual—the remembrance of things past must be alien. The best fiction, Howells noted pointedly in *Criticism and Fiction*, approaches *contemporaneous* history, and he quoted with approval Emerson's wonderful phrase: "today is a king in disguise."

Realism was welcomed by major writers, of course, because it came in response to cultural needs. Everywhere in the nineteenth century the writer felt what Henry James called "the dreadful chill of change." The Boss in the *Connecticut Yankee* is only the prototype of all the wreckers of the century who were uprooting, pulling down, blasting and carting away the past for decent or indecent burial. In *The American Scene* Henry James describes a visit he made in the autumn of 1904 to his early home at Asburton Place, Boston. He found the building closed and shuttered; a month later when he revisited the spot it had been torn down and the ground cleared. This incident should be compared to one described in a late notebook entry of Twain's entitled "Huck & Tom 50 Years After." The entry is thinly disguised autobiography—an obvious reference to a visit Twain made to Hannibal late in life. It reads: "The Cold Spring—Jim has gone home—they can't find it—all railway tracks. No levee & no steamboats."² James analyzed the psychological effect of such experiences: "It was as if the bottom had fallen out of one's own biography, and one plunged backward into space without meeting anything . . . the sense of the rupture . . . seemed to leave me with my early impression of the place on my hands, inapt, as might be for use; so that I could only try, rather vainly, to fit it to present conditions, among which it tended to shrink and stray." Two or three more visits to the reconstructed Beacon Hill area and James felt his "small cluster of early associations shrivel to a scarcely discernible point."

In short, what our French critic would have called the "dried bouquets" of James' youth seemed without serious relevance to his maturity; indeed the facts of maturity all but obliterated them. The writers of James' generation had the continual feeling, as he said elsewhere, of being "cut in half." Realism was the aesthetic of disinheritance; it solved the problem of the torn thread of time by offering scissors for cutting it into even tinier shreds. In a world of change a kind of stasis could be achieved by, so to speak, "atomizing" time as Twain does in a notebook entry of

² Quotation © copyright 1964 by the Mark Twain Co. The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of Professor Henry Nash Smith and the Mark Twain Co. to make use of unpublished materials.

1897: "There is in life only one moment & in eternity only one. It is so brief that it is represented by the flitting of a luminous mote through a ray of sunlight—it is visible but a fraction of a second. The moments that preceded it have been lived, are forgotten & are without value; the moments that have not been lived have no existence & will have no value except in the moment that each shall be lived." This note should be compared with the familiar passage in Eliot's *Burnt Norton*: "Time present and time past/ Are both perhaps present in time future,/ And time future contained in time past/ . . . all time is eternally present." A passage from *Ulysses* is also particularly relevant here—Stephen's advice to "hold to the now, the here, through which all future plunges to the past." All these writers in their own way celebrate "time present," but this enduring tenet of realism has been significantly modified in the quarter-century from Twain to Joyce and Eliot. The present of the more recent writers has a temporal dimension; Twain's is discrete, particular, isolated. We might note further in passing that stasis is available to the modern writer only when it is predicated on continuity and transcends it.

If one's personal past seemed increasingly irrelevant to the later-nineteenth-century writer, what was one to make of the *historical* past? In this case, as modern criticism has noted time and time again, the American commitment has *always* been to discontinuity. From the beginning, the American has thought of himself as a new Adam in a new Eden free forever from the moral horror of Europe—which in American writing has always been the major symbol of the rich but tainted past. The generation of Longfellow and Lowell, however, made important concessions to the past because the national consciousness was not yet clearly defined and because the dominant aesthetic of the period—the so-called psychological picturesque—was predicated on the assumption that the past alone could furnish the feelings, memories and associations necessary for valid imaginative experience. In a recent book David Levin has described the divided commitment of our early great historians, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman. Thanks to a careful choice of subject, they were able to trace the rise of liberty against a picturesque background of European institutions. According to Lowell, the role of the past was to provide "hereditary and accumulated culture"; whatever the moral status of America (that is, however "new" or unfallen we were) we shared, at least, in a *cultural continuum*.

For the next generation realism was a direct response to a widespread feeling that "hereditary and accumulated culture" was no longer seriously relevant to a rapidly emerging industrial order. Even an English review of 1846 could write that "in these busy times of ours, when the intellects of men are sorely tasked to keep pace with the advancing spirit

of the age . . . the past can never be supposed worthy to absorb attention." Forty years later in a letter to Thomas Sargeant Perry, Howells precisely echoed these sentiments: "I have been turning over a good many books, and putting myself in rapport with Italy again. But I'm not sure that it pays. After all, *we* have the country of the present and the future." In Europe realism was used as an instrument of rebellion against official art. In America rebellion came slower, but by the 1870s Howells and Twain were making perfectly clear that concessions were no longer necessary. For a generation fascinated with change and what it hoped was moral and material progress the picturesque canon seemed hopelessly compromised by its involvement with the past, yet the picturesque canon was still the dominant aesthetic. Accommodation no longer seemed possible; aesthetic experience must be renounced or transformed. Renunciation was a brave possibility; for young men buoyancy and hope carried the day. "I assure you," Howells wrote in an early letter from Europe, "that our American freedom, social, intellectual, and political, is better than all the past and present slavery of Europe, however glorious in art and history that may be." In *The Innocents Abroad* Twain reported with equal complacency that "the popes have long been the patrons and preservers of art, just as our new, practical Republic is the encourager and upholder of mechanics. In their Vatican is stored up all that is curious and beautiful in art; in our Patent Office is hoarded all that is curious or useful in mechanics." The book as a whole makes it clear that this division of labor is complete and irrevocable.

Howells' early novel, *A Foregone Conclusion*, emphasizes the meaning for the artist of Twain's parable of the Vatican and the Patent Office. The narrator Ferris, American consul in Venice and amateur painter (he is modeled roughly, of course, on Howells himself), leads a party of three others one day on a trip to some old villas near Venice. "These haunts of old-time splendor and idleness," says Howells, ". . . belonged as far as the Americans were concerned, to a world as strange as any to which they should go in another life—the world of a faded fashion and an alien history." They are, in other words, prime candidates for a quick dismissal. But Ferris, the artist, lingers; he senses that the villas have imaginative possibilities. But can these possibilities be imported to America? He tells the girl who is with him that Americans "wouldn't know what it all meant, and couldn't imagine that we were inspired by this rascally little villa to sigh longingly over the wicked past." His fears find immediate confirmation when the girl answers warmly: "I'm not sighing over it . . . I'm glad that I'm American and there is no past for me. I can't understand how you and Don Ippolito [he is a priest with the party] can speak so tolerantly of what no one can respect." At this Ferris beats a

quick retreat; he is the first to admit that his aesthetic sentiments are grossly anachronistic: "I'm a painter, and the rococo is my weakness. I wish I could paint it, but I can't. I'm a hundred years too late. I couldn't even paint myself in the act of sentimentalizing it." Parody and sentimentality: these are the only possible responses to aesthetic feelings which can no longer be legitimized. They suggest Howells' predicament, and they precisely describe the poles between which Twain's sensibility vacillates in *The Innocents Abroad*.

A word must be added about the priest, Don Ippolito, who has aspirations to become an inventor and go to America and who also falls hopelessly in love with the American girl—all this while losing his faith. On all counts, I need hardly add, he fails; his failure is, indeed, a "foregone conclusion" because he is as completely a creature of the past as Ferris is of the present. We can say of him as Ferris says of a Corpus Christi procession: "It's phantasmal. It's the spectral resurrection of the old dead forms into the present . . . it's the corpse of other ages that's haunting Venice." Appropriately enough, it is death that waits for Don Ippolito at the end of the book. His attempt to become an inventor—to somehow establish a bridgehead between past and present—is as doomed as Ferris' abortive attempt at aesthetic experience.

All attempts to adapt certain strategies of the picturesque to the needs of the realistic spirit proved in the long run equally disastrous. In *Tuscan Cities*, for example, one of Howells' later travel books, the imagination paradoxically "realizes" the past only to the degree that it succeeds in muffling or destroying the temporal sense. Howells was abetted in this task by the artifacts of the past everywhere scattered over the Italian landscape. He describes his methodology in the first chapter: "At home, in the closet, one may read history, but one can realize it, as if it were something personally experienced, only on the spot where it was lived." In its manifestation as an empirical phenomenon, history strikes a responsive note, as Howells goes on to explain with something like amazement in his tone. "In this pursuit of the past, the inquirer will often surprise himself in the possession of a genuine emotion; at moments the illustrious or pathetic figures of other days will seem to walk before him . . . it would take little to persuade me that I had vanishing glimpses of many of these figures in Florence. One of the advantages of this method is that you have your historical personages in a sort of picturesque contemporaneity with one another and with yourself and you imbue them with all the sensibilities of our own time. Perhaps this is not an advantage, but it shows what may be done by the imaginative faculty; and if we do not judge men by ourselves, how are we to judge them at all?" Howells precisely labels his own strategy as "picturesque contemporaneity." In other

words, the stimulus of the artifact can produce a meaningful imaginative experience provided that this experience is carefully denied any temporal dimension. The color of the past is preserved while empirical reality remains apparently unviolated.

Unfortunately for Howells his clever design concealed a chamber of horrors. He joins the heroes in pursuing the villains all over Italy only to find the heroes time and again losing the crucial battle or joining up with the villains to pillage some city. In short, to treat the past in contemporary terms was, for the believer in moral progress, to make it ultimately more remote than ever. Howells is only too ready to admit after a harrowing description of the times of Savonarola and Lorenzo de' Medici that "in all things the change is such that if not a new heaven there is a new earth since their day." He ends a long chapter on Florence with a paean to the city of 1884: "contemporary, real, busy in its fashion, and wholesomely and every-daily beautiful." He explains that his "heart still warms to the town," not because of its "wrong-headed and bloody and pitiless" past, but "because of the present, safe, free, kindly, full of possibilities of prosperity and fraternity, like that of Boston or Denver." Such a comment is, of course, reminiscent of Twain's very similar remarks about the Mississippi River towns in *Life on the Mississippi*. As for art, Howells dislikes the "immorality" of the Old Masters, but his ultimate reaction again is their remoteness and irrelevance to the serious concerns of the present. After a long description of certain Italian paintings he adds: "that is what I recall, with a conviction of the idleness and absurdity of recalling anything." Twain in *The Innocents Abroad* makes the implications here even more explicit: "To me there is nothing tangible about these imaginary portraits, nothing I can grasp and take a living interest in." It is no wonder that the middle-aged hero of Howells' novel *Indian Summer* (1886) abandons his plan to live in the "outworn Old World" and decides to return to "the vast, tumultuous American life." Significantly, he also decides not to marry a young woman who romantically wants to help him recoup an early love affair—to help him, in other words, recapture his personal past. Just in time he awakes to his sentimental folly; he becomes aware, like his author, of "the idleness and absurdity of recalling anything."

Realism, in short, was both a response and a solution to the problem of the past. The picturesque tradition was unable to deal with the present, and so realism made a religion of newness and contemporaneity. It dismissed the problem of artistic form (associated with the past) by refusing to acknowledge any distinction between art and life; the writer was not, in fact, a creative artist at all, but rather a reporter, a social commentator, or a psychologist. The recent edition of the Twain-Howells letters

emphasizes anew the utter absence of any stylistic tradition with which either writer was willing to identify himself. For both men the only acknowledged alternatives seemed to be, on the one hand, parody or burlesque of past styles that fades off into farce comedy and, on the other, what was confidently referred to as "simple and stately facts." Howells, for example, praises William Allen White's book "In Our Town" as "a series of photographs taken with Roentgen rays." The only form possible was the actual form taken by life itself. Both men yearned at various times for what Twain, in a notebook passage, called the "narrative novel" and defined as one "where you follow the fortunes of two or three people & have no plot more than real life has."³ Not surprisingly, the work of Howells and Twain moves back and forth across the thin line that separates their reportorial and travel experience from fiction. In a curious fashion realism tended to reinforce what has always been an important strand of the American imagination: the image of the journey, the conception of life as movement and process that finds its central expression in *Moby-Dick* and *Leaves of Grass*—and, of course, a generation later, *Huckleberry Finn*. In any case, realism was the natural and perhaps inevitable response of the new empirical spirit to the noise of collapsing institutions that was everywhere heard in the nineteenth century. For Americans in particular, it offered new opportunities for a Declaration of Literary Independence—for the creation of a truly national literature by a society whose central distinction was its newness. Certainly realism precisely fitted the limits of Howells' individual talent and helped him discover and develop it.

At the same time, every literary movement constitutes, at least by implication, a point of view toward human experience; it makes a set of assumptions about the nature of that wonderfully elusive thing called "reality." These assumptions may "contain multitudes" but they cannot contain everything; if I seem to have stressed the *limitations* of realism, it is because I want to trace the effect of these limitations on the work of two writers far greater than Howells. What was the effect of a theory that denied or dismissed the past on the work of men for whom the time sense was perhaps the most deeply felt dimension of experience?

We can not begin to understand Twain until we acknowledge the fact that *intellectually* he was a convinced realist, a militant foe of romance in all its manifestations. *The Innocents Abroad* sets the pattern of his later books; it is a private Declaration of Independence—his first attempt to define his role as an honest American reporter who "knows" only what he *sees*. In the second part of *Life on the Mississippi* he spends page after

³ Quotation © copyright 1964 by the Mark Twain Co.

page extolling the "genuine and wholesome civilization" of the modern industrial South as opposed to "the absurd past that is dead." In *A Connecticut Yankee* he makes a convulsive effort to destroy the past in one stroke, to sweep the scene clear for his practical, unsentimental man of affairs. And regarding his personal past, we must keep in mind a vigorous comment made to a childhood friend in the 1870s: "I told him to stop being 16 at 40; told him to stop drooling about the sweet yet melancholy past and take a pill. I said there was but one solitary thing about the past worth remembering and that was the fact that it is the past—can't be restored."

This, of course, is not the entire story. In the *Connecticut Yankee*, for example, the very violence of the attack suggests an obsessive concern with the past; the Yankee is a modern Merlin who will exorcise the ghosts from the premises. But the fact is the Yankee ultimately fails; instead of destroying the past he is somehow destroyed by it. On the one hand, the tragic conclusion of the book reflects Twain's growing sense of the moral continuity of history, a gradual loss of belief in progress that led him late in life to develop a cyclical theory of history. Here, of course, we are face to face with one of the paradoxes of realism. What was thrown out the front door tended to creep in the back. By its very process of reducing the past from heroics to sordid facts which might be safely rejected, realism opened the way for the re-establishment of one kind of meaningful relationship between past and present. To strip the past of its romance was—if one's belief in moral progress was not strong—simply to come face to face with the enduring spectacle of human nature. Everywhere in his work Howells pulls himself up short of this conclusion only by the most heroic act of faith. Twain eventually gave up trying and Henry James, by and large, never made the attempt.

But there is one other curious and significant aspect of the *Connecticut Yankee* that we must keep in mind. Henry Nash Smith and others have pointed out that Twain tentatively entitled the book "The Lost Land" and described it in the following way in his notebook: "He [i.e., the Yankee] mourns his lost land—has come to England & revisited it, but it is all changed & become old, so old!—& it was so fresh & new, so virgin before . . . Has lost all interest in life—is found dead next morning—suicide."⁴ Twain carries over much of this mournful note into the opening chapter of the finished work, which takes place in time long after the main action has been completed. Where we would expect unmitigated rejoicing on the Yankee's part that the changes he fought for have finally come about, we find instead melancholy and longing. In other

⁴ Quotation © copyright 1964 by the Mark Twain Co.

words, the Yankee's primary identification is ultimately with a past which he had considered it his whole duty to violate. From one point of view, as Twain's note suggests, the book describes an extended act of spiritual suicide.

Twain's comment on the *Connecticut Yankee* is strikingly similar to one he made regarding Howells' *Indian Summer*. "It is a beautiful story," he wrote Howells in a letter, "& makes a body laugh all the time, & cry inside, & feel so old & so forlorn; & gives him gracious glimpses of his lost youth that fill him with a measureless regret, & build up in him a cloudy sense of his having been a prince, once, in some enchanted far-off land, & of being in exile now, & desolate—& lord, no chance to ever get back there again! That is the thing that hurts." Again Twain's particular interpretation is an inversion of the official theme. The whole point of the story for Howells is that the past of Italy and the personal past of the main character must be rejected and that any attempt to recapture them constitutes the most irresponsible kind of sentimental folly. For Twain the exorcism will not work; the ghosts will not fade away in the glaring light of the nineteenth century. His commitment to the past, like that of Henry James, was far too deep and fundamental. Perhaps in some ways it was *more* fundamental than James'. He could not even obey the elementary injunction of realism that James chastized Sarah Orne Jewett for violating after she wrote her historical novel, *The Tory Lover*. "Go back to the dear country of the Pointed Firs," James begged her, "come back to the palpable present *intimate* that throbs responsive, and that wants, needs you. . . ."

We are face to face, of course, with Twain's *nostalgia*, his "homesickness" for the home that had been destroyed, his sense of wandering in exile from a "lost country." The sentiment is common to the century and is the product of the same forces that were to produce realism: change, disorientation, the "hateful" sense, as James put it, of "personal antiquity," of being able to trace in one's lifetime where "an age has come out." But nostalgia is also predicated on memory—or perhaps it would be better to say on the refusal to forget. It insists, irrationally, on clinging to the thread of time that realism is busy cutting up; nostalgia is a recessive, indeed, an illegitimate sentiment during this period. Yet it is felt all the more poignantly simply because it is illegitimate, because it is denied the dignity of recognition and rational expression. The crucial fact to remember about Twain is that he was intellectually committed to realism and emotionally committed to a nostalgic sense of the past. As a result he could find nothing but sentimental justification for something of vast psychological importance to him. His reason was constantly nibbling away at his imaginative life. Most important, the very sources

of his art rested on foundations that could not be rationally defended. His consciousness was (to use James' phrase) "cut in half" into two different and eternally hostile modes of experience: the tangible world of observation and fact; the intangible world of imagination and memory. Twain alternately fondled and violated the past depending on the mode that was uppermost at any given time. Only occasionally—the great example is, of course, *Huckleberry Finn*—did the modes come into any kind of fruitful equilibrium. Certainly an important reason for the development of so-called "regional" writing in America after the Civil War was that it offered the only legitimate meeting place for "facts" and memory.

It can not be emphasized enough that the nostalgic vision accepts the principle of discontinuity central to the realistic point of view. The nostalgic writer has his own Eden in the past—the place where value resides, where time has not yet begun or is somehow suspended. It is the clear counterpart to the atomistic present of realism. Like the realist also, the nostalgic writer cannot conceive of "youth" turning into "maturity." Twain's young people are "stuck" in the past, denied the possibility of an organic maturation in which innocence, imagination, memory and rational experience unite in a socially integrated personality. Much as he tried—and he tried often—he could never turn one of his young people into an adult. The realistic Twain labeled memory (in so far as it is our central means of preserving and interpreting the past) an "illusion" and violently attacked it; the nostalgic Twain accepted the label but felt very differently about the *value* of illusion. Later in life he wrote in an aphorism: "Don't part with your illusions: when they are gone you may still exist but you have ceased to live." He might have added that for the *artist* of illusions such a loss would have particularly tragic consequences. Where Howells abandoned the past and worked toward an art that made a temple of reflecting the surface of contemporary American life, Twain is most completely the "split" personality who seldom achieved a workable relation between his emotional ties to the past and an intellectual commitment to the present. It was left to James to open up avenues of reconciliation—avenues down which many writers of a more recent generation have walked.

To the task of reconciliation James brought an abiding conviction of the need for continuity; for Americans it was the most pressing national problem left unsolved. We are, he said, dedicated to the "expensively provisional"; "we have nothing to do with continuity, responsibility, transmission." This is the heart of his complaint against America as he developed it late in life in *The American Scene*. European life offered a sharp contrast. Of a thirteenth-century abbey in England which had been turned into a private home, James wrote approvingly: "The new life and

the old have melted together; there is no dividing-line." He noted that the townspeople of Arles in France used the Roman arena there as a passageway from one part of town to another and commented that "this familiarity does not kill the place again; it makes it, on the contrary, live a little—makes the present and the past touch each other." The island of Capri, James called "antiquity in solution"—"the old story," he said, "of the deep interfusion of the present with the past." The images here are significant: melting together, touching, deep interfusion. Though he had moments of being swept away by nostalgia, James' most profound vision is not of escape to an ideal past of dreams and fantasy but of the preservation of a real past as a dimension of the living and active present. For James the present could literally *incorporate* the past: make it, that is, one in body. Without a past, an individual or a society had no identity—no "tone" to use James' favorite word.

Such incorporation was seriously conceivable to James because he was willing to accept the *whole* of the past—its cost in human suffering as well as its ingrained beauty of form and color. He senses, for example, what he calls the "horror" of Capri and characteristically goes on to analyze his feelings: "The beauty and the poetry . . . were clear enough, and the extraordinary uplifted distinction; but where, in all this, it may be asked, was the element of 'horror' that I have spoken of as sensible. . . . I'm afraid I'm driven to plead that these evils were exactly in one's imagination, a predestined victim always of the cruel, the fatal historic sense. To make so much distinction, how much history had been needed! . . . the whole air still throbbed and ached with it." To accept fusion was to acknowledge and finally accept the horror; it was, in other words, to deny the absolute moral distinction between past and present which was a cornerstone of American realism. The essence of history, James said elsewhere, is "the sense of human relations"; in this one phrase he rejected both the idealization and the exclusion of the past. To the realist's steady vision James added a new awareness of the variety and complexity of human experience.

But even if one granted the *need* for continuity, how was it to be maintained in a time of change? James' answer, given with many doubts and qualifications, was a testimonial to the value of memory and imagination. Memory was the supreme preserver: "the faculty," as he defined it, "of putting together in an order the sharp minutes and hours that the wave of time has been as ready to pass over as the salt sea to wipe out the letters and words your stick has traced in the sand." The imagination was actively re-creative; from the hints of the past it could reconstruct the total picture. Together with memory it supplied the perceptions and impressions which—to again quote James—"became, not a waste, but a

positive gain of consciousness, an intensification . . . of experience." Here James most radically parts company with traditional realism, which made a sharp distinction between tangible and intangible experience. Intangible experience was to be rejected by the strong-minded; the function of the realistic artist was to report the observed facts. Objectivity—the great rallying cry of critical realists—demanded the separation of the author and his consciousness from the book in favor of description, analysis and dialogue. James supported the principle of objectivity just as he believed that the novel should deal with contemporary life; his blunt advice to Sara Orne Jewett shows his awareness that the historical novel was simply a colorful way of perpetrating discontinuity. Yet in arguing that the sense of the past was "not a waste, but a positive gain," he was defending consciousness, the only medium in which this sense could thrive. James' great compromise was to bring to realism the principle of point of view—the device of using centers of consciousness built around various characters to give a sense of the coherence and fusion of all experience without the author himself abandoning his objectivity or his use of "present" time as the primary setting of the novel. For James, as the English critic Dorothea Krook has noted, "the world of art . . . is a beautiful presentation of the appearances present to a particular consciousness under particular conditions." Among these so-called "appearances" the sense of the past played a prominent role, although the past was only meaningful as it manifested itself in immediate experience. In commenting upon his short story the "Altar of the Dead," James reminded his readers that a "sense of the state of the dead is but part of the sense of the state of the living."

The nostalgic mood was by no means foreign to James, but it is not of central importance to his life and work except in so far as it represents the psychic problem whose solution was most pressing for him. Like Yeats and others of a later generation, he refused to accept his disinheritance. Far from being impotent, memory was a vital and valid dimension of the living and creating mind. Indeed, in the creative process the principle of continuity found ultimate expression; this conviction is the central rationale for the revisions included in the New York Edition. In the Preface to *Roderick Hudson* James describes how an artist "cleans up" and looks over an old work until the "strange charm" of subject and treatment rekindles his imagination and helps him "to live back into a forgotten state." He goes on to say how this charm "breathes upon the dead reasons of things buried as they are in the texture of the work, and makes them revive, so that the actual appearances and the old motives fall together once more, and a lesson and a moral and a consecrating light are somehow disengaged." The artist's consciousness, in other words—

standing outside each individual work but ultimately the greatest "character" in one supreme fiction—achieves a final order and coherence by giving to the temporal manifestations of this consciousness a "living" immediacy and relevance. The New York Edition constitutes his supreme attempt to bind together the broken threads of time—his testament to what he called the "joy" of "that constructive, that creative passion . . . the great extension, great beyond all others of experience and of consciousness."



"BY THE MARK TWAIN!"

BRYANT MOREY FRENCH

La Verne College

Mark Twain, Laura D. Fair and the New York Criminal Courts

WHEN, IN LATE DECEMBER 1873, MARK TWAIN PUBLISHED HIS FIRST NOVEL, *The Gilded Age*, he and his collaborator, Charles Dudley Warner, gave it the subtitle "A Tale of To-Day." The phrase was more than usually meaningful, for the novel's most sensational elements had been based upon barely disguised national scandals; indeed, the presence of these elements might alone have accounted for the book's rapid rise to a best-seller. It has long been known that the two lengthiest and most prominent episodes of *The Gilded Age*—the Senate investigation of Senator Dilworthy for vote buying and Laura Hawkins' trial for murder—were quite literally drawn from two events of nationwide interest, the investigation of Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas and the murder trial of the San Francisco adventuress Laura D. Fair.¹ The Pomeroy scandal had been in the headlines almost continuously from the end of January until the first week of March; the Laura Fair trial had been headlined intermittently from June 1871 until January 1873. Five of the reviews of the novel openly identified Dilworthy as Pomeroy (another one did so indirectly), and three reviews, one of them British, saw Laura D. Fair in Laura Hawkins.²

The Laura Fair scandal was less familiar than the Pomeroy case only because Mrs. Fair was not a political figure; her prolonged series of court trials and appeals was emblazoned in American headlines from coast to

¹ See Albert R. Kitzhaber, "Mark Twain's Use of the Pomeroy Case in *The Gilded Age*," *Modern Language Quarterly*, XV (March 1954), 42-56; Franklin Walker, "An Influence from San Francisco on Mark Twain's *The Gilded Age*," *American Literature*, VIII (March 1936), 63-66.

² The reviews identifying both Dilworthy and Laura were in *Old and New*, IX (March 1874), 386-88, and in the Springfield (Mass.) *Union* (clipping in large broadside "Notices of the Press," in the Mark Twain Papers, University of California Library, Berkeley [hereafter cited as MTP]). The others that identified Dilworthy were in the *Boston Transcript*, December 23, 1873, p. 6, *Boston Saturday Evening Gazette*, *Pomeroy's Democrat* (N. Y.) (clippings of last two in "Notices"), and, by implication, the *Independent*, XXVI (January 1, 1874), 1642. A British newspaper also named Laura (unidentified, undated clipping in MTP).

coast. Though known before locally, Laura Fair came into national prominence because her trial epitomized an abuse of the court system in the United States that was currently the subject of heated controversy—the plea of temporary insanity. With the passing of time, however, both Mrs. Fair and the issue she had served to dramatize were relegated to obscurity and their role in *The Gilded Age* was forgotten.³

In 1936 Franklin Walker wrote a well-documented pioneering article showing the exactness with which Clemens and Warner had transferred the Laura Fair case into the pages of their novel.⁴ Walker pointed out:

Laura Hawkins' motive for killing her paramour, her means of accomplishing the act, and her defense and the grounds for her acquittal are in essential points the same as those of the Western murderess. . . .

He further suggested that Warner wrote the trial chapters "because he was more familiar with New York court procedure" but that the idea itself of satirizing the Fair case was Clemens', conclusions borne out by my examination of the original manuscript;⁵ and he showed that Clemens had based the episode in which the acquitted Laura attempts to lecture on a similar venture by Mrs. Fair.⁶ Finally, he showed that as Mrs. Fair had created excitement by an earlier shooting—this one not fatal—in Virginia City, Nevada, at the time Clemens was on the *Territorial Enterprise*, the latter undoubtedly knew her and may for that reason have had more than passing interest in her later trial for murder.⁷

³ The last mention of the use of the Fair case in *The Gilded Age* before 1936 appears to be in Walter M. Fisher, *The Californians* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 100-1.

⁴ See above, note 1.

⁵ Bryant Morey French, "The *Gilded Age* Manuscript," *The Yale University Library Gazette*, XXXV (July 1960), 35-41.

Walker's propositions were based on (1) the fact that Laura was Clemens' heroine and that it was he who was "responsible for the social history" of the novel and (2) the then-known division of labor given in Clemens' letter to Dr. Brown (*Mark Twain's Letters*, arr. Albert Bigelow Paine [New York, 1917], I, 214-15), corroborated by his letter to Mrs. Fairbanks, which was later published by Dixon Wecter (*Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks* [San Marino, Calif., 1949], p. 184). Ernest E. Leisy's study of Clemens' annotated copy of the novel, published ten months later, credited all of the pertinent chapters (chaps. xxxix, xlvi, xlvii, liv, lv, lvi, and lviii) to Warner, with the exception of the final "boss" chapter, Colonel Sellers' testimony in chap. lvi, the interview with the lecture agent in chap. lviii, all of which were written by Clemens, and the paragraph containing Laura's hypothetical commitment to the Hospital for Lunatic Criminals in chap. lviii, marked "W and C" ("Mark Twain's Part in *The Gilded Age*," *American Literature*, VIII [January 1937], 445-47). Examination of extant portions of the manuscript reveals no serious deviation from Clemens' annotation.

⁶ There are certain interesting differences, however, between the real and the fictional lecturing incidents the full implications of which were left unexplored by Walker, as will appear below.

⁷ For details of this earlier shooting, see George D. Lyman, *The Saga of the Comstock Lode* (New York and London, 1934), p. 170.

The Laura Fair case had begun in November 1870 and had extended through September 1872, flaring up again only briefly in January 1873 (when Mrs. Fair attempted her lecturing), so that rather than being concurrent copy for the novel, as was the Pomeroy case, it was recent history. The scandal was sensational enough, however, to be fresh in the minds of the novel's readers. For purposes of artistic unity and compression, the authors took certain unimportant liberties with the facts. For example, though Mrs. Fair's first trial had ended in conviction, an appeal to the Supreme Court secured a reversal of judgment on a technicality, and not until her second trial in September 1872 was she acquitted.⁸ In *The Gilded Age*, the second, acquitting trial is the only one used. The venue is changed from San Francisco to New York in order to keep the court proceedings in proximity to the episodes in Washington, give an excuse for satirizing a well-known New York criminal lawyer in the character of Braham, and allow the notoriously corrupt practices of the New York courts to be satirized. The scene of the shooting is similarly changed from the deck of the Oakland-San Francisco ferryboat to the public lobby of a New York hotel, though the motive for the crime is exactly the same.⁹ And the postacquittal lecture is actually attempted in the novel to heighten the dramatic irony and provide an excuse for Laura Hawkins' death. (Mrs. Fair did not dare venture to the public hall where her lecture had been scheduled. Instead she wrote a pamphlet on her experiences.)¹⁰

⁸ The two trials were mentioned, without elaboration, by Walker. The murder was committed on November 3, 1870. The first trial, which began in April 1871, ended on June 4 with a verdict of murder in the first degree and Mrs. Fair was sentenced to be hanged on July 28. On appeal, the Supreme Court stayed sentence until February 1872, when a new trial was ordered on the grounds that the lower court had erred in allowing counsel for the defense to close the arguments and in having allowed evidence of "her former bad character for chastity." On June 9 a motion for a change of venue was overruled and a second trial set for the 24th. On the plea of inaccessibility of witnesses the defense obtained postponement of this trial until the first Monday in September, then to September 9. On September 30, the jury after being out nearly sixty hours rendered a verdict of acquittal on the grounds of temporary insanity (*New York Times*, November 5, 1870; June 4, 1871; February 6, June 9, 27, September 5, October 1, 1872).

⁹ Like Laura Hawkins, Mrs. Fair (as Walker stated) had been the mistress of a married man, Judge Alexander P. Crittenden, a leading San Francisco lawyer, though, it should be added, without the bigamous pretense of a false marriage.

In the manuscript the hotel was at one point called the Willard, then changed to the Southern (MS. page 1247, Morse Collection, Yale University Library [hereafter cited as Morse], Container 12b). Did Warner at first intend to place the murder in Washington?

¹⁰ It having been announced that Mrs. Fair would deliver a lecture at Platt's Hall in San Francisco on November 21, 1872, a crowd of about two thousand people gathered in front of the hall and another crowd outside her residence a few blocks away, both of them "boisterous and threatening" according to the *New York Times*, "anxious for a lark" but not noisy or demonstrative according to the *San Francisco Bulletin*. A carriage

The Laura Fair trial focused national attention on the corruption in the United States judiciary system, the most flagrant examples of which were to be found in the New York City criminal courts. At the time that a retrial was ordered for Laura Fair, seven months after her original sentencing, the *New York Times* cited the case as a prime example of thwarting justice through delaying tactics on the one hand and incompetence on the other. In its editorial, "Balking Justice," the *Times* lambasted the incompetence of the bench as the principal cause of procrastination:

. . . all through the trial the course of a Judge nowadays is weak, wavering, without dignity, without authority. The counsel for the prisoner is allowed to set up all sorts of frivolous pleas and pretenses, and to support them by long, tedious, quibbling arguments that weary and confuse the jury, and retard and often pervert the course of justice, when they ought to be swept aside with the prompt and decided exercise of a little common sense and authority. . . .¹¹

When even the retrial of Laura Fair was postponed for three months until September 1872, the *Times* pointed out that a "fearful mortality" had already occurred among those connected with the case.¹² In *The Gilded Age*, Colonel Sellers is jubilant when he receives a telegram stating that the Hawkins trial has been postponed.

" . . . Bless my life, what lawyers they have in New York! Give them money to fight with, and the ghost of an excuse, and they would manage to postpone anything in this world, unless it might be the millennium or something like that" (p. 471).

Warner's depiction of the presiding judge at the Hawkins trial, Judge O'Shaunnessy, who had worked his way up from street arab to magistrate via the route of police court politics, not by study of the law (p. 487),¹³ corresponds to the general informed view of the New York bench, particularly of the judges installed by the Tammany Ring. "Most of the justices in charge of criminal business in New York," stated the *North American Review*, "are coarse, profane, uneducated men, knowing nothing of law except what they have picked up in their experience on the bench.

came for Mrs. Fair, but the Chief of Police warned her against venturing out. When a police posse took possession of the entrance to Mrs. Fair's lodging house, which men had attempted to force, and it was announced at the hall that the lecture had been cancelled, the crowds dispersed, including "the man with the basket of spoiled eggs" (*New York Times*, November 22, 1872, p. 1, col. 6; *Bulletin*, November 22, p. 1, col. 1).

Laura Fair's pamphlet, published in San Francisco in 1873, carried the title originally intended for the lecture, *Wolves in the Fold*.

¹¹ February 8, 1872, p. 4, col. 3.

¹² July 2, 1872, p. 4, col. 5.

¹³ Page numbers in parentheses in the text refer to the first American edition of *The Gilded Age* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1873).

One of the best of them was a butcher until he became a police justice; another was formerly a bar-keeper."¹⁴

O'Shaunnessy's original, indeed, appears to have been Judge John McCunn, a Tammany protégé, who had immigrated from Ireland at sixteen, learned a smattering of law as a messenger boy in the offices of attorney Charles O'Connor, been admitted to the bar in his early twenties, and, having barely escaped court-martial during the Civil War, been elected Judge of the Superior Court in 1863 and again in 1870. At the height of his career, McCunn, who was described as "outwardly good-natured and even jovial" though notoriously corrupt, treacherous and vain, had accumulated a fortune of a million and a half dollars through fraud and speculation and maintained a manorial estate in Ireland, on which his mother lived.¹⁵ In the novel, Judge O'Shaunnessy has a "rather jovial face, sharp rather than intellectual," and "a self-sufficient air," is "descended from a long line of Irish Kings" (though the first to have come into his kingdom), and "believing that a dependant judge can never be impartial" has "prudently laid away money" and has acquired lands and houses worth several hundred thousand dollars (pp. 486-87).

The novel's principal attack against court corruption, however, is directed toward abuse of the jury system, at the time a nationally recognized disgrace. Half a chapter is devoted to an appallingly amusing account of the empaneling of Laura Hawkins' jury. After "four weary days" the process is completed fairly satisfactorily—only two jurymen can read!

Low foreheads and heavy faces they all had; some had a look of animal cunning, while the most were only stupid. The entire pannel [*sic*] formed that boasted heritage commonly described as the "bulwark of our liberties" (p. 493).

This jury selection is drawn with telling accuracy from that of the Laura Fair trial, described by the *Times* as "the most ignorant jury of her countrymen that could be obtained."¹⁶

Informed opinion among the leading newspapers and magazines of the time was strongly aroused concerning the jury system and among the chief voices of protest was that of Mark Twain. In *Roughing It* he had written that "the jury system puts a ban upon intelligence and honesty, and a

¹⁴ "The Judiciary of New York," CV (July 1867), 166.

¹⁵ See the *Nation*, XV (July 11, 1872), 18-19; *New York Times*, July 7, 1872, p. 1, col. 2; *New York Tribune*, July 8, 1872, p. 8, col. 3; *North American Review*, CXIX (October 1874), 396. I am indebted to Hamlin Hill for the suggestion John McCunn was O'Shaunnessy's original.

¹⁶ October 1, 1872, p. 4, col. 6. In its report of the acquittal, datelined San Francisco, September 30, the *Times* stated: "The verdict excites no surprise, on account of the inferior character of the jury" (p. 1, col. 7).

premium upon ignorance, stupidity, and perjury"; a year later, he was still insisting that "its efficiency is only marred by the difficulty of finding twelve men every day who don't know anything and can't read."¹⁷ While *The Gilded Age* was in the making, he took time to write a blistering letter of sarcasm concerning the Foster murder trial, which again had been long-drawn-out despite overwhelming evidence. In it he described the ideal criminal juror as "an intellectual vacuum, attached to a melting heart, and perfectly macaronian bowels of compassion."¹⁸ A British observer of American mores of the time described the unemployed vagabonds hanging about the courts for the chance to be put upon a jury for a dollar and a half a day, many standing "open-handed for a bribe far outweighing that pay."¹⁹ The reference is strikingly similar to a deleted passage in one of Warner's manuscript pages for the empaneling episode:

It is one of the mysteries, even to those most familiar with the ignorance and crime of the city of New York, where the sheriff finds the men he summons for jury duty. He must have some process of detection unknown to the census taker, or he could not bring in such an array of incapables, men whose intellectual and moral perceptions are not equal to those of the codfish and the ferret. Bad as the lot offered in this case was, however, it was too good to suit Counsellor Braham, who had great difficulty in finding among them twelve men ignorant enough for his purpose.²⁰

In *The Gilded Age* four other juries are mentioned outside that of the Hawkins trial: the inconclusive jury of inquest on the steamboat explosion (p. 52), the jury of asylum inmates and graduates of Sing Sing that vindicate the unscrupulous Weed and O'Riley (pp. 303-4), the quibbling jury of inquest on Selby's death (p. 423), and the inferentially indifferent jury of inquest on Laura's death (p. 551). As all of these except the Selby jury are certainly Clemens' creations, the question suggests itself as to how influential Clemens may have been in what the internal evidence shows to be totally Warner's chapter, at least in its final draft. As Daniel McKeithan has pointed out, by 1870 Clemens had probably ac-

¹⁷ *Roughing It*, II (*The Writings of Mark Twain*, Author's National Edition [New York and London, 1907-18] VIII), 76; *Mark Twain's Speeches*, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (New York, 1910), p. 35.

¹⁸ *New York Tribune*, March 10, 1873, p. 5, as quoted by Arthur L. Vogelback, "Mark Twain, Newspaper Contributor," *American Literature*, XX (May 1948), 113; reprinted in *Mark Twain: Life As I Find It*, ed. Charles Neider (Garden City, N. Y., 1961), pp. 166-67. Cf. Twain's humorous letter to Josh Billings in the *New York Weekly*, July 14, 1873: "An ignorance so shining and conspicuous as yours—Now I have it—go on a jury" (*Twainian*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 3, February 1944).

¹⁹ G. Manigault, *The United States Unmasked* (London, 1879), p. 135.

²⁰ MS. page 1248 (Morse 12b).

quired knowledge of trial procedure sufficient to describe a trial effectively.²¹ Howells mentioned his friend's reading "a volume of great trials."²² Between 1864 and 1872 Clemens had put at least eight trials into his writings, half of them murder trials. Therefore, although Warner's practice as a lawyer²³ had undoubtedly given him a firsthand knowledge of legal technicalities that strengthened his depiction of courtroom scenes, Clemens was by no means unversed in court procedures. Most significant of all, the Clemens scrapbook for 1872-73 is devoted largely to reports of crimes and includes clippings on the Foster murder trial, a New York *Tribune* editorial on the "Impunity of Murder" containing specific references to Laura Fair,²⁴ and a New York *Times* article concerning the alleged encouragement of homicide by acquittals based on technicalities.²⁵ Certainly Clemens must have taken a lively interest in the trial of his character Laura and helped construct it.

It is unquestionable that Clemens established the theme of the Laura Hawkins acquittal—beneficent insanity. Of course, because the acquittal of Laura D. Fair had been based on the defense plea of "emotional insanity,"²⁶ the authors of its fictional counterpart could hardly have been true to their original without using the same grounds. The fact is, however, that Clemens was eager for an excuse to satirize what he called the "beneficent insanity plea" in full dress and for this reason must have

²¹ *Court Trials in Mark Twain and Other Essays* (s-Gravenhage, (1958), p. 7.

²² William Dean Howells, *My Mark Twain* (New York, 1911), p. 15.

²³ See Thomas R. Lounsbury, "Biographical Sketch," in *The Complete Writings of Charles Dudley Warner* (Hartford, 1904), XV, ix-x.

²⁴ The editorial (December 12, 1872, p. 4, col. 2) says in part: "When a woman shoots a man because he loves her, or because he does not, or because he says she loves him, or because he loves somebody else or because she does, or because he is sitting in the neighborhood of a person she wants to abolish, or for any other reason which seems good in her beautiful eyes, it is hard to say whether the majority of readers do not at once jump to the conclusion that the gentle murderer must have suffered bitterly to have been driven to such extremity."

²⁵ "Killing No Murder," New York *Times*, November 25, 1872, p. 8, cols. 1-3. Scrapbook in MTP.

²⁶ "The defense was insanity; but, as her condition was certainly not insanity in the ordinary and usually accepted significance of that word, it was called 'emotional insanity'" (Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* [San Francisco, 1898], IV, 515).

Cf. *Official Report of the Trial of Laura D. Fair* . . . (San Francisco, 1871), Preface: "The defense introduced medical testimony, to show that the defendant, at the time of the shooting, and long prior thereto, had been suffering from scanty and retarded menstruation, a chronic disease of the womb, an enemic condition of the blood, and great prostration of the nervous system; and that these organic diseases, together with the disappointment caused by the failure of the deceased to fulfill his promise to get a divorce from his wife and marry the accused, and also his permitting his wife and family to return to this State from the East, contrary to such promise, had affected her mind, and that hence, at times, before, after, and at the time of the shooting, she was crazed, and perfectly unconscious of everything that transpired."

chosen the notorious Fair trial as best suited to his purpose. He had for several years been fulminating against the plea as a legal device for evading justice. As a target for public attack it was, indeed, second only to the jury system. Mark Twain joined with enlightened journalists of the time in what today might appear at first glance a highly reactionary stand against a forward step in the psychology of crime and the consequently more intelligent and humane treatment of the mentally ill criminal. Actually, the field of psychology in its modern, scientific sense had scarcely begun to develop, and the outcry was quite justifiably against a new legal technicality or "gimmick" whereby a clever defense counsel could induce an ignorant jury and an incompetent bench to acquit and set free a pathological killer. Like many advanced concepts the insanity plea, before it could find scientific foundation and be safeguarded by socially beneficent laws, was turned into a mockery of itself. It was this contradictory form that aroused public wrath and that, incidentally, because it obscured the positively good underlying concept, seriously delayed the latter's proper development.²⁷

In this spirit Twain had, two years before, written and sent to his publisher, Elisha Bliss, a proposed dedication for *Roughing It*: "To the Late Cain . . . out of a mere human commiseration for him that it was his misfortune to live in a dark age that knew not the beneficent Insanity Plea."²⁸ Far from being the "humoristic impulse of the moment" that Albert Bigelow Paine considered it, it was only the latest in a succession of Mark Twain diatribes against the plea, the first of which appeared in the *Alta California* in July 1867.²⁹ In "A New Crime: Legislation Needed" (1870), he summed up the Baldwin, Lynch Hackett and Bridget Durgin [*sic*] cases with the conclusion that "what we want now, is not laws against crime, but a law against *insanity*."³⁰ He declared in "The 'Tournament' in A.D. 1870" that if the bloodthirsty heroes of medieval romance should come to life again "nothing but a New York jury and the insanity plea

²⁷ The *Nation*, for example, in an editorial on "Jury Morality," had this to say: "The plea of insanity, too, by which murders are now so frequently excused, is receiving . . . dreadful amplification. . . . the symptoms of insanity have, in the hands of mad doctors, been worked up into a system of extreme delicacy and complexity, in which one of the obscurest of all fields of human investigation is elaborately mapped out and placed before ignorant jurymen with as much confidence as the plan of a house or a topographical survey" (X [May 19, 1870], 315).

²⁸ *Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 188; Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), II, 439-40.

²⁹ The case of Bridget Dergan in section entitled "Blood" in Letter XXII, dated May 26, 1867, quoted in *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown*, eds. Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane (New York, 1940), pp. 234-35; also in section entitled "Bridget Durgan [*sic*]" in Letter XXV, dated June 5 (*Mr. Brown*, p. 263).

³⁰ *Sketches New and Old (Writings of Mark Twain, XIX)*, p. 250.

could save them from hanging."³¹ The most devastating of Twain's attacks on the insanity plea prior to *The Gilded Age* was his *Buffalo Express* article "Our Precious Lunatic" (1870), which is a mock verdict of the jury in the famous McFarland murder trial, listing fifteen ludicrously phrased reasons for considering the defendant insane, each successively more far-fetched.³² Of especial interest in this parody is the manner in which the author anticipates the handling of Laura Hawkins' acquittal, first reporting McFarland's insane rage, capture and committal to an asylum, then adding in a postscript ("LATER") that instead of sending him to the asylum "(which I naturally supposed they would do, and so I prematurely *said* they had) the court has actually SET HIM AT LIBERTY."³³

Public reaction to Laura Fair's acquittal tended to be polarized. There were those on the one hand who felt that a personal score had been paid off by the shooting, that a family man "who would meddle with a woman as he [Crittenden] did with Mrs. Fair, should do it at his own risk."³⁴ Walter M. Fisher, a contemporary historiographer who considered the California spirit "very Gallic" in this respect, wrote that "Mark Twain and Mr. Dudley Warner are only stating a simple fact when they assert in 'The Gilded Age,' that 'the woman who lays her hand on a man, without any exception whatever, is always acquitted by the jury;' . . ."³⁵ On the other hand were those whose male guilt at their social domination over women led them to self-righteous condemnation of Mrs. Fair, "a woman," as the *New York Times* declared editorially, "who has outraged

³¹ *Galaxy*, X (July 1870), 136; reprinted in *The Curious Republic of Gondour and Other Whimsical Sketches* (New York, 1919), p. 40, and *Mark Twain: Life As I Find It*, p. 125; reproduced in *Contributions to The Galaxy, 1868-1871*, by Mark Twain, ed. Bruce R. McElderry Jr. (Gainesville, Fla., 1961), p. 60. In a letter to the *New York Tribune*, published January 9, 1873, advocating annexation of the Sandwich Islands, Twain specified the blessings the United States could offer, including "leather-headed juries, the insanity law, and the Tweed Ring" (Walter Francis Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* [Chicago, 1947], p. 500).

³² *Express*, May 14, 1870; reprinted in *Curious Republic of Gondour . . .*, pp. 110-18, and *Life As I Find It*, pp. 109-12. Twain commented again on the McFarland case in the *Galaxy* in July (X, 137-138) under the general heading, interestingly, of "Unburlesquable Things" (see *Life As I Find It*, pp. 126-29; *Contributions to The Galaxy*, pp. 61-62).

³³ In *The Gilded Age*, after the jury has returned a verdict of not guilty, the judge apparently commits Laura to the State Hospital for Insane Criminals and she is unceremoniously conveyed to the institution and placed in confinement. Then without warning the authors break in: "—We beg the reader's pardon. This is not history, which has just been written. It is really what would have occurred if this were a novel. . . ."

"But this is history and not fiction. There is no such law or custom as that to which His Honor is supposed to have referred; . . . What actually occurred when the tumult in the court room had subsided the sagacious reader will now learn" (pp. 524-25).

³⁴ Hittell, p. 516.

³⁵ *The Californians*, p. 100.

nearly all the fundamental principles on which society rests."³⁶ The dilemma was effectively expressed by the San Francisco *Bulletin* in an editorial entitled "A Mockery of Justice":

While the enforcement of a capital sentence upon a woman would shock most persons as much as the crime with which she was charged, and while many many think that, so far as mere punishment goes, the wretched woman has already suffered more than death, the fact of a total quittance will seem to all right thinkers an occurrence calculated to lessen the restraints upon crime, . . . The lax code that would condone murder on such grounds would soon make murder common and law a farce. . . .³⁷

The division is reflected in the novel. There are, for example, the newspaper commentaries that speak of Colonel Selby as having "reaped the harvest he sowed" and that it is "'the old story'" (p. 430) and the Colonel's dying deposition that he had wronged Laura and deserved his fate (p. 496). Yet, as the authors state, "upon the first publication of the facts of the tragedy, there was an almost universal feeling of rage against the murderess" (p. 431).

This polarity of viewpoints was significantly altered when Mrs. Fair proposed to take to the public lecture platform. Many who had originally condoned or been indifferent to the murder of Crittenden were now outraged. Had Mrs. Fair gone into retirement and disappeared from public view, as was provided for Laura Hawkins in Warner's draft of the "boss" chapter, discarded in favor of Clemens' version,³⁸ popular opinion would have remained relatively static. But Mrs. Fair attempted to make of her history a *cause célèbre*—a purpose implicit in her topic "Wolves in the Fold."³⁹ She had throughout her trials received the ardent support of a group of extremists in the women's rights movement. These "strong-minded" women, advocates of direct action against their male oppressors, had demonstrated at her first-trial conviction.⁴⁰ Thereafter she had become a martyr to "the women of San Francisco of the school of Mrs. EMILY PITT STEVENS, known to fame as the 'Heroine of the Revolver,' and the editress of a woman's journal."⁴¹ Needless to say, the anarchistic

³⁶ October 1, 1872, p. 4, col. 5.

³⁷ September 30, 1872, p. 2, col. 1.

³⁸ Leisy, *American Literature*, VIII, 447; *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks*, p. 171.

³⁹ The New York Times commented editorially: "With such a shepherdess to preside over the innocent lambs of the Pacific coast, and to warn them against the wolves that are always prowling about seeking an entrance into the fold, we see no reason why California should not speedily become a second Garden of Eden, . . ." (November 20, 1872, p. 4, col. 2).

⁴⁰ New York Tribune, June 5, 1871, p. 1, col. 4.

⁴¹ New York Times, July 2, 1872, p. 4, col. 5.

position of these women was a serious handicap to nineteenth-century feminism.

Though kept in the background, this theme is also reflected in *The Gilded Age*. One of the journals reporting the crime adds: "'Laura, straying into her Thessaly with the youth Brierly, slays her other lover and becomes the champion of the wrongs of her sex'" (p. 430). When the lecture agent interviews Laura, he suggests that she make "woman" the subject of her address, "the marriage relation, woman's fate, anything of that sort. Call it *The Revelations of a Woman's Life*" (p. 527). Residing at Nook Farm, a colony strongly under the influence of women's rights advocacy, particularly that of Isabella Beecher Hooker, Clemens and Warner could hardly ignore the issue as it related to the trial of Mrs. Fair. Yet the theme remains undeveloped in the novel. Laura Hawkins' motivation for lecturing is not that implied in her agent's suggestions: she turns to "that final resort of the disappointed of her sex, the lecture platform" because the "one thing left that could give a passing zest to a wasted life . . . was fame, admiration, the applause of the multitude" (p. 547). In view of Clemens' later championship of women's rights, this shallow, negative and unconsciously cynical handling of Laura's motivation, so at variance with her maturity and experience, can be explained partly by Clemens' life-long tendency to idealize and romanticize women—a subject beyond the scope of the present paper. It can to a large degree be explained also by the fact that in 1873 his convictions concerning the woman question had not as yet crystallized.⁴²

Though Laura Hawkins never emerges as a fully visualized personality but to the end remains a lay figure representing certain elements of the satire, she is endowed by her creators, in her trial scenes, with a physical appearance and behavior pattern modeled on Mrs. Fair. When Laura enters the courtroom, she is

very pale, but this pallor heightened the lustre of her large eyes and gave a touching sadness to her expressive face. . . . There was in her manner or face neither shame nor boldness, . . . her eyes were down-

⁴² This fact goes far toward explaining why the authors did not make more of Colonel Selby's dying deposition in the trial, a seeming oversight pointed out by McKeithan (*Court Trials*, p. 14).

As a lad of seventeen Clemens had accepted unquestioningly the prejudices of his period, casting occasional jibes at women in his brother Orion's *Journal* (Dixon Wecter, *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* [Boston, 1952], pp. 179-80, 258); and fifteen years later, at the age of thirty-two, his attitude was much the same (see Edgar Marquiss Branch, *The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain* [Urbana, Ill., 1950], p. 192; Frear, p. 144). He was favorably impressed, however, with the views of the women's rights leader Anna Dickinson when he heard her lecture in 1867 (*Mr. Brown*, pp. 105-6), and after his marriage his attitude began to change noticeably.

cast. A murmur of admiration ran through the room. The newspaper reporters made their pencils fly (pp. 488-89).

The San Francisco *Chronicle* described Mrs. Fair on her first day of trial.

Mrs. Fair has doubtless been a handsome woman, though anxiety and long sickness have left their indelible marks upon her face. . . . Her expression is that of great sadness, weariness and passive suffering—such a face as would be likely to materially aid the efforts of counsel in such a case as the present.⁴³

Laura Hawkins' initial shock at her own act and her arraignment are described thus:

The statement from Laura was not full, in fact it was fragmentary, and . . . was, as the reporter significantly remarked, "incoherent." . . . When the reporter asked:

"What made you shoot him, Miss Hawkins?" Laura's only reply was, very simply,

"Did I shoot him? Do they say I shot him?" . . . (p. 425).

Mrs. Fair's behavior was similarly incoherent but far more violent. She "raved wildly," "was in a condition of apparent delirium," and "talked in a rambling way about what she had done"; she was put under opiates and was constantly attended by a nurse.⁴⁴

It is perfectly evident that the exigencies of the novel's propaganda against the insanity plea necessitated a softening of the actual behavior of the defendant. Laura Hawkins could not be allowed to be convincingly hysterical. Though she is momentarily cast in the role of Mrs. Fair, she has her own history in the novel and is decidedly a sympathetic character, following in her emotional, passionate nature and in the circumstances of her death the tradition of sensation fiction. Mrs. Fair was quite another person, whose antecedent life could not have been portrayed in the novel without altering its entire tone and conception, and it is obvious that neither author for a moment contemplated doing so.

Mrs. Fair was a highly neurotic and unstable person, and the true story of her life, which today might be told with understanding from the viewpoint of psychological realism, in the moral climate of the 1870s would have met with outrage and indignation. Married at sixteen, she had had four husbands, one of whom had committed suicide and two been divorced from her, and had carried on her sexual activity so openly

⁴³ Quoted in *Official Report*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Official Report*, p. 1.

that she became "a household word in the land."⁴⁵ Whereas in the novel Laura Hawkins receives the devoted ministrations of her adopted mother, Laura Fair actually sued her mother for misappropriating money intended for the daughter she had had by Crittenden.⁴⁶ So thoroughly debased and desperate had Mrs. Fair become that before her second trial she had plotted to poison the judge who had sentenced her at her first one.⁴⁷

That the trial and acquittal of Laura Hawkins was intended by Mark Twain primarily as an exposé of the American jury system and the abusive insanity plea and only secondarily as a parody of the Fair case is made abundantly clear by the play he based on the novel. This play, *Colonel Sellers*, was presented in a long initial run and revived many times by the comedian John T. Raymond, whose performance in the lead role of Sellers established his own reputation. The fact that Warner relinquished all rights to the play and that Clemens wrote the acting script himself, avowedly based on his own material from the novel,⁴⁸ also gives conclusive proof that though the trial chapters of *The Gilded Age* are ostensibly Warner's the concept is Clemens'.

The final scene of the play as originally written by Clemens ends as follows:

Judge.

What say you—Guilty, or Not Guilty? (*Pause.*)

Foreman.

Guilty, of murder in the first degree.

(*Sensation in the court. Mrs. Hawkins faints away.*)

Judge.

(*Rising.*) Gentlemen of the Jury, this painful, but righteous verdict—
(*Laura begins to sink back—Clay shoulders his way to her.*)

Clay.

Laura, Laura, speak!

Laura.

There. There. it is just. let me rest.

(*Sinks back in Clay's arms and dies.*)

Clay.

God send it may be in peace--for it is eternal.

⁴⁵ New Orleans *Times*, quoted in New York *Times*, July 18, 1871, p. 3, col. 1. See also *Official Report*, Preface.

⁴⁶ New York *Times*, January 23, 1872, p. 2, col. 6.

⁴⁷ New York *Times*, November 23, 1872, p. 8, col. 2.

⁴⁸ Unpublished letter from Clemens to Warner, May 5, 1874 (typescript in MTP); cf. Paine, II, 517-18; *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*, eds. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, 1960), II, 862.

Tableau.
and
 Slow Curtain ⁴⁹

In the prompter's copy, all the dialogue and action after the word "*Foreman*" have been crossed out with the single exception of the line "*Sensation in the court. Mrs. Hawkins faints away,*" and on the blank page following, opposite the verdict line, are penciled the words "Not Guilty." On the opening night, September 16, 1874, Clemens made a curtain speech just before the trial scene. It began as follows:

I thank you for the compliment of this call, and I will take advantage of it to say that I have written this piece in such a way that the jury can bring in a verdict of guilty or not guilty, just as they happen to feel about it. I have done this for this reason. If a play carries its best lesson by teaching what ought to be done in such a case, but is *not* done in real life, then the righteous verdict of guilty should appear; but if the best lesson may be conveyed by holding up the mirror and showing what is done every day in such a case but ought *not* to be done, then the satirical verdict of not guilty should appear. I don't know which is best, strict truth and satire, or a nice moral lesson void of both. So I leave my jury free to decide.⁵⁰

The curtain speech appears to be a clever showman's trick—appropriate to this veteran of the public platform—intended to enhance the satire of the play. In reality, Clemens himself apparently did not decide until almost the last moment what the more effective ending would be. Whether one accounts for this by Clemens' unsureness as a playwright; by the fact that the play, unlike the novel, ended with the verdict, making no allowance for the anticlimax of Laura's lecturing attempt; by the author's sensitivity to criticism of the novel; or by a possible dispute with Raymond over the dénouement; the real significance of the combined evidence is Clemens' concern about the play's satire. One might have predicted what his choice would be.

The play brings the issues of the ignorant jury and the insanity plea into sharp focus in a way that the novel, with its greater complexity and

⁴⁹ *Colonel Sellers* (Elmira, N. Y., 1874), unpublished MS. in MTP (Paine 163), Act V, pp. 27-28. This is a stage director's or prompter's copy. All quotations from Clemens manuscript copyright © 1964 by the Mark Twain Company.

Sellers in his testimony has prepared the audience for Laura's sudden death by mentioning her heart disease.

⁵⁰ DeLancey Ferguson, "Mark Twain's Lost Curtain Speeches," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XLII (July 1943), 262-63; Chicago *Tribune*, September 27, 1874, p. 7.

its multiplicity of interests, could not do. For one thing, since Laura's murder of her seducer, Colonel Selby, which in the novel is only related, is brought to life on the stage, it allows the introduction of the insanity theme immediately and in a melodramatic fashion that Clemens no doubt thought highly theatrical.

Col Selby.

Peace, child, you are—

Laura.

Mad, and you have made me so. (backing away, with hand on her bosom.)

Col Selby.

(Starting back.) Laura, Laura!

Laura.

Do you know what it is to drive a woman like me to madness? It is—*(Drawing pistol from her bosom and leveling it.)* Death!! *(Kneels over body, caresses face—looks up with vacant expression.)* I have killed the only man I ever loved.

(Enter Col Sellers, Lafayette & others.)

All.

Laura, Laura, What is this?

Laura.

It is death! ⁵¹

Then in the trial scene, the final summations by the prosecution and the defense, instead of being indirectly described in Warner's own words (pp. 510-11), are uttered directly, and they present sharply and succinctly the opposing points of view. The District Attorney, in resting the case for the prosecution, uses heavy sarcasm:

Gentlemen of the jury *(sneeringly)* of course we cant find her guilty. —Nobody expects that. Everybody knows, in these wise latter days that *murder* laws are made for men, not women. If a woman kills a man in cold blood, whom she fancies has wronged her, *she* is'nt [*sic*] a murderess—O, certainly not! She is a heroine—*that's* the new name for it. She must be petted, and coddled, and made much of. Juries shed tears over her—the whole tender-hearted public cry over her sufferings—the weeping pulpit intercedes—romantic young girls beg for an autograph from her red hand, and treasure it as a sacred thing. Gentlemen, this woman has done murder—black, hideous *murder*. Do you comprehend? Let me beg that you will not belie the character of the American jury. Set her free, gentlemen, set her free! and let us all bow down to the sublime heroine and glorify her! . . . ⁵²

⁵¹ *Colonel Sellers* (Paine 163), Act IV, pp. 14-15.

⁵² *Colonel Sellers* (Paine 163), Act V, pp. 22-23.

The defense counsel, Duffer (the Braham of the novel), rejoins:

Gentlemen, our benignant laws casting about the helpless the sheltering arms of their protection, have decreed that children, and poor creatures stricken in mind by the heavy hand of God, shall not be held responsible for the deeds they do. . . .

Gentlemen of the Jury, I charge you to remember that the law forbids you to punish this poor ruined mind for this distressful deed which it's [*sic*] subject hand has wrought. I have done. I leave this sad wreck in the pitying hands of God—and you to utter the voice of His forgiving mercy.⁵³

In both the play and the novel, the parody of Mrs. Fair's trial is neatly punctuated with unmistakable allusions to the Tweed Ring, allusions which give strong emphasis to the satire of the New York court system, at that time in abject captivity to the Ring. It has been shown above how obviously Judge O'Shaunnessy is portrayed as one of the chief minions of Tammany. Even the courthouse in which O'Shaunnessy presides is the county courthouse built by the Ring with history-making graft.⁵⁴ ("Did he not know that the very 'spittoon' which his judgeship used cost the city the sum of one thousand dollars?" p. 487.) And the defense counsel for Laura Hawkins is none other than the counselor who defended Tweed in his sensational trial for graft, John Graham, one of the ablest legal talents in New York. As a review of *The Gilded Age* noted, "People in New York will not be at a loss to know who sat for the portrait of Mr. John Braham the noted criminal lawyer."⁵⁵

Known for his shrewd selection of jurymen likely to be responsive to the pleas of the defense, John Graham was adept in legal maneuvering and in a calculated use of grandiloquent emotionalism—conduct successfully employed by his fictional counterpart. At the Tweed trial, for example, Graham "invoked the Universal Prayer and other pleas for the quality of mercy, and finally broke into sobs at the picture of misery he

⁵³ *Colonel Sellers* (Paine 163), Act V, pp. 23-24. A variant MS. (Paine 163a, MTP), a somewhat shortened version, contains a different summation by the prosecution, stressing the ignorant jury theme more: "You know it is also said that no Man can take his place here as a Juror untill [*sic*] he has proved to Court & Counsel that he reads neither books nor papers, that he has formed no opinion upon any subject, that he is totally incapable of forming an opinion, that his mind is filled with maudlin sentimentality, & his sympathy's [*sic*] frame his verdict & not his intellect. . . ." Similarly, Duffer in this version speaks of the emotional insanity plea directly: ". . . this poor injured girl . . . in a fit of emotional insanity killed her destroyer. The law has no right & no desire to punish her for it. For the Law punishes only criminals of sound mind. . . ."

⁵⁴ See, for example, Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1937), II, 310; M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (New York, 1928), p. 166.

⁵⁵ *Hearth and Home*, VI (January 17, 1874), 38. See also *Independent*, XXVI (January 1, 1874), 1642.

had himself painted." ⁵⁶ In *The Gilded Age*, Braham's similarly emotional summation visibly affects the jury and puts "half the court room . . . in tears" (p. 511). Then, in the final scene of the Hawkins trial, when the verdict of "Not Guilty" is announced, occurs "one of those beautiful incidents which no fiction-writer would dare to imagine."

The women could not restrain their long pent-up emotions. They threw themselves upon Mr. Braham in a transport of gratitude; they kissed him again and again, . . . in the words of a newspaper of the day they "lavished him with kisses." It was something sweet to do; and it would be sweet for a woman to remember in after years, that she had kissed Braham! . . .

This beautiful scene is still known in New York as "the kissing of Braham" (pp. 522-23).

Though to the modern reader such an episode must seem an instance of Mark Twain's frequent lapse into burlesque, the scene is a faithful reproduction of the conclusion of the McFarland trial, which had so aroused Clemens in 1870, a trial in which the successful acquittal of the defendant had been effected by John Graham and the setting of which, it might be added, was the Ring's famous county courthouse.⁵⁷ According to the *New York Tribune*, the courtroom "was a perfect tumult . . . and the ladies commenced an indiscriminate kissing," leaving "approving and enthusiastic traces of their saliva upon his [Graham's] countenance."⁵⁸ In even so improbable an episode, as in many other passages of this novel of exposure, Mark Twain, who took great pride in being considered authentic, beautifully succeeded in "hurling in the facts."

⁵⁶ Werner, p. 240.

⁵⁷ Charles F. Wingate, "An Episode in Municipal Government," II, *North American Review*, CXX (January 1875), 139.

⁵⁸ May 11, 1870, p. 12, col. 1; May 13, p. 4, col. 4.



A COURT-IN SCENE.

S. J. KRAUSE
Kent State University

The Art and Satire of Twain's "Jumping Frog" Story

RECENT ANALYSES OF MARK TWAIN'S "NOTORIOUS JUMPING FROG OF CALAVERAS County" tend to stress its projection of the traditional conflict between eastern and western values—or, more precisely, between the values of a gentle, civilized class and those of the frontier.¹ Taking in its broadest potential reference, Paul Schmidt has seen the "Jumping Frog" as dramatizing those assumptions which, as he has it, "make up the complicated Enlightenment case of Civilization versus the West." Moreover, construing the tale as "an attack on the genteel tradition," Schmidt holds that it "ultimately asserts the superiority of vernacular brotherhood over the competitive individualism which animates genteel attitudes"; while in Wheeler's story, the tale within the tale, he sees an attack on Rousseauesque romanticism.²

Schmidt's analysis seems to involve some high-powered assumptions for a fairly unsophisticated brand of fiction. Yet at least two reasons why the "Jumping Frog" rises above its genre are that its simplicity—like Simon

¹ See particularly Paul Schmidt, "The Deadpan on Simon Wheeler," *Southwest Review*, XLI (Summer 1956), 270-77; and Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* (Boston, 1960), pp. 145-47.

As part of the heritage from Old Southwestern humor, the juxtaposition of class (and/or sectional) values informs much of Twain's early writing. In his earliest printed sketch, "The Dandy Frightening the Squatter," which found its way into the *Carpet-Bag* of Boston (May 1, 1852), we have a western item intended to amuse an eastern audience; and in the Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass letters, written for the *Keokuk Post* in 1856, we have a low, rustic character who was intended to amuse a higher class, literate audience.

Examples of the traditional juxtaposition of classes appear in Augustus Baldwin Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes* (1835), Johnson J. Hooper's *Adventures of Simon Suggs* (1845), Joseph G. Baldwin's *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi* (1853) and George Washington Harris' *Sut Lovingood* (1867). Examples of the juxtaposition of both classes and sections appear in such items as the Davy Crockett literature (e.g., *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East*, 1835) and the second series of William Tappan Thompson's Major Joseph Jones series, *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel* (1848). Twain's Snodgrass letters closely resemble the last of these.

² *Southwest Review*, XLI, 272, 275, 277, 273.

Wheeler's—is ironic and its social symbolism—like Wheeler's story—implies more than it asserts. A major artistic consideration is, therefore, the matter of how the inward moving structure of the tale accommodates its outward moving symbolic reference. An aspect of the symbolism that has remained relatively untouched is the extensive satire suggested by Jim Smiley's naming his bull-pup "Andrew Jackson" and his frog "Dan'l Webster." With this in mind, I wish to consider three questions: the degree to which there is a complexity of form in the story to sustain its social implications; the degree to which there is a secondary satire in the story to justify the inclusion of those implications; and the degree to which the satire implies a judgment of the East and West. To explore these questions is to see what Twain accomplished in bringing together the cream of the humor that preceded him. For his "Jumping Frog" blends the political satire perfected in Down East humor with the framework and oral techniques perfected in Old Southwestern humor.³

Complex as the story is, the question of form—which has never been thoroughly described⁴—is rather easily handled. To begin with, Twain has more than just a tale within a tale. He has in fact at least eight levels of story interest, each of which has several sides to it, so that the design better resembles a nest of boxes than it does a frame. There is 1) the story of the narrator's spoken and unspoken attitudes toward a) the friend who wrote him from the East and lured him into a trap, toward b) Simon Wheeler whom he regards as a garrulous simpleton, toward c) Jim Smiley, the fabulous gambler, toward d) the animals that Wheeler personalizes, and toward e) the stranger who pulled a western trick on a Westerner and got away with it. Then there is 2) the story of Simon Wheeler's attitudes toward a) the narrator and through him and his friend, toward b) East-

³ The best account of Twain's indebtedness to these schools of humor may be found, of course, in Walter Blair's *Native American Humor* (New York, 1937), pp. 150-58, *passim*. Also helpful is Bernard DeVoto's *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), chap. x. In *Horse Sense In American Humor* (Chicago, 1942), Blair has neatly summarized the satire on Jackson and his "Kitchen Cabinet" drawn in the Jack Downing Letters of Seba Smith and of Charles Augustus Davis (chap. iii).

⁴ Paul Baender has analyzed the mounting detail and importance that Wheeler throws into his recitation of Smiley's exploits, but, as he is mainly concerned with the source of Twain's technique, Baender does nothing with the varied points of view and political satire ("The 'Jumping Frog' As a Comedian's First Virtue," *Modern Philology*, LX [February 1963], 192-200). Gladys C. Bellamy has observed the "careful climactic arrangement" of the animals in *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* (Norman, Okla., 1950), p. 148. Roger Penn Cuff has discussed the artistic and technical superiority of "Twain's Use of California Folklore in His Jumping Frog Story," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXV (April 1952), 155-59. The most comprehensive discussion of the story's structure has been given by Edgar M. Branch, *The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain* (Urbana, Ill., 1950), pp. 120-29.

erners at large, toward c) Jim Smiley, toward d) the animals and toward e) the stranger. Wheeler, moreover, represents 3) the western community at large that is continuously entertained by Smiley's antics. Also there are the attitudes of 4) the stranger, and of 5) Sam Clemens toward the various parties in his tale. Finally, we have the more restricted attitudes of 6) Smiley himself, which are confined to his animals and such persons as he can get to bet on them; and not the least significant attitudes are those of the animals themselves, particularly 7) the bull-pup and 8) the jumping frog.

At the level of story movement, the "Jumping Frog" has the same complexity as that of its multiple points of view. Twain employs an order of increasing detail and of ascending absurdity and fantasy. For example, after summary references to Smiley's willingness to bet "on anything that turned up"⁵ (a horse-race, dog-fight, cat-fight or chicken-fight), Wheeler tosses in two eccentric types of wager, one on which of "two birds setting on a fence . . . would fly first" and the second on Parson Walker's being the "best exhorter." These are paired with two other situations, each of which is given in greater detail, and the first of which (number three in the sequence) is absurd and fantastic—Smiley's willingness to follow a straddle bug to Mexico, if necessary, to find out its goal. The last member of the group is crashingly absurd, figuratively fantastic and practically insane, though, based on past performance, completely understandable, as Smiley, on hearing that the Parson's sick wife seems to be recovering, blurts out, "Well, I'll resk two-and-a-half she don't anyway."

In the grouping of mare, pup and frog, one proceeds from lesser to greater detail, complexity and surprise, but mainly from a lesser to a greater infusion of personality, one source of which is Smiley's hanging Jackson's name on the pup (which is connotatively apt) and Webster's on the frog (which is both connotatively *and* physically apt). Therein lies a considerable tale, for when such magisterial names are paired with the descriptions given these creatures, the reader has two of Twain's liveliest and most carefully developed burlesques. More of them in a moment. What should be noted here is the matter-of-factness of the impending satire, which deals with familiar history and can be called forth or not as the reader wishes, since, concurrently, there is so much else going on in the story.

⁵ All references to the "Jumping Frog" story are to the revised version (of 1872) called "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" reprinted by Twain in an essay on his translating it back into English from a French translation. "The Jumping Frog," *Sketches New and Old* (Author's National Ed., New York, 1899), XIX, 25-44. (All subsequent references to Twain's works are to the volumes of the Author's National Edition—hereafter designated as ANE.)

The meshing of structure and satire in the interplay of eastern and western character traits may be seen not only in the sectional names given the animals, but, more obviously, in the various points of view, which polarize specifically eastern and western attitudes, in much the way that Webster and Jackson do. We rather guess that the stranger at the end is an Easterner, and this is borne out by Twain's subsequently having specifically labeled him a "Yankee."⁶ He is therefore an Easterner who plays the game of the Westerner and is specifically induced to play it on Smiley's terms, those, as Twain described Smiley, of a "wily Californian."⁷ Smiley is taken in by one of his own kind, and by a weakness—his avidity for gaming—induced by the wit which puts him into a class with the stranger. Moreover, as Twain recalled the original telling of the story (that is, original for him), he noted that the Westerners' major interest in it was in "the smartness of the stranger in taking in Smiley" and in his deep knowledge of a frog's nature for knowing that "a frog *likes* shot and is always ready to eat it."⁸ The stranger whets Smiley's appetite first by his curiosity (What's in the box? What's the frog good for?), then by his smugness ("I don't see no p'int about that frog that's any better'n any other frog"), and further by the helpless innocence of his appeal for western hospitality ("the feller . . . says, kinder sadlike, 'Well, I'm only a stranger here, and I ain't got no frog . . .'"). At the moment when the stranger is filling the frog, Twain gives us a glimpse of Smiley, out in the swamp, where he "slogged around in the mud for a long time." Being a humor character in the Jonsonian sense, Smiley was duped by his own single-mindedness.

In essence, then, the structure of the Jim Smiley story is that of a moral satire in the classical mold: Smiley's gambling fever led him to relinquish the normal protective xenophobia that guilefully motivated Simon Wheeler in the instructive tales he told about the guile that strangers might practice on simple Westerners.

To this exposure of simplicity in Smiley, Wheeler was an excellent foil. Furthermore, the relation of Wheeler to our narrator, "Mark Twain," recapitulates the structure of moral satire given in the relation of Smiley to the stranger and, with an even subtler grade of irony and one that renders the Smiley story itself ironic. Again the mounting complexity is based on characterization. This in part may be observed from what Twain did with Ben Coon of Angel's Camp, who inspired his sphinx-like Wheeler. Coon, according to Twain, was

⁶ That is, when he wrote an account of the "Private History of the 'Jumping Frog' Story." *How to Tell A Story and Other Essays*, ANE, XXII, 126.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

a dull person, and ignorant; he had no gift as a storyteller, and no invention; in his mouth this episode was merely history . . . he was entirely serious, for he was dealing with what to him were austere facts, and they interested him solely because they *were* facts; he was drawing on his memory, not his mind; he saw no humor in his tale, neither did his listeners; neither he nor they ever smiled or laughed; in my time I have not attended a more solemn conference.⁹

If the tiresome earnestness of Coon was what first made the story "amusing" for Twain, in his retelling it, his own storyteller's earnestness is all ironic and "Mark Twain's" comments upon that earnestness make him a butt of the irony. We see more than our outside narrator, Twain, does in the fact that Wheeler "backed" him into a corner and "blockaded" him there with his chair, and *then* reeled off "the monotonous narrative." Wheeler is always several steps ahead of the narrator and never so many as when the narrator thinks him oblivious to the importance of what he relates.

He never smiled, he never frowned, he never changed his voice from the gentle-flowing key to which he tuned his initial sentence, he never betrayed the slightest suspicion of enthusiasm; but all through the interminable narrative there ran a vein of impressive earnestness and sincerity, which showed me plainly that, so far from his imagining that there was anything ridiculous or funny about his story, he regarded it as a really important matter, and admired its two heroes as men of transcendent genius in *finesse*.

Here is Ben Coon, but with a world of difference in the meaning attached to his seemingly obtuse incomprehension.

The moral satire comes clearly into focus when we see that Wheeler is to some extent the West getting its revenge for the trick of an Easterner, at the same time that he plays an instructive joke on the fastidious Mark Twain, a Westerner trying to outgrow his background in exchange for eastern respectability. His pretensions can be immediately ascertained from his looking down upon Wheeler, from the difference between his language and Wheeler's,¹⁰ and from his failure to see Wheeler's story as anything but long, tedious and useless. The fictive Twain thus stands somewhat in the relation to Wheeler that Smiley does to the stranger.¹¹

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁰ Mark Twain's vocabulary is all the evidence Wheeler needs to know that he should be reformed. We can see this for ourselves in Twain's opening paragraph which contains such words as "compliance," "request," "garrulous," "personage," "conjectured" and "infamous," and such phrases as "I hereunto append the result," "lurking suspicion" and "exasperating reminiscence."

¹¹ It is possibly from noticing his unresponsiveness that Wheeler tries to enforce the lesson he has for would-be Easterners by calling Mark Twain "stranger" immediately

Twain so completely maintains perspective on his characters that no single attitude can be strictly assigned to him as author. Yet that very condition reflects something of the final complexity of his own personal point of view on the interrelation of eastern and western attitudes. He had shown in the story that neither was morally sufficient unto itself, but that one could strengthen the other attitude, which was the view he would come to both in his life and subsequent writing. The fact that for several years after writing it he could, on and off, approve and disapprove of the "Jumping Frog" indicates that he was at first uncertain of where he really stood on the sectional aspects of his story. Not only had he been embarrassed that a "villainous backwoods sketch" should represent him in the East; he was also disturbed that his wife-to-be might judge him by "that Jumping Frog book," with its distinctively western contents. However, when oral readings began to bring out the richness of his story, Twain recanted and told Livy he thought it "the best humorous sketch in America." The national reference signifies a triumph over sectionalism in his own attitudes, and a recognition that his tale contains both a criticism and a union of eastern and western values. That Twain was fully aware of the complexities of structure and attitude in his story is intimated by his remark to Livy that "a man might tell that Jumping Frog story fifty times without knowing *how* to tell it." For this reason, he went on, "I must read it in public some day, in order that people may know what there is in it."¹²

The "Jumping Frog" assuredly does have a good deal more in it than usually meets the eye. Twain said that during one reading, "without altering a single word, it shortly [became] so absurd" that he had to laugh himself.¹³ Capital instances of the absurd were the sizable caricatures he had drawn of Andrew Jackson and Daniel Webster.

Twain did not name irrelevantly. Simon Wheeler was a free-wheeling yarn-spinner. Smiley, who was "uncommon lucky," had the perennial optimism of the gambler, which was the optimism of the West itself, and which also accounts for the superstitious naming of the pup and frog. In

after he finishes the frog story. But Mark misses even that innuendo, because he has been too busy *making* himself a stranger, patronizing "good natured, garrulous old Simon Wheeler," and Jim Smiley, "the enterprising vagabond."

The ironical part of Mark Twain's western orientation and his eastern aspirations is heightened by Twain's actual, personal attitude toward the acceptance of his Frog story by "those New York people." He was upset, he told his mother and sister, that "they should single out a villainous back-woods sketch" to compliment him on—a squib he apparently would not have written were it not that he wanted to please Artemus Ward. *Mark Twain's Letters*, ed. Albert B. Paine (New York, 1917), I, 101.

¹² *The Love Letters of Mark Twain*, ed. Dixon Wecter (New York, 1949), p. 41.

¹³ *Ibid.*

the pairing of the two animals, we get a western name pitted against an eastern one, a frontier democrat (supposedly) and National Republican against a Whig and spokesman for eastern capital. Added to this is the free and easy irreverence of the West indulging in one of its favorite democratic sports. Thus, Smiley's naming assumes a composite sectional and structural reference. On the one hand, actual correspondences between the animals and well-known traits of Jackson and Webster open up a considerable range of secondary meanings which are related to the basic story by their development of the East-West motif. On the other hand, the satire is functional. For while Twain seems to have been unacquainted with the earlier versions of his tale, he clearly had the imagination to recognize and exploit the vestigial ethos of its times, which Wheeler dates in the opening line of the internal story as "the winter of '49—or . . . spring of '50." In that context Smiley has the mood of a self-sufficient forty-niner; and as a means of dramatizing the assumptions of that mood, Twain endowed Smiley with the "Territory's" compensatory indifference to the values of the "States," specifically to the exalted associations of two high-ranking names in national politics. Indeed, Jackson and Webster were household gods for Smiley's generation, and for "old" Simon Wheeler's too. What better way for the western Adam to declare his worth than by smashing a few idols?

The events of the tale bring to mind some of the leading facts associated with the names of Jackson and Webster.¹⁴ Specifically, the bull-pup evokes the ironies of Jackson's reputation as a frontiersman, while the frog evokes the various flip-flops that characterized Webster's career. As the ironies surrounding Jackson are naturally different from those surrounding Webster, there are differences in the points Twain makes about them. However, with both men the central irony is that neither was what he seemed to have been.

Let us first consider Jackson and the bull-pup. For Wheeler to have had Jim Smiley casually compare his bull-pup with so stern a man as Jackson was to adopt the technique of insult used by the Whigs in Jack-

¹⁴ That Twain had an ulterior motive for giving the pup and frog their names we can gather from their being the only creatures to be named at all, and by his using the same oral formula in introducing each of them, which is to bypass the names and then bestow them in a familiar manner: "And Andrew Jackson—which was the name of the pup"; "I've seen him set Dan'l Webster down here on this floor—Dan'l Webster was the name of the frog."

Since there is no *source*—either comic or serious—which Twain may have drawn upon for his satires on Jackson and Webster, I can say nothing definite about his prior intentions. All that I wish to suggest is the presence of secondary meanings that are based on common knowledge of the two men who were much involved (Jackson directly and insistently) in the sectional and class conflicts of traditional American humor.

son's day when they associated him with the jackass. The technique was one of calculated insidiousness. Not only did the General not have the broad plebeian features of such animals as bulldogs and jackasses; he rather had the thinness, erect bearing and fine features of the true aristocrat that he prided himself on being.¹⁵ The nub of Twain's satire was that regardless of looks, it was how he acted and how he was thought of that counted; and Jackson, of course, had become identified with political democracy despite himself, and even with frontier ruffianism and the devious opportunism of Simon Suggs.¹⁶

In the pup's pugnacity, his combination of nonchalant confidence with tenacity in battle, his ferocity, his dependence on sheer will, his gambling spirit, his single-mindedness and iron nerve, as well as his having been "self-made," Twain's descriptions directly follow major aspects of Jackson's career. Like Smiley's dog, Old Hickory was the very image of toughness—to use the western idiom, he was just nothing but fight.¹⁷ But much of his actual fighting record was somewhat at variance with the idolatrous view of it. For example, his pointless victory at New Orleans was more the result of British mistakes than of his own military genius; while, staunch friend that he was of Aaron Burr's, Jackson the duelist had gained himself a name for rashness, brutality and peremptoriness, which was

¹⁵ In fact, the master of Hermitage was a good deal like Twain's Colonel Grangerford in physique and temper (See *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, ANE, XIII, 146 ff.)—and Twain's portrait of the Colonel was fashioned somewhat after his father, who was alleged to have resembled Jackson (Dixon Wecter, *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* [Boston, 1952], p. 15).

¹⁶ For the discussion of Jackson that follows I have culled my information from the following sources: *Monument to the Memory of General Andrew Jackson: Containing Twenty-five Eulogies and Sermons Delivered on the Occasion of his Death*, comp. B[enjamin] Dusenbery (Philadelphia, 1846); James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (3 vols.; New York, 1860); Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (2 vols.; Indianapolis & New York, 1938); Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1946); John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol of an Age* (New York, 1955); and Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York, 1960), chap. iii. Since the facts I cite are rather commonly known, or are at least easily found in these books, I make specific page references only where documentation seems to be clearly called for and identify individual works by the author's last name.

¹⁷ Although he did not *look* like a bulldog, Jackson had fought like one. From boyhood on, as James points out, he "would fight at the drop of a hat." He had a strange habit of "slobbering" when fighting, and a schoolmate reported that as Jackson was too light to wrestle, he would easily "throw him three times out of four," though "he would never *stay* throwed." (James, p. 17). With this one might compare the mock-heroic account of Smiley's pup: "A dog might tackle him and bully rag him, and bite him, and throw him over his shoulder two or three times, and Andrew Jackson would never let on but what he was satisfied, and hadn't expected nothing else. . . ." The same bulldog-like determination showed up in Jackson's later business and political dealings. Dr. Felix Robertson, son of James Robertson, the founder of Nashville, had said he was "a cool shrewd man of business . . . rarely wrong; but whether wrong or right hard to be shaken" (Parton, I, 249).

corroborated by his campaigns against the Creek and Seminole Indians, and his highhanded tactics in the Florida campaign of 1818, in which he had exceeded his orders. As for his famed truculence, outright brawling, frontier style, as in a dog-fight, was something the aristocratic Jackson—quite unlike Lincoln, for example—would not stoop to. In fact, one of the ironies of Jackson's association with frontiersmen was that while they had made him a celebrated commander, and while there was mutual affection between him and them, in his personal dealings, Jackson disdained to fight anyone of lower station. Nor was Jackson's "indomitable perseverance"—so perfectly symbolized by the bulldog's grip—an unmixed blessing. His tenacity in battle was often in reality a euphemism for his equally well-known "inflexity of purpose," which netted him a hollow victory in his biggest political battle, that with Nicholas Biddle over the United States Bank.

Twain's description of the pup touches on several aspects of Jackson's relationship to the frontier. Take the opening statement about the pup: "And he had a little small bull-pup, that to look at him you'd think he warn't worth a cent but to set around and look ornery and lay for a chance to steal something." With such a look as that, this pup might be Simon Suggs, Sut Lovingood, Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass or even Davy Crockett. However, his look is also an analogue of the legendary flashes of temper with which Jackson was known to have frightened opponents into submission. At the same time, the broad descriptive touches make this dog a caricature of the Jackson whom Whig cartoonists had ominously portrayed as an embodiment of the western frontier—and that is just what the pup was meant to be.¹⁸

Twain's second sentence about the bull-pup neatly captures the images in which the East and entrenched Whiggery at large viewed the specific threat of Jacksonism: "But as soon as the money was up on him he was a different dog; his under-jaw'd begin to stick out like the fo'castle of a steamboat, and his teeth would uncover and shine like the furnaces." In addition to its suggesting the fearful union of savagery with avarice, the idea that Smiley's pup has caught the gambling fever also carries a lurking

¹⁸ Of course, the eastern impression of the frontier was no more like the real thing than Jackson was himself. However, while Jacksonism came to symbolize the unpredictable ruffian element on the frontier, Jackson's presidential campaign had naturally stressed the virtues of rusticity: he was the American Cincinnatus who preferred to remain on the farm rather than involve himself in politics. On his arrival in Washington, his headquarters at Gadsby's Hotel was called "The Wigwam." And, as Ward remarked, "his opponents expected to see a savage armed with a tomahawk and with a scalping knife in his teeth . . ."; whereas Jackson had just ordered French handpainted wallpaper for the hallway of the Hermitage and \$1,500 worth of cut glass for his personal use (p. 43).

reference to the stories of Jackson's fabulous exploits in gaming.¹⁹ Over and above other traits he shared with frontier gamblers, Jackson was exceedingly lucky, and in one well-known instance he helped his luck by adopting a special relationship with an animal he owned and bet on.²⁰

Twain's most incisive reflection on Jackson involves the manner of his having become a self-made man—a legend Twain explicitly satirized several years after writing the "Jumping Frog."²¹ Many of the eulogies on Jackson pictured him as a man who had been "born . . . of poor, but respectable parents" and had achieved greatness "by no other means than the energy of his character." *Character*, in Jackson's case, invariably meant "obduracy and vehemence of will."²² In eulogizing the bull-pup, Wheeler gave a more meaningful account of character. He lamented that despite the inner quality of the dog ("it was a good pup"; "the stuff was in him"; he had "genius"), this Andrew Jackson had not had the chance to make a name for himself. In his last fight, seeing "how he'd been imposed on" by Smiley's mania for garish betting situations, the dog

give Smiley a look, as much as to say his heart was broke, and it was *his* fault . . . and then he limped off a piece and laid down and died. It was a good pup, was that Andrew Jackson, and would have made a name for himself if he'd lived, for the stuff was in him and he had genius—I know it, because he hadn't no opportunities to speak of, and it don't stand to reason that a dog could make such a fight as he could under them circumstances if he hadn't no talent.

¹⁹ Jackson once rolled the dice with his landlord for the rent, and on another occasion, being down on his luck, he entered a dice game in which he was offered 200 pounds against his horse—and won. During his young manhood, he was, according to Parton, "the most roaring, rollicking, game-cocking, horse-racing, card-playing, mischievous fellow that ever lived in Salisbury [South Carolina]" (I, 104).

²⁰ This was the horse, Truxton, whom Jackson worked to the limit of his endurance, implanting in him something of his own will to win. In his famous race with Captain Joseph Erwin's stallion, Plowboy, Truxton had the combined handicaps of Smiley's mare and pup; he ran as the underdog and with an injury. Disregarding the advice of friends who told him to pay the forfeit, Jackson was reported to have spoken to his horse, stroked his nose, and to have looked into his eyes as he would have into a man's; whereupon the horse responded by winning the first heat. Though Truxton limped on his bruised hind leg, though his front leg had gone lame and the plate had been sprung on one of his remaining good legs and lay across his foot, and thought it was raining hard, Jackson nonetheless raced him in the second heat (another two-mile race); and the horse won (James, I, 111 ff.).

²¹ In May 1870, he had written a satire on the biographies of "Self-Made Men" for the *Buffalo Express*. In tracing the career of "Robert Kidd, Pirate," after noting that "the biography of self-made men is peculiarly edifying to the American youth to whom the adventitious aids of good birth, good breeding and hereditary wealth are generally denied," Twain gave the boy a father named "Andrew Jackson Kidd." *The Forgotten Writings of Mark Twain*, ed. Henry Duskins (New York, 1963), pp. 243 ff.

²² Dusenbery, p. 199. Joseph G. Baldwin, "Representative Men," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIX (September 1853), 523.

The crucial, and often repeated, question about Jackson's rise to eminence had been raised rather early in his career when Samuel Putnam Waldo inquired, "If he had not talents and virtues, would he not have remained in obscurity?"²³ Twain gave that question an ironic treatment, when, using the same terminology and reasoning, he had Wheeler emphasize opportunity as the instrument of success for persons naturally endowed with talent and goodness.

If ferocity and iron will had made a bulldog of Jackson, the political turnabouts, the desire for pacification and harmony, plus an overall jelly-like softness were even more impressively the Websterian qualities suggested by Smiley's frog. While Jackson in no wise looked like the pup, Webster did resemble the frog. He had the protuberant belly, the length of nose, the black eyes, the high cheek bones and downward sloping face;²⁴ and, of course, as a speaker, he had both the mouth and the wind of a frog as well as his deep intonation of voice. As politician, he could also display the frog's inscrutable placidity of mien. By such references as those to the frog's flopping down on the floor "solid as a gob of mud," to his being "solid as an anvil" (which in revision became a "church"), to his being "anchored out," and to his looking "mighty baggy" with the shot in him, Twain underscored the staunch Whiggery and solidity of character that had gilded Webster's reputation, while each reference equally implies stodginess and like pejoratives. The frog's jumping was everything, though, for through it Twain illustrated the combination of lumpish conservatism with the hectic, often slippery, politicking that were in reality the alpha and omega of Webster's accomplishment.²⁵

Closely allied to jumping are the matters of education and worth, which are its aims. On catching his frog, Smiley "cal'lated to educate him," and he did nothing for three months but "learn that frog to jump." This was

²³ *Memoirs of Andrew Jackson, Major-General of the United States, And Commander in Chief of the Division of the South* (Hartford, 1819), p. 35.

²⁴ J. A. J. Wilcox's often reproduced engraving of Webster "at Marshfield in his seventieth year"—used by Claude Moore Fuess as the frontispiece for the second volume of his biography and also used in Vol. VI of the National Edition of Webster's *Writings* (both cited below)—brings out the froglike look of his face particularly well.

²⁵ For biographical data on Webster, I have consulted the following works: Peter Harvey, *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1877); Claude Moore Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (2 vols.; Boston, 1930); and Richard N. Current, *Daniel Webster and The Rise of National Conservatism* (Boston, 1955). Since, as with Jackson, I deal for the most part with fairly well-known facts about Webster, I make only discretionary references to these sources and identify them by the author's last name. I have also consulted Webster's Congressional Speeches (*The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* [Boston, 1903], V-X), but have had no occasion to cite any of them in particular.

more than a superfluous improvement on nature; for with the frog as much as with Webster, jumping was the triumph of an education that brought out what each was most gifted at. A ready learner, Webster developed the highest facility for moving from less to more convenient political positions. Still, for all his education, Webster was five times unsuccessful in capturing his party's presidential nomination, losing to some very ordinary, and, as he thought, unqualified candidates like Generals William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Winfield Scott in 1852. It was really as if the party had looked him over and found no points about Webster that made him any better than any other candidate.

But, fortunately for a man who had made a career of jumping, disappointments came as a challenge to his mobility. In fact, the politician's sense of numerous alternatives parallels the Westerner's sense of the vast opportunities afforded by the frontier. Since Webster's one unwavering motive had been to protect the New England business community, no small part of his role was to make the difficult jump or straddle, and, with froglike complacency, not let on that he had overly exerted himself. Additionally, Webster had an intense desire to enrich himself and to seem a man of moral worth.

Keeping in mind, then, the relevance to Webster of such matters as appearance, conservatism, education, jumping, complacency, cupidity and worth, one needs only to re-read the first paragraph about Smiley's frog to see how completely Twain had *done* Webster in almost every characterizing detail—as in the following:

. . . He'd give him a little punch behind, and the next minute you'd see that frog whirling in the air like a doughnut—see him turn one summer-set, or maybe a couple, if he got a good start, and come down flat-footed and all right, like a cat. . . . Smiley said all a frog wanted was education, and he could do 'most anything—and I believe him. Why, I've seen him set Dan'l Webster down here on this floor . . . and sing out, "Flies, Dan'l, flies!" and quicker'n you could wink he'd spring straight up and snake a fly off'n the counter there, and flop down on the floor ag'in as solid as a gob of mud, and fall to scratching the side of his head with his hind foot as indifferent as if he hadn't no idea he'd been doin' any more'n any frog might do. You never see a frog so modest and straightfor'ard as he was, for all he was so gifted. And when it come to fair and square jumping on a dead level, he could get over more ground at one straddle than any animal of his breed you ever see. . . . Smiley would ante up money on him as long as he had a red. Smiley was monstrous proud of his frog, . . . for fellers that had traveled and been everywheres all said he laid over any frog that ever *they* see.

To know the extent to which the frog's vaunted jumps—as well as his crucial failure to jump—form a compound satire on Webster's favorite maneuver, one need only refamiliarize oneself with the salient points in his record.

One gets a fairly good sample of his dexterity in a few of the jumps inspired by Jackson, whose name alone gave the arch Whig more than one punch from behind. For example, when he heard that Jackson was prepared to use force if necessary to prevent southern states from nullifying disagreeable aspects of the Tariff of 1828, Webster at first objected, and then went over to Jackson's side. Just prior to this, Webster had bitterly opposed Jackson's veto of the bill for rechartering the United States Bank. But that position had not been completely firm, for when Jackson took action against the Bank, Webster was hesitant as to how he should react. He had every reason to support the Bank, but was reluctant to join Clay and Calhoun in its defense because he had been exposing them too recently as enemies of the Republic, and would have to condemn Executive interference with the Bank, after he had just approved Executive interference with the interests of South Carolina.

What was true of Webster's relationship to Jackson was true of his career as a whole. Richard C. Current probably understated his facility when he indicated that Webster "was to spend the better part of his long career in defending principles he had attacked and condemning others he had opposed during his apprentice years" (p. 23). The frequency of Webster's tergiversation placed him on both sides of every major issue of his time—free trade, protectionism, monopolies, nullification, states' rights, the sale of public lands, executive authority, Unionism, the non-expansion of slavery and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.²⁶ As with Smiley's frog, the very breadth of Webster's straddles gave promise of an ability that would be belied by his performance in crucial tests. When a combination of northern businessmen and southern planters envisioned the possibility of running him on a bipartisan Unionist ticket in

²⁶ In the Dartmouth College Case, he had argued that corporation charters were inviolable contracts; in the *Gibbons v. Ogden* case he denied that they were. A free trader at first (for which he had invoked the principle of states' rights), he advocated "selective protectionism" after the War of 1812, while juggling the anti-protectionist demands of the India traders, and finally voted against the tariff when his proposed compromise failed. He began to oppose states' rights as he came more and more to be the spokesman of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, but that did not prevent him from deploring the spread of industry at the cost of agrarian values, which he professed to cherish. In 1819, prior to the Missouri Compromise, he warned that "a barrier" should be erected to prevent "the further [westward] progress of slavery." In 1850 he disapproved of the Wilmot Proviso which would have forbidden slavery in the new western territories and deplored the failure of Northerners to return escaped slaves to their masters.

1852, Webster responded by refusing to jump when pressed by friends not to desert the Whigs, and then by jumping in his very refusal to do so by stating that he knew the people would not elect General Scott, and that he himself would vote for his New Hampshire neighbor Franklin Pierce.²⁷

From all that one can tell, Twain's private opinions of Jackson and Webster were in some respects similar to those that emerge from the story and in others significantly different from them. He growled about Jackson's responsibility for the practice of using civil service for patronage, and he wished that the Battle of New Orleans had not been fought, so that the nation might have been spared the "harms" of Jackson's presidency.²⁸ On the other hand, Twain did not let his affinity for Whiggish ideas interfere with his dislike of Webster, whose love letters struck him as "diffuse, conceited, 'eloquent,' [and] bathotic" and who was identified in his mind with the moralizing and empty rhetoric he burlesqued in schoolgirl compositions.²⁹ With respect to the "Jumping Frog," though Twain's political antipathy toward Jackson exceeded his literary antipathy toward Webster, the character and actions of the bull-pup have much more to recommend them than do the comparable aspects of the frog. Clearly, one reason why the story favors Jackson over Webster, despite the satire on *both* men, is the predominance of Simon Wheeler's point of view over others in the story. What happens, therefore, is that Wheeler's point of view permits Twain to eat his cake and have it: to vent his prejudices in the subsidiary satire and to maintain an artistic objectivity in the primary context of his story.

Twain's use of sectional values likewise reflects a coalescence of external comment (satire) with internal necessity (art). If he seems to favor the

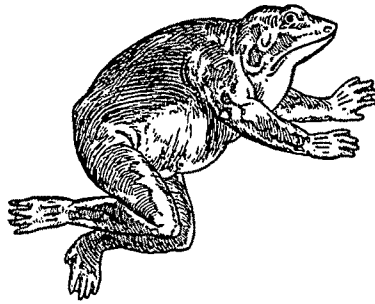
²⁷ Webster declined to jump in a number of other important situations, when he was expected to. For example, once when Tyler refused to accept Clay's bill for the creation of a "fiscal corporation" comparable to a national bank, Clay retaliated by calling on all of his cabinet members to show their allegiance to the Whig cause and resign. All did so, except Tyler's Secretary of State, Webster, whose first experience in an administrative post had whetted his appetite for better things. Again, in 1844, when the Whigs were backing Clay against Tyler, it was hoped that Webster would at last jump off Tyler's cabinet as a sign of his supporting Clay, but he refused to be nudged.

²⁸ *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*, eds. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, 1960), II, 865. *Life On the Mississippi*, ANE, IX, 354. Twain's offhand remarks sound very much like those of a man who was born into his anti-Jackson Whiggery, and not without reason. For by Twain's own account, his father, a dyed-in-the-wool Whig, had had his fortunes damaged by "the great financial crash of '34," which John Clemens had laid to Jackson's attack on the Bank, whose southwestern branches, as Webster had predicted, were hardest hit by the subsequent drying up of credit. *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, ed. Albert B. Paine (New York, 1924), I, 15. Dixon Wecter, *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* (Boston, 1952), pp. 36 ff.).

²⁹ *Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 384. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, ANE, XII, 209.

West over the East, sectional values are obviously mixed in the un-eastern credulity of the gentleman narrator and in the wryly un-western moral (beware of a stranger)³⁰ of the frog anecdote. Ultimately, the ideal suggested by Twain's modification of eastern and western attitudes, seems to require a blending of the Whiggish paragon of the self-made man with the realization of it achieved by an Andrew Jackson in the unfettered conditions of the frontier.

³⁰ As part of a "Morals Lecture" he gave on his world tour of 1895-96, he used the "Jumping Frog" and "Mexican Plug" anecdotes to teach a person never to trust a stranger. Fred W. Lorch, "Mark Twain's 'Morals' Lecture During the American Phase of His World Tour in 1895-96," *American Literature*, XXVI (March 1954), 59.



LOUIS J. BUDD
Duke University

Mark Twain on Joseph the Patriarch

AN UNNOTICED THREAD IN MARK TWAIN'S WRITING IS HIS CONCERN WITH THE story of Joseph, as given in the Book of Genesis. Yet this concern has as many shades as the famous coat that so provoked Joseph's brothers. The Joseph story won wide repetition in the later nineteenth century, and Twain let few subjects on the public mind pass unremarked. In its implications his comment on Joseph is related to many of his interests and values. In terms of time and quality it runs from his heavy-handed travel letters aboard the *Quaker City* to his sly maneuvers in a newspaper tempest over the Sunday school taught by John D. Rockefeller Jr., an all too appropriate defender of Joseph as an entrepreneur.

Off and on, Twain kept taking up the Joseph story in print for forty years, starting in 1867. There can be no doubt, however, that he knew about it much earlier, even earlier perhaps than his Sunday school phase in Hannibal during the 1840s. Joseph's history engages children much more than most of the Old Testament, and many parents feel that it holds particularly useful lessons for their offspring. Just about every book of Bible "plays" or stories for the young gives it major billing. Twain's wife judiciously decided to tell it to one of their daughters who was only six at the time. In 1867 when Twain, not yet married, paused before one of the spots in the Holy Land that claimed to hold the pit into which Joseph was cast by his brothers, he commented that a "scene transpired there, long ages ago, which is familiar to us all in pictures." At some point he had obviously pored over the fanciful and blotchy engravings that darkened the pages of religious magazines. He had also absorbed enough of their texts to arrive in Palestine with his notebook fortified by a Victorian opinion of Joseph as the "dutiful son, the affectionate forgiving brother, the virtuous man, the wise prince and ruler."¹

This pretty well summed up both the sentimental and the submissive motives behind the orthodox praise for Joseph. But, latent with the multiple meaning of great fiction—as Thomas Mann would prove—

¹ *Mark Twain's Notebook*, ed. A. B. Paine (New York, 1935), p. 103.

Joseph's story had a variety of appeals, both old and new and sometimes deeply ambivalent. His prophecies gratified the timeless folk-interest in the meaning of dreams while his unflinching loyalty to his own people, even after rising to eminence in Egypt, gratified the nationalistic fervor that waxed with the nineteenth century. His rise itself confirmed the recent Protestant commonplace that God would award material goods to the virtuous and indeed would heap the highest prosperity on the most virtuous; yet from another angle his rise pleased an age of individualism by justifying a genius at self-help who was always master of events as well as of himself. Soothing both the guilts of the fight for profit and the fears of resentment from those who lost out, his career also showed that those who climbed to the top could generously share their wealth and be loved in return. Family man, awesome image of authority, humbly aggressive servant of the status quo, avatar of folk wisdom, nationalist, self-made mastermind who was nevertheless God's instrument, ideal rich man—Joseph commanded a range of appeals that charmed all but the most sophisticated or the least pious.

The great Barnum expertly saw the possibilities. Though the theater was suspect in strait-laced circles, especially before the Civil War, the didactic melodrama implicit in the Joseph story had exerted its pull. One of the founders of the American theater, Royall Tyler, had written a "sacred drama" titled *Joseph and His Brethren*; a virtual contemporary, one Isaac Cody, had printed in 1808 his five acts of *A Tragedy, Founded on the History of Joseph and his Brethren, as Recorded in Sacred Scriptures*. By 1860, Barnum, who used only a "Lecture Room" for his "moral dramas," felt it profitably safe to present the "moral and religious spectacle" of *Joseph and His Brethren*.² Undoubtedly some of his audience took this spectacle so narrowly, along with a companion piece titled *Moses*. But Joseph's career held secular implications dear to the Gilded Age as, after losing his fancy coat, he climbed from rags to riches by virtues central to the current myth of success.

In fact Joseph could look surprisingly like the typical hero, the Ragged Dick or Tattered Tom of the Horatio Alger novels. Perhaps a shade late at the age of seventeen, he too had been exiled from a fond but doddering father by his half-brothers. Though the fleshpots of a big city did not loom up next, a country estate was amply hazardous for a displaced shepherd lad who, as a chattel slave, was worse off than any errand boy in knickers, especially when—with a dash of more robust melodrama—an alluring woman tempted his chastity and his sense of duty to his employer. This sense of duty was clearly as inviolable as his chastity and just as profitable.

² G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, VII (New York, 1931), 336-37.

Like the most industrious apprentice any dime novelist could imagine, he made every assignment end up on the profit side of the ledger for Potiphar or the jailer or, of course, the Pharaoh. And he set a stunning example in foresight by saving hugely for non-rainy days during the care-free years of fat crops. (Twain's first mention of the *Quaker City* excursion listed "Joseph's Granaries" among the choicest sights it would cover.) Then, secure on the top rung, he poured money on his family without reserve, once he had contrived to stage an unveiling of his identity that must have stirred the exhibitionist side of Twain—who worked a scene along the same lines into almost every novel he wrote. With as much envy as irony *The Innocents Abroad* asked, "What Joseph that ever lived would have thrown away such a chance to 'show off'?"

However, not very long after leaving Hannibal, Twain had begun to lose any literal faith in the Bible and pure awe of Sunday school heroes. Also, echoing an uneasy note of the Protestant ethic that was finding troublesome stepchildren in its marriage with laissez-faire business, he soon began to agree with the criticism that playing the stock or grain market was gambling, not honest enterprise. Rumors and exposés of how ruthless operators preyed on commodity prices during crises of the Civil War added to the contempt some felt for the speculator. In 1864 Twain published a fierce satire on the stock exchange in San Francisco, and the next year he more cautiously showed anger over reports that some leading preachers were plunging greedily in the market. While Joseph had never been a minister of God, his name was invoked so often in clerical circles that the same standards applied to him. In hindsight at least, there were clear warnings that Twain might turn his satirical light on Joseph if the suitable mood and occasion coincided.

They did indeed as—jaded and saddle-weary, working against deadlines that seemed to get shorter every day, irritated with the strait-laced clique among the *Quaker City* pilgrims, urged on by his own rowdy clique, heady with his success as a columnist—he sat down to write his second letter from the Holy Land. Daring even to use a mock-Biblical style, he ran over the story of Joseph so irreverently that it is surprising that a reputable, widely-circulated newspaper like the *Daily Alta California* would carry his letter. He also irreverently tampered with the details—as by saying that Benjamin "with the artless simplicity of youth, nipped a silver cup"—or reinterpreted them—as by saying that Joseph "got into trouble with Potiphar's wife at last, and both gave in their versions of the affair, but the lady's was plausible and Joseph's was most outrageously shaky."³

³ *Traveling with The Innocents Abroad*, ed. Daniel M. McKeithan (Norman, Okla., 1958), pp. 220-24.

With his own excesses in sentimental fiction and drama still ahead of him, he was loudly superior toward the reunion scene, having it that Joseph "fell upon Benjamin's neck and cried: 'Ha! the strawberry upon your left arm!'—it is! it is my long-lost brother!" (slow music.)" Yet the brashest note, much louder to his time than ours, when disapproval of playing the market is not unheard of but is considered eccentric, came from shifting into the jargon of Wall Street, making Joseph a "bear" who bought at "six months, buyer's option, and surprised the boys very greatly, for when he called his stocks they could not deliver. . . . And during all those years of famine, ships came from far countries that were in distress, and lo, the corn that Joseph bought at forty cents he sold it unto them at seven dollars and a half." Then, surprisingly, after these charges of profiteering on human misery as well as of histrionics and adultery, Twain ended up by calling Joseph the "noblest" of the Old Testament patriarchs.

In context this tribute could be the rawest sarcasm of all. But Twain, wondering whether he had gone too far, was hastily indulging in his frequent maneuver of ending on a safe idea. Before long he must have congratulated himself for this as he revised the letters into a book for a publishing house that liked piety nearly as much as profits. His new version held a respectful stance despite traces of his original, on-the-spot reactions and opened almost penitentially, "It is hard to make a choice of the most beautiful passage in a book which is so gemmed with beautiful passages as the Bible; but it is certain that not many things within its lids may take rank above the exquisite story of Joseph." After recounting how Joseph was cast into bondage *The Innocents Abroad* tersely granted that he became "rich, distinguished, powerful . . . one of the truly great men of the Old Testament . . . the noblest and manliest, save Esau."⁴ As Twain went over the proofs with his fiancée, he undoubtedly shuddered rather than sighed over what he had cut out.

Humble at his luck in being engaged and then married to a genteel and gentle spirit, he thought he had turned over a new leaf. There were even regular prayers in the parlor during a phase that lasted long enough to spare Joseph when the next obvious opening presented itself. The episode in *Roughing It* that showed Scotty Briggs of Washoe mystifying a green-horn parson with his vernacular metaphors went on to say that Scotty later had great success with a Sunday school class because he "talked to his pioneer small-fry in a language they understood."⁵ But Twain held back from detailing or even illustrating the "beautiful story of Joseph and

⁴ Vol. II, chap. 20.

⁵ Vol. II, chap. 6.

his brethren" as it "fell, riddled with slang, from the lips of that grave, earnest teacher, and was listened to by his little learners with a consuming interest that showed that they were as unconscious as he was that any violence was being done to the sacred proprieties!" Soon the Clemens household had its own little learners, and every available clue indicates that, when Bible stories were called for, father repressed his fondness for burlesque. The next laugh at Joseph's expense was raised instead when Olivia Clemens, to teach the idea of compassion to their Susy, sorrowfully told how his envious brothers had sold off Joseph and further dejected their father by smearing the envied coat with the blood of a young goat. Already remarkable for her love of animals, Susy brought down the house by welling up with tears and then exclaiming, "Poor little kid!"⁶

According to Twain this happened in 1878. If he had the date right Susy's reaction pleased more than his huge delight in anecdotes from his nursery. Partly to startle the Monday Evening Club, a discussion group in Hartford that he enjoyed but found too complacent at times, he had been toying with fresh viewpoints on old platitudes. For example, to deflate the copybook pomposities about the impassible gulf between truth and falsehood he made notes on "Legitimate lying" such as "Joseph's Harmless Deceits,—money in the sacks, the cup in the sack; J's pretence that he had to talk through interpreter—then he listened to their privacies, pretending he didn't understand."⁷ In a related but broader and more threatening mood, Twain had resumed the march toward religious skepticism that his wife's influence checked only for a while; in fact the reading she led him to do in the Bible set him eventually to looking all the more intently for weak spots. By 1879 his free-thought had gone so far that he burst into enthusiasm over Robert G. Ingersoll, the "Great Agnostic" of the Gilded Age. In Ingersoll's style of attack he raked the typical Christian for sanctioning some very unholy deeds by Old Testament patriarchs like Joseph, who "let a whole people suffer the miseries of hunger" so that he could multiply the Pharaoh's intake from taxes.⁸

While Twain spent many hours working out similar attacks on orthodoxy, he never happened to make a major example of Joseph during the 1880s. An obvious tactic would have been to take up his prophecies in the way that *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) clowned over Jim's

⁶ Mark Twain's *Autobiography*, ed. A. B. Paine (New York, 1924), II, 50.

⁷ I am estimating the date of this item, which I know only from an excerpt in Anderson Auction Company, *The Library and Manuscripts of Samuel L. Clemens*, Pt. I (1911), item 149.

⁸ DW 14 (Webster Collection) in Mark Twain Papers, University of California (Berkeley).

hairball oracle or *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) deflated Merlin's soothsaying. For that matter a Finnish lady making a social call in 1888 heard Twain render a "rather playful" song about Joseph as the "interpreter of Pharaoh's dreams."⁹ Furthermore, he was too concerned with current politics and economics to keep his ridicule of Joseph within the confines of his parlor for long. Anxious over the fluctuating health of business, many a Manchester Liberal was blaming the Wall Street manipulators who upset its sober, workaday routine; and in 1885, writing the first part of *A Connecticut Yankee*, Twain could not resist a jab at what he now topically called Joseph's "financial ingenuities."¹⁰

As usual, Twain had his other hand on the public pulse while he was writing away in his study. Joseph had been getting substantial attention as the ideal rich man whose shrewd generosity anticipated Andrew Carnegie's gospel of wealth. But this line of commentary drove the critics of the stockmarket kings to look at Joseph's record in Egypt with a cold eye, so much so that William H. Taylor, a leading Congregationalist preacher who was doing a series of books on Old Testament patriarchs, felt the need for a direct rebuttal. Noting that indictments of Joseph's "oppressive and injurious" corner in grain were current, Taylor insisted that "it neither bought what was not in existence, nor sold what was not in actual possession, and so it had in it nothing which makes it in any respect a parallel case to those speculative combinations among ourselves with which some have sought to classify it."¹¹ Taylor's book (1886) also displayed a key reason for the recent enthusiasm for Joseph. It argued that his career was "uniquely interesting as that of a good boy who was not a weakling" or a "business failure" but indeed "even in the world's sense of the word" a "successful man" who had proved at the outset that Christianity and "commercial" bliss are fully compatible. If Twain saw this defense it did not affect the final text of *A Connecticut Yankee*. Much slower to question the principle of monarchy than his casual admirers today realize, he had finally started to do so and found it satisfying to remark that since Joseph's coup "advantaged nobody but the king,"

⁹ Ernest J. Moyne, "Mark Twain Meets a Lady from Finland," *Mark Twain Journal*, XI (Summer 1960), 25.

¹⁰ P. 139 (first series)—MS. in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library; cited by permission. The reference to Joseph's "granary" in chap. 13 of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894) is only incidentally irreverent.

¹¹ *Joseph, The Prime-Minister* (New York, 1886), pp. 101-3, 223, 233. Typical of the broader case being made was "Joseph and His Brethren," *Good Words*, XXI (1880), 212-37, by Stopford O. Brooke, a capable British literary historian who was well known in the United States.

the "general public must have regarded him with a good deal of disfavor."¹²

Joseph had clearly become a political Simon Legree in Twain's eyes. Yet the style of his coat had other features, the most obvious of which was Jewish. For a long time Twain never made anything of this, even by innuendo, in spite of the anti-Semitism that was an almost inevitable part of his Protestant upbringing in a raw town; instead he slowly worked his way out of all such prejudice. By the middle of the 1880s he thought himself totally unbiased toward Jews and by the late 1890s was claiming that he always had been. When the Dreyfus case in France brought anti-Semitism into the world news, he felt qualified to explain why it still swayed so many. Blaming, among other causes, the seeming Jewish knack for prosperity, his essay "Concerning the Jews" recklessly went on to argue that the prosperity is deserved by citing how Joseph took the Egyptians' "last penny," their livestock to the "last hoof," their land to the "last acre," their freedom itself "till all were slaves," how he rigged a corner in grain "so stupendous that, by comparison with it, the most gigantic corners in subsequent history are but baby things. . . so crushing that its effects have not wholly disappeared from Egypt today."¹³ This had his best rhetorical touch, rising wave on wave. Unfortunately, its logic was much less effective. Some passages from "Concerning the Jews" were put to anti-Semitic uses only through unfair quotation, but even Twain should have seen that it did not help his own side to describe Joseph as the greediest stockmarket wolf of all history. Not for the first time, an old personal animus had clouded the immediate point Twain was trying to make.

In an era that was settling on monopolists as the arch-villains, Twain felt no need to change his picture of Joseph any further. Yet there was still a climax ahead. Ironically, it grew out of Twain's greed to build his own monopoly—in typesetters. It collapsed and left him emotionally indebted to Henry H. Rogers for guiding him out of bankruptcy. Incidentally, his intimacy with Rogers, whose raids on Wall Street led some of the maimed to nickname him "Hell-Hound," suggests that Twain often drew the line between good and bad financiers on non-economic grounds and that his hostility to Joseph might never have sprung up except for his free-thought militancy. Mostly to oblige Rogers, early in 1902 he talked—on a nonreligious subject—to the adult Bible Class at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church in Manhattan that was taught by the

¹² Chap. 8.

¹³ "Concerning the Jews" ran in *Harper's Monthly* for September 1899; it is now best available in *The Complete Essays of Mark Twain*, Charles Neider, ed. (New York, 1963).

younger John D. Rockefeller, only son of Rogers' longtime associate in oil.¹⁴ This talk made Twain an honorary member of the class, not much of an addition to his quickly expanding list of honors but seemingly not one to cause difficulty either.

The honor quickly became dubious, however, as muckrakers dug deep into the past of the Standard Oil combine and as Rockefeller Senior grew vastly unpopular, especially after the newspapers reported almost daily from January to March of 1906 that he was evading a subpoena from a Missouri court weighing the charge that he ran a monopoly. Since John Junior kept teaching his Sunday school class during these months and even talked once on "veracity" in particular, public wits somewhat unfairly but naturally started in on him too. At a banquet covered by the press Twain himself made a few sneering remarks that sounded as if he was edging away from being linked with the Rockefellers.¹⁵ In his private dictation, after fulminating against the diabolic values spread by stockmarket pirates like Jay Gould, he sneered much more strongly at John's "twaddling [of] sentimental sillinesses" on Sunday mornings.¹⁶ But, unshaken by friend or foe, John marched on in his lesson plan built around the Old Testament patriarchs while Twain, alert as always to the news of the day, kept close watch.

On February 4 the class took up Joseph—probably touching off Twain's reminiscence the next day about Susy's tears over the slaughtered goat, for the newspaper stories were prompt and full. Proclaiming Joseph his "ideal," John—himself a dutiful son and chaste man—spent three classes on him to an increasing audience; on the last Sunday two hundred and eight, a gain of forty over just the week before, came to hear about the fat and lean years in Egypt. Perhaps steeled by loud predictions that the main issue would be evaded, he unblinkingly defended what the *New York Times* reporter called a "corner in corn for the Pharaoh" and a "food trust."¹⁷ But he was not given to provocative or mockingly defiant poses; in this instance he was merely summing up most baldly a view of Joseph that many orthodox Christians of a laissez-faire generation had approved. According to John's plain-spoken gospel as quoted directly, Joseph had showed "commendable thrift and business smartness" in his "perfectly justifiable" policies; and, anyway, "no ruler has ever given his people free food in time of famine."

¹⁴ *New York Times*, January 29, 1902, p. 9; Twain's letter to Rogers, dated December 12, 1901—in *Mark Twain Papers*.

¹⁵ *New York Herald*, p. 7, and also *New York American*, February 8, 1906.

¹⁶ *Mark Twain Papers*, omitted part of autobiographical dictation of February 16, 1906—it belongs after the sentence closing with "young men," near the end of p. 78 in *Mark Twain in Eruption*, Bernard DeVoto, ed. (New York, 1940).

¹⁷ *New York Times*, February 26, 1906, p. 9; also *New York Tribune*, p. 1.

This should have been too much for Twain to ignore, no matter how grateful he felt toward Rogers. It was too much for many other guardians of the public conscience, including an editorialist for the *New York Times* who retorted that Rockefeller Junior "held an hereditary brief in favor of cornering and corners." Even so devout an authority as a professor at Union Theological Seminary countered in the *Times* Sunday magazine with the hope that the "Joseph type will before long be as extinct as the dodo, along with the monopolist and the Czars of finance of our time."¹⁸ Though John's interpretation also won some support, he could not have liked the overall response and seemingly decided to line up some prestigious humor on his side or at least move out of the center of publicity for a week. Since Twain—surely at great effort—had not joined the raucous chorus, John tried to arrange another speech from him by staging a reunion for the honorary members of the Bible Class.

Past seventy years old but in no way senile, Twain was too seasoned a campaigner to fall in with this move. With a private growl that "one of the standing delights of the American nation" was John's "theological gymnastics" and "deductions of golden fancy from sordid fact," he wrote to the chairman of the reunion that he "must be discreet and not venture . . . on account of Joseph." After complaining that the Bible Class had just been told that Joseph was "Mary's little lamb"—and thus had been encouraged to ignore the modern Mark's gospel in "Concerning the Jews," which set forth the truth "for good and all"—he sweepingly charged again that Joseph had cornered the "whole nation's *bodies* and *liberties* on a 'fair market' valuation for bread" and, in Ingersoll's most daring vein, added the charge that Joseph had taken care to buy off the "clergy," who had stayed bought since then.¹⁹ Clowning as expertly as ever, he closed with, ". . . I am afraid to come . . . for I am sensitive, I am humane, I am tender in my feelings, and I could not bear it if young Mr. Rockefeller, whom I think a great deal of, should get up and go to white-washing Joseph again."

Both in his writing and personal life, Twain had a fine touch for climax. But he was always prone to anti-climax too. Without his wife on hand to stop this letter as she would have done, it was actually sent—to John, however, rather than the chairman of the reunion. When John naturally kept it quiet Twain chose tamely to see this as proving that he had a "level Standard Oil head notwithstanding his theology."²⁰

¹⁸ *New York Times*, March 4, 1906.

¹⁹ *Mark Twain in Eruption*, pp. 86-91.

²⁰ *Mark Twain Papers*, autobiographical dictation—omitted just before the break on p. 91 of *Mark Twain in Eruption*; see also the two letters from Rockefeller to Twain on March 14 and 21, 1906—in *Mark Twain Papers*.

Then when John, unabashed, still pressed Twain to attend the reunion, he agreed after all. A few days later, however, he backed out again, this time pleading his doctor's order rather than sensitivity on the subject of Joseph. In fact Twain apparently never mentioned him again. Though no point was made of his absence Joseph did not appear among the patriarchs in *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*, revised for the last time a few months later. Since then nobody of major consequence has questioned Joseph's record as the Pharaoh's minister. Two years after Twain's death in 1910, the aging James O'Neill would play both Jacob and the Pharaoh in the long-running *Joseph and His Brethren* by Louis N. Parker, Anglo-American master of the historical pageant. The chief reaction of the actor's son Eugene was to note how effective Biblical language can sound on the stage.²¹ Joseph's trials as an ideal for the Gilded Age had ended.

²¹ Doris Alexander, *The Tempering of Eugene O'Neill* (New York, 1962), p. 239.



"PAP."

C. MERTON BABCOCK
Michigan State University

Mark Twain, Mencken and "The Higher Goofyism"

BENEATH THE VELVET PAW OF MARK TWAIN'S AMIABLE HUMOR LURKS A cruel fang which on occasion turns heart-warming hilarity into rage. H. L. Mencken's raillery, too, is like the cracking of a whip. Both writers belong to the cantankerous school of American humor, or what Max Eastman has called "the higher goofyism." While there are wide differences in their manner, their aims and purposes were much the same: to strip man of his pretentious robes, his fig leaves, his good conduct medals; to prick his iridescent bubbles of arrogance and pomposity; to puncture his cherished illusions; to hold a loony mirror up to his miserable nature so he can see himself in all his ungainliness.

Judging from the public images created by the two men, one would suppose they belong in quite different leagues. The "wild humorist of the Pacific Slope," on the one hand, radiated warmth and cordiality, despite his rancor and deep-seated bitterness. He possessed a rare knack for making people laugh at themselves: their ridiculous shortcomings and preposterous inconsistencies. When the famous American stepped forward to receive his degree at Oxford University, the Chancellor paid him reverential tribute. "Most amiable and charming sir," he said, "you shake the sides of the whole world with merriment."

The "Sage of Baltimore," on the other hand, posed as "a gay fellow who heaves dead cats into sanctuaries and then goes roistering down the highways of the world." He gained notoriety as a peddler of blasphemy and special agent for the powers of darkness, and his volcanic eruption, during the boisterous years, created a popular image of the man whom Malcomb Moos has described as "a dragon slayer poised with a cutlass in one hand and a three-ton blockbuster in the other." Whereas most of Mark Twain's subscribers might willingly have traveled many miles to meet him, Mencken's readers coveted an opportunity to wash his filthy

mouth with laundry soap, and they prayed fervently for his demise and damnation.

The differences in the humor of the two men were largely matters of tactics and of timing. Mark Twain usually fooled along, measuring his pauses, slurring his points, stringing incongruities and absurdities together in seemingly purposeless fashion, deriving pleasure from sheer elaboration of detail, camouflaging his deviltry under heaps of tangled verbiage and rhetorical debris. In his piece on "Corn-pone Opinions," for example, he chatted along casually on the subject of American conformity and then dropped this innocent remark armed with a double stinger: "If Eve should come again in her ripe renown and re-introduce her quaint styles, well, we know what would happen." At the end of chapter 39 of *Huckleberry Finn*, in the note signed "Unknown Friend," Mark Twain planted a semantic trap of uncanny ingenuity and covered it up with a misplaced modifier. "I am one of the gang," the note reads, "but have got religion, and wish to quit it and lead a honest life again, and will betray the helish design."

Such verbal prestidigitation was not in the Mencken manner. Mencken was brief, vivid, villainous. He derived a kind of sadistic delight in burning the witch-burners. Twain used a hangman's rope, in true frontier fashion, and spent a good deal of time preparing the fatal noose. Mencken preferred a switchblade. "This is the United States, God's favorite country," he once wrote to Dreiser. "The fun of living here does not lie in playing chopping block to the sanctified, but in outraging them and getting away with it." Mencken adapted his weapon to the enemy and to the fight. Up to a point it is all laughter, but after that "there is the flash of the knife, a show of the teeth." "Sometimes I try to spoof them," he said, "and sometimes I use a club." His characteristic method was to stir up a witch's brew of high-potency prose with equal parts of incongruity and hyperbole and then use it to toast the simpletons. "No more democrat than a turkey buzzard is an archangel," he said of one politician. He could describe democracy with such outlandish figures as "the loading of a pair of palpably tin cannon with blank cartridges charged with talcum powder" or as "the science and art of running the circus from the monkey cage."

Whereas Mark Twain could take in the whole spectrum of humanity with a cryptic epithet like "the damned human race," Mencken was more specific and, therefore, more insultingly pernicious. He brought down his pigeons with such custom-tailored debunking appellatives as "chamber of commerce witch-hunter," "professional gladiator of prohibition," "upyanker of the downtrodden." William Jennings Bryan he called "the

Fundamentalist Pope," and the Ku Klux Klan "Grand Order of the Facial Diaper."

Despite these and other recognizable differences, the two scribblers had much in common. Both were born with a high percentage of sawdust in their blood. Both were practical jokers. Both recognized the "thundering paradoxes" of American life and addressed themselves to the task of turning the sanctified idols into absurdities. In setting forth the essences of Mark Twain's humor, Mencken actually defined his own brand of mirth: "a capacity to discover hidden and surprising relations between apparently disparate things, to penetrate to the hollowness of common assumptions, and to invent novel and arresting turns of speech."¹ The kind of expression that clearly meets these requirements occurs in *Smart Set* and the *Prejudices* as well as in *Roughing It* and *Huckleberry Finn*. While many of Twain's incongruities are contained within the framework of extended yarns, he exhibited on occasion the imaginative vigor, which is Mencken's signature, that can compress a thought into sententious witticism or sparkling metaphor. For example, Mark Twain described a ride over a mountain pass as "spinning around the rings of a whirlwind—a drop of whisky descending the spirals of a corkscrew." Mencken might simply have compounded the absurdity by saying, "We went on all fours like snakes in the grass."

Both Twain and Mencken were adept at composing hymns of dispraise in what the latter called "the key of E flat minor." The Sage spoke of Vachel Lindsay's resounding meters as "Buddha chanting ragtime through a megaphone," "the Twentieth Century Express in a flower garden," "the doxology performed on a steam calliope," and "Billy Sunday and Bert Williams reciting the Beatitudes." Mark Twain berated Cooper's *Deerslayer* as "literary delirium tremens" and John Ruskin's highly-praised Victorian prose as "a cat having a fit in a platter of tomatoes."

Another trick in the repertoire of both humorists is that of taking incidental side-shots at religion and its promoters while aiming directly at other targets. Speaking of a novel by Henry James, Mark Twain said, "I would rather be damned to John Bunyan's heaven than read that." And Mencken, criticizing a Broadway comedian, said, "His work bears the same relation to acting properly so-called as that of a hangman, a midwife or a divorce lawyer bears to poetry, or that of a bishop to religion."

Whether he would admit it or not, Mencken, like the yarnspinner of Jackass Gulch, borrowed models of verbal extravagance for his diabolical purposes from the nineteenth-century frontier and from the ring-tailed

¹ H. L. Mencken, *Minority Report* (New York, 1956), p. 264.

roarers of even earlier periods. From Davy Crockett's "half-horse, half-alligator" menagerie, he found the materials for a "political colossus"—a demigod of Paul Bunyan proportions—which he called a *wowser*, and described as "half Bryan and half Billy Sunday, with flashing eyes, a voice of brass, and a heart as big as a wastebasket." *Homo boobiens*, one of his best-known grotesques, might have come out of the nonsensical catalogue of the natural history of the frontier: a kind of hopped-up Chanticleer "stalking the earth vaingloriously, flapping his wings over his god-given rights and his sublime equality to his masters." In deference to his "regal" position in the democratic scheme, Mencken dubbed him "Supreme Worthy Whimwham" and "Grand Exalted Pishposh."

Many of Mencken's caricatures have a barnyard aroma about them. His portrait of a delegate to a national convention, for example, looks like a scarecrow: "a tattered Bible on one shoulder and a new shiny beer seidel on the other." He pictured the New Deal administration as "a milch-cow with 125,000,000 teats," and the standard American citizen as "a high priest in a rustic temple, pouring out his heart's blood on the altar of Ceres, sleeping in his underwear, and dreaming of a Utopia designed from the glossy pages of a worn-out Sears Roebuck catalog." Mencken delighted in antagonizing his country cousins whom he called "the monarchs of the dunghill." His aversion for chicken coops, pig pens and cow pastures was matched only by his distaste for theological humbuggery which he equated with the muddleheadedness of clodhoppers. "What is the effect of making men good in the American sense?" he asked, and then supplied his own answer: "Kansas." "Who would not prefer the society of a few amiable kidnappers, yeggmen, and Follies girls?" he asked. While Mark Twain could crash a Boston tea party dressed as a cowpuncher, swinging a lariat and contaminating the poshy atmosphere with the crude lingo of the West, Mencken, posing as a city slicker, with the profane and lascivious accents of one slightly "spifflicated" on his tongue, could send prohibitionists, pedagogues and tinhorn politicians into what one writer has called "semi-incoherent fits of rage." Mark Twain made good use of every opportunity to insult "royalty." Mencken lavished his attention on the "boobs."

Perhaps this was the most remarkable difference between Twain and Mencken: that, whereas the former felt at home with the verbal patterns of unsophisticated people, the latter consistently depreciated the unintellectuality of homely idioms. Here are examples of their respective uses of the vernacular as a humorous device. In the first passage, Mark Twain is explaining how the Unabridged Dictionary made the popular reading list at Angel's Camp on the mining frontier. Books were scarce, and the

cumbersome lexicon went "sashshaying around from shanty to shanty and from camp to camp":

Dyer can hunt quail or play seven-up as well as any man, understand, but he can't pronounce worth a cuss; he used to worry along well enough, though, till he'd flush one of them rattlers with a clatter of syllables as long as a string of sluice-boxes, and then he'd lose his grip and throw up his hand; and so finally Dick Stoker harnessed her, up there at his cabin, and sweated over her and cussed over her and rastled with her for as much as three weeks, night and day, till he got as far as R, and then passed her over to 'Lige Pickerell, and said she was the all-firedest dryest reading that ever *he* struck.

The second passage, from Mencken's translation of the Declaration of Independence into the patois of yokeldom, exhibits no such linguistic playfulness. On the contrary, it is an exercise in innuendo and carefully controlled mockery:

When things get so balled up that the people of a country got to cut loose from some other country, and go it on their own hook, without asking no permission from nobody, excepting maybe God Almighty, then they ought to let everybody know why they done it, so that everybody can see they are not trying to put nothing over on nobody. . . .

At the other end of the lexical keyboard, the two writers disdained all manner of grandiloquence. Characteristic of Mark Twain's irreverence for pompous speech forms is his appraisal, in *Roughing It*, of the language of the Mormon Bible as "an insipid mess of inspiration" and "chloroform in print." Mencken tried his hand at the same variety of invective. He started out by attacking the Lincoln idiom, comparing Honest Abe's early expression with that of a "schoolmaster inflated with helium." On another occasion, he belittled the "Wilsonian buncombe." *The New Freedom*, he announced, is made up of "a mass of puerile affectations" and "a gaudy procession of mere counter-words." He slashed away at one writer after another, increasing the sting of his vilification at every blow. Eventually he discovered the cesspool of Veblen's prose and became positively poetic in his abuse: "an appalling salvo of rhetorical artillery," "a cent's worth of information wrapped in a bale of polysyllables," "a sort of progressive intellectual diabetes," "a leprosy of horse sense." But in his criticism of the rhetoric of Warren G. Harding, Mencken outdistanced himself in describing what he considered the ultimate in linguistic debauchery:

It reminds me of a string of wet sponges; it reminds me of stale bean-soup, of college yells, of dogs barking idiotically through endless nights.

It is so bad that a sort of grandeur creeps into it. It drags itself out of the dark abysm . . . of pish, and crawls insanely up the topmost pinnacle of posh. It is rumble and bumble. It is flap and doodle. It is balder and dash.

Twain and Mencken were both wordspinners of unusual ingenuity. While the former's verbal creations are examples of tall talk in the best Western tradition, the latter's contributions to the American language, like his witticisms, contain a snarl. The frontier screamer could throw the lexicographers into a mental tailspin with words like *hogglebumgullo* or *preforeordination*. Babylon's ring-tailed roarer could incite a riot among strip-tease artists by calling them *ecdysiasts*, or upset the emotional equilibrium of schoolma'ams with words like *dithrambophobia* or *grammatomaniac*. Perhaps his best contribution to a lexicon of wit is *booboisie* which contains the essence of his social criticism, that "the lunatic fringe has begun to wag the underdog." Both writers could compose definitions of existing words that would make a lively supplement to Ambrose Bierce's *The Devil's Dictionary*. Mark Twain, for example, defined *puritanism* as "that kind of so-called housekeeping where they have six Bibles and no corkscrew." Mencken called it "the haunting fear that someone somewhere may be happy."

Mark Twain and Mencken fired their pieces at almost exactly the same targets: the "chiropracters" of prohibition, the "philistines" of art, the "undertakers" of religion and all manner of phony intellectuals. Both were deeply concerned with the moral depravity evident among those who posed as arbiters of American thought: scoundrels sobbing for prohibition while carrying a flask in their pockets, politicians trying to outlaw cigarettes while puffing away at their cigars, legislators attempting to repeal the law of natural selection by an Act of Congress. "The uplift has damn near ruined the country," Mencken wrote to one of his cronies. Mark Twain said, "When I reflect upon the number of disagreeable people who I know have gone to a better world, I am moved to lead a different life." After reading the morning paper, full of the usual "depravities and basenesses and hypocrisies and cruelties that make up civilization," he put in the remainder of the day, Twain said, "pleading for the damnation of the human race." In one of his attacks on the national mentality, Mencken accused the uplifters of reducing the unknowable to the not worth knowing. Mark Twain concluded that God, having made man at the end of the work week, was obviously tired.

Mencken was well aware that public opinion denounced him, as it had denounced Mark Twain (in some circles at least), as hopelessly uncultured, disgustingly immoral and repulsively immature. He knew that the

majority of his readers could find no wisdom in his political criticism, no real sense in his editorials and no genuine humor in his witticisms. He, of course, had helped provoke such opinion and had supplied overwhelming "evidence" in its support. Furthermore, he made no attempt to reverse the popular decision. Upon receipt of the most scathing note of retaliation from one he had insulted with his poisonous pen, he retorted with disconcerting courtesy: "Dear Sir—Perhaps you are right." This was his way of cutting off discussion and of reserving for himself the last and most exquisite laugh.

Mencken was also fully aware, as Mark Twain was probably not, of the low esteem in which even the greatest of our comedians is held—of the truth, so strikingly expressed by E. B. White, that the world "decorates its serious writers with laurel and its wags with Brussels sprouts." In the case of Mark Twain who strongly influenced the Sage's style, Mencken discovered, after careful inspection of the record, that the "learned authors" (between 1870 and 1900), without exception, had dismissed Mark as a clown "belonging to the lodge of Petroleum V. Nasby and Bill Nye." The thing that bothered Mencken was that Twain, who didn't realize that *Huckleberry Finn* eclipsed all attempts at serious American humor, actually yielded to the apologetic appraisals himself. Mark Twain's humor surpassed that of men like Josh Billings and Artemus Ward, who belonged to the same comic tradition, in its mastery of the homely patterns of an indigenous folk literature compounded of the diverse elements that make up the cultural heritage of the American people. Mencken was one of the few critics of his day who understood what is now almost universally accepted: that Mark Twain was "America's greatest humorist." While the Sage possessed little if any of Twain's intuitive appreciation of the folk mentality, he shared with his literary kinsman a sincere belief that human life is basically a comedy and that happiness, as he himself put it, is "the capacity to detect and relish the comic touches in human tragedy."

Mark Twain and Mencken shared a disdain for the puerilities and pretenses of American life, and both men were severely "moral" in a way that average Americans cannot comprehend. Both men believed that the people Americans admire most extravagantly are the most daring liars, and the ones they detest most violently are those who try to tell them the truth. But Mark Twain had a streak of compassion in his makeup that Mencken did not possess. After heaping "blame after blame" and "censure after censure" upon one of his selected whipping boys, Mark Twain indulged in a moment of penitence for his caustic remarks. When his temper had cooled, he said, "It is my conviction that the human race

is no proper target for harsh words and bitter criticisms." "It did not invent itself," he added, "and it had nothing to do with the planning of its weak and foolish character."

Mencken was equipped with a "petrified diaphragm" that was impervious to emotional appeals. He could laugh himself to sleep every night at what he called "the greatest show since Rome caved in." Speaking of a prank he once played on an unsuspecting victim, he said, "I shall recall it upon the scaffold, and so shock the sheriff with a macabre smile."



THE END. YOURS TRULY, HUCK FINN.

LESLIE F. CHARD II

Emory University

Mark Twain's "Hadleyburg" and Fredonia, New York

4 "THE MAN THAT CORRUPTED HADLEYBURG" INVITES CONJECTURES AS TO ITS origin, for the vividness of the story's characters and setting suggests that it was based on a specific town. Hadleyburg has already been identified as Oberlin, Ohio,¹ but this is improbable, partly because Twain did not know the community well and because its supposed slight—that of receiving the author coolly—is not proportionate to the savage bitterness of the story. If Hadleyburg did have an original, the town was certainly one that Twain was closely familiar with and one that had irritated him severely.

1 Fredonia, New York, a small village forty-five miles from Buffalo, perfectly fits this description—as well as everything Twain indicates about Hadleyburg in the story.² On January 19, 1870, he was introduced to the town for the first time, when he delivered his Sandwich Islands lecture to an appreciative audience.³ Exactly two weeks later, on February 2, Twain was married; at the wedding he told his sister, Pamela, and her daughter, Annie,

of a little city by the name of Fredonia (New York), not far from Buffalo, where he thought they might find a pleasant home.

'I went in there by night and out by night,' he said, 'so I saw none of it, but I had an intelligent, attractive audience. Prospect Fredonia

1 Russel B. Nye, "Mark Twain in Oberlin," *Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (1938), 69-73; Cyril Clemens, "Unique Origin of Mark Twain's Books," *Missouri School Journal*, LX (January 1944), 16, 18-19. For further repudiation of these claims for Oberlin, see Guy A. Cardwell, "Mark Twain's Hadleyburg," *Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, LX (1951), 257-64.

2 Even today, it is commonly supposed in Fredonia that the community was the original for Hadleyburg and that many of the characters in the story were based on prominent Fredonians of the past.

3 *Fredonia Censor*, January 12, 19, 26, 1870.

and let me know what it is like. Try to select a place where a good many funerals pass. Ma likes funerals. If you can pick a good funeral corner she will be happy.' ⁴

After a short trip to Missouri Mrs. Twain, Pamela and Annie settled in Fredonia. The unused Episcopal rectory that they occupied must have been on a "funeral corner," for Mrs. Clemens "soon became attached to the place, and entered into the spirit of the life there, joining its temperance crusades, and the like." ⁵ During his relatives' first year in the village, Twain and his young wife were still living in Buffalo, and they no doubt made the short trip to Fredonia on several occasions. Even after they moved to Hartford in the spring of 1871 Twain continued to take the train to Fredonia from time to time; known visits occurred in 1874, 1878, 1879, 1880 and probably 1881. ⁶ Indeed, in 1879 Twain bought a lot at Van Buren Point, a Lake Erie resort area near Fredonia, with the idea of building a cottage there eventually. ⁷ Mrs. Jane Clemens remained in Fredonia for several years and then removed to Keokuk, Iowa, to be with her other son, Orion (the exact date of her departure is not clear); but Twain's sister continued to live in Fredonia. Her daughter married a young resident of the town, Charles L. Webster, on September 28, 1875. ⁸

In short, Twain knew Fredonia well and his early reaction to the community was favorable. But by the time "Hadleyburg" was written, his attitude had changed—a result of a variety of incidents ranging from relatively trivial inconveniences to more serious objections and personal encounters. To begin with, Twain was easily annoyed by poor railroad service, and any disruption was likely to provoke him. In traveling between the East and Fredonia, Twain would have had to stop at the station in nearby Dunkirk and then take a trolley to Fredonia; he was indignant when he got a poor connection, as was evidently often the case:

Dear Ma—I was exceedingly glad you could not wait at the Dunkirk station, for it would have tired you out to sit there from half past 11 until toward 3 o'clock, as I did. . . .

Those are the most exasperating roads in the world to travel on [between Elmira and Dunkirk, on the Erie Railroad]. The trains seem to

⁴ Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography* (3 vols.; New York, 1912), I, 424-25.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ DeLancey Ferguson, *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* (Indianapolis, 1943), pp. 176, 209; *Mark Twain's Letters*, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (2 vols.; New York, 1917), I, 325; *Mark Twain, Business Man*, ed. Samuel Charles Webster (Boston, 1946), pp. 139-42. Quotations from this last work are used through the kind permission of Mrs. Doris Webster.

⁷ Webster, p. 139; *Dunkirk* [New York] *Evening Observer*, April 23, 1956.

⁸ *Fredonia Censor*, September 29, 1875.

be always behindhand. Still, I'm coming to see you again when we are in this region, & *every time* we are in this region.⁹

As S. C. Webster remarks, "The wait of three hours and a half at the Dunkirk station seems to have embittered Uncle Sam, because in later years anybody he didn't like came from Dunkirk. Dunkirk was quite a large town, but it wasn't that large."¹⁰ In all probability, since Dunkirk and Fredonia were virtually one community, Twain just grouped the two places together in a blanket condemnation of the whole area. As will be seen, such a conclusion is supported by Twain's persistence in assigning several of his antagonists to Dunkirk when in fact they were natives of Fredonia.

Further, the attitudes prevalent in Fredonia might well have annoyed Twain, once he had frequented the town enough to perceive them. Something of the atmosphere he would have encountered is suggested by a sketch of the village published in 1894, shortly after Twain's direct involvement with the community. The author is unknown, but he is almost certainly a local contributor. After declaring that "Fredonia is a lovely village," he proceeds to catalogue the glories of the town: "the village is said to excel all others of its size in the state, in the amount of sidewalk flagging"; "There is probably not a village of its size in the country possessing so fine a hotel as Fredonia's elegant new hostelry, 'The Columbia,' . . . It is beautifully situated, facing a charming little park in the very heart of one of the prettiest villages of Chautauqua county"; and the town's newspaper, *The Fredonia Censor*, he calls "a power in upholding morality, honesty, integrity, and in sentiment strongly Republican."¹¹

S. C. Webster, himself a Fredonia native, infers that the values the local paper took pride in were also shared by the village; of two brothers who formulated a watch manufacturing scheme he says: "they sold a good deal of stock in Fredonia, where people naturally thought that their early environment had made them honest."¹² It should be remembered that an excessive faith in its own integrity was the downfall of Hadleyburg.

Fredonia does have a rich heritage for a small village. Among its claims are the first natural gas well in the world, the first street lighting by gas, the first Grange, and the founding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This last particularly would have seemed to Twain a dubious distinction.

⁹ Twain to his mother, September 19, 1881, quoted in Webster, pp. 169-70; see also Ferguson, p. 209.

¹⁰ Webster, p. 170.

¹¹ The Hon. Obed Edson, *History of Chautauqua County, New York* (Boston, 1894), pp. 485-597.

¹² Webster, p. 198.

Moreover, Fredonia was a staunchly Republican town, whereas Twain, while an avid Republican as a young man, became increasingly antagonistic to the big-business, Republican alliance. Ultimately, he voted for Grover Cleveland, later one of his close friends.¹³ Fredonia's undoubted Republicanism would have helped to alienate Twain, especially since the issue of morality was one that the Republicans used against Cleveland repeatedly.

At any rate, Twain was undoubtedly most embittered by several unpleasant encounters with various natives of Fredonia. The first occurred in the summer of 1874, during a visit to his mother, when he publicly denounced a local banker who had offended him. His letter of apology to his mother and his sister, while totally abject in tone, suggests that he had some doubts even then about the social climate in Fredonia:

My Dear Mother and Sister,—I came away from Fredonia ashamed of myself;—almost too much humiliated to hold up my head and say good-bye. For I began to comprehend how much harm my conduct might do you socially in your village. I would have gone to that detestable oyster-brained bore and apologized for my inexcusable rudeness to him, but that I was satisfied he was of too small a calibre to know how to receive an apology with magnanimity. . . .

You spoke of Middletown. Why not go there and live? . . . I seriously fear that our visit has damaged you in Fredonia, and so I wish you were out of it. . . .

I went to his bank to apologize to him, but my conviction was strong that he was not man enough to know how to take an apology and so I did not make it.¹⁴

At the very least, here is evidence that one of Fredonia's leading citizens had become the object of Twain's utter scorn; and the fact that this person was a banker is significant, since it is the banker in "Hadleyburg" who is made to appear one of the most disreputable residents of the town, though he has carefully maintained a façade of respectability.

In 1881, Twain again was unpleasantly involved with Fredonia residents. He invested in what he called "the watch-making scheme," whereby two brothers, named Howard, were selling stock for a watch company they proposed to operate. When the Howards sold out, Twain, sensing a swindle, accused them of using their capital to start a patent medicine business. Eventually the Howards settled up through the intervention of

¹³ *Mark Twain in Eruption*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (New York, 1940), pp. 15-16, 34, 286-87, 347; Paine, II, 581-82, 780-81, 864-65.

¹⁴ *Letters*, I, 220-21; see also Ferguson, p. 176.

Twain's nephew-in-law, Charles L. Webster.¹⁵ But the episode surely helped to make Twain more hostile to the town.

Webster was to achieve temporary fame (and an even more temporary high opinion in the eyes of his uncle) as president of the publishing house, Charles L. Webster, Co., a corporation which Twain had founded and which prospered in its first years through the spectacular sale of Grant's *Memoirs*. But in the 1890s, several years after Webster had resigned from the business owing to ill health and had returned to Fredonia, economic depression and mismanagement combined to bankrupt the company. Twain's active and open antagonism to Fredonia may be dated from this time, for he held Webster largely responsible for the firm's failure—and he held the Fredonia area responsible for Webster. In his *Autobiography* Twain excoriates Webster in no uncertain terms: "his ignorance covered the whole earth like a blanket and there was hardly a hole in it anywhere."¹⁶ When Grant's *Memoirs* proved to be a success, Twain continues, "Webster was in his glory. In his obscure days his hat was number six and a quarter; in these latter days he was not able to get his head into a barrel."¹⁷

Chance had it that both of the other people Twain implicated in the downfall of his company were also from Fredonia, though in his anger he says "Dunkirk," undoubtedly a word indicative to him of the general area. Speaking of the legal arrangements between Webster and himself at the founding of the company, he notes:

The contract was drawn, as I say, by a young lawyer from Dunkirk, New York, which produced him as well as Webster and has not yet gotten over the strain. Whitford was privileged to sign himself 'of the firm of Alexander and Green.' Alexander and Green had a great and lucrative business and not enough conscience to damage it. . . .

[Whitford] was endowed with a stupidity which by the least little stretch would go around the globe four times and tie. . . .

It was a happy combination, Webster and his lawyer.¹⁸

The other Fredonian to feel the sting of Twain's sarcasm was Webster's assistant and eventually his successor, from 1888 on, as president of the company:

Webster's understudy and business manager had now been for some time a young fellow named Frederick J. Hall, another Dunkirk impor-

¹⁵ Webster, pp. 150-51, 198-99.

¹⁶ *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Neider (New York, 1959), p. 247. Quoted by kind permission of Harper and Row.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 253. For other sarcastic remarks on Webster, see pp. 182, 229, 233-36, 245-49, 253-58.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

tation. We got all our talents from that stud farm at Dunkirk. Poor Hall meant well but he was wholly incompetent for the place.¹⁹

Twain wrote "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg" in Vienna in 1898, when he was feeling the full financial burden of his company's failure, since he had assumed the responsibility for more debts than he was liable for.²⁰ At the time he was writing potboilers to satisfy these debts; consequently it would have been natural for him to turn to fiction as a means of venting his spleen on Webster, on the community that produced him, and on what that community would have plausibly symbolized to Twain—corruption veiled behind an appearance of respectability.

Internally, the story contains several specific details that may be correlated with its conjectured model. Physically, Hadleyburg has a town square, around which are, presumably, the town hall, the bank, and the Baptist and Presbyterian churches. The same undoubtedly can be said of many towns and cities in America; but the fact remains that Fredonia's town square was then fronted on one side by the town hall and by churches of these very denominations, while the bank stood on the other side of the park. The town hall is described as having an auditorium—not ordinarily a feature of such buildings—although such was the case with that in Fredonia. The reader also learns that the first town to the west on the railroad was a place Twain calls Brixton (Johnny, the printing-office boy, refers to the "Timetable for Brixton and all the towns beyond";²¹ an Eastern observer would have regarded only the West as "beyond"). In reality, the Dunkirk-Fredonia community is on the main line of the New York Central as it moves westward into the Great Plains, and the first town to the west is named Brocton—for which "Brixton" is a not improbable substitution.

As to the characters, several are vivid enough to have been drawn from life. Two such residents of Hadleyburg should be singled out, Pinkerton the banker, and Harkness, a "doctor." As was mentioned earlier, Pinkerton receives special satirical treatment: it is his name which is printed on the "Bogus double-eagles" at the end of the story, thus costing him election to the legislature in his race with Harkness; and, it should be recalled, one of the people whom Twain had earlier denounced was also a banker from Fredonia.

Harkness is presented in more detail. Twain invariably puts quotes around his "Doctor," suggesting that the man's claim to the title was

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁰ Ferguson, pp. 259, 278-79.

²¹ *The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Neider (New York, 1957), p. 357.

somewhat suspect. (This recalls S. C. Webster's comment about his home town: "We were very short of foreign titles in Fredonia, and even American titles were scanty. . . . The titles of judges and doctors were generally hereditary and carried on by their sons. I remember the druggist's son was always called 'doc.'")²²

Harkness is described as one of the richest men in town and as the "proprietor of a mint; that is to say, a popular patent medicine."²³ At the time of the story, he is running for the legislature, largely so that he can fix the route of a proposed railroad to his own advantage. He is, then, a wealthy businessman with medical and political pretensions. All of this is strongly suggestive of a man who was one of Fredonia's leading citizens at the time Twain visited the village, the Hon. Milton M. Fenner. Local biographies indicate that Fenner attended medical school at Cincinnati; that he was a speculator in various schemes, which often failed; that he was a prominent Fredonia businessman; that he was elected to the state legislature; and that he had "a determined and unconquerable will."²⁴ This last may well be said of Harkness, too, for it is his determination which enables him to dupe Pinkerton successfully and thus win the election. All in all, the parallels between the two men are close enough to indicate that the one may well have been the original for the other.

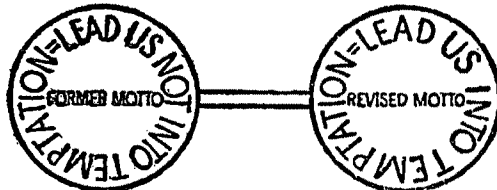
And finally, there is the self-righteousness of the town of Hadleyburg. Twain speaks repeatedly of its "old and well-earned reputation for spotless honesty, and of the town's just pride in this reputation," as well as of its "commercial incorruptibility."²⁵ This reputation, in fact, is the point of the whole story. As has been seen, Twain likely looked upon Fredonia as a place that pretended to have virtues it could not justly claim; its reputation for honesty, in the light of his experiences with the community, would have seemed to him a bitter irony. He may well have relished the opportunity to puncture its pretension and to settle some long-standing grudges, both with the town and with some of its inhabitants, all in one blow of his pen.

²² Webster, p. 363.

²³ *Short Stories of Mark Twain*, p. 383.

²⁴ *History of Chautauqua County*, "Cyclopedia of Biographies of Chautauqua County."

²⁵ *Short Stories of Mark Twain*, pp. 368-69; see also pp. 353, 358, and 380.



Notes

Mark Twain and Vedder's Medusa

ELIHU VEDDER, THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ARTIST, TODAY BEST remembered for his illustrations of the *Rubáiyát*, was very much admired not only by his fellow artists but by writers as well. Among those who bought his works were Lowell, Melville, Aldrich, Howells and Mark Twain. Vedder's *Young Medusa* hung on the mantelpiece in the library at Mark Twain's Hartford home. After Mark Twain's death this painting seems to have disappeared. Some information can, however, be gleaned from the Vedder's Papers,¹ in regard to the actual purchase, which took place in Rome in the autumn of 1878.

Vedder had joined his wife and two children in Perugia at the end of September, after exhibiting his *Cumaeen Sibyl* and *Marsyas* at the Paris Exposition and spending a month painting in Venice. It was the custom of the Vedders to spend the summer at the Villa Ansidei in Perugia, waiting to return to Rome for the first rains, as it was considered unhealthy to return to the City before them. That fall, however, it seemed as if the family would have to wait for more than the rains to come, for there was no money left for the return trip and for settling the bills in the country. Around November 1, Vedder set forth alone to Rome, hoping to find some purchaser for his pictures or some friend in a position to advance him some cash. There was always J. C. Hooker of Pakenham, Hooker and Company—the Piazza di Spagna banker whose establishment performed, in a way, the various services later taken over by the American Express—but he owed Hooker more than a thousand dollars and was afraid Hooker would refuse a further loan.²

Everybody in Rome was hard up at that time. Neither Chauncey B. Ives nor Randolph Rogers, two sculptor friends, could advance him a penny. Will Herriman, the great patron of the American artists in Rome, was not expected back until the middle of November. There were, however, some prospective clients. At Hooker's, on November 3, Vedder saw among the Rome visitors the names of Mr. and Mrs. S. L. Clemens, listed as staying at the Hotel Allemagne. He also was told that Mark Twain had

¹ Preserved in Rome by a friend of Vedder's daughter, found there by the author of this article, and now at the Archives of American Art in Detroit. All quotations are from these still unpublished papers, used by the author for her *Life of Vedder*.

² See, Regina Soria, "American Artists in Rome," *Archives of American Art Bulletin*, III (July 1963), pp. 3-6.

been in a few minutes earlier and as William Grant, Hooker's partner, introduced Randolph Rogers to Twain, the celebrated humorist had barely nodded and gone on reading some papers, leaving almost immediately afterward. "Just think," wrote Vedder to his wife Carrie, "Rogers of all men who would have killed the fatted calf and invited the fairest in the land to meet him. In fact Rogers said he had wanted to see him above all men for a long time, but that now he would see him D—d before he would want to see him again." On the other hand, the next day Mark Twain came in the morning to Vedder's studio at 68, Capo le Case. He "stayed until far beyond my lunch time," wrote Vedder to Carrie. "As Maria [the maid] had prepared a beautiful plate of mushrooms for me, a present from Giovanni [the maid's fiancé], I sent out for beer and had Clemens stay for lunch, which turned out good and which he enjoyed hugely." Vedder walked with him for a while after lunch, and in the evening went to get him with Casimir Griswold, the painter, and took him to their favorite beershop in Via della Croce. "We passed a very pleasant evening, coming away early." The next day, November 5, Vedder wrote again to Carrie, "I really think Clemens will want one thing, the *Medusa Head*, the one I call the large one, the one I painted in Perugia this year." Vedder had got along so well with Mr. and Mrs. Clemens, that he wanted Rogers to have a chance to meet them properly, too. So, on November 5, a visit to Rogers' studio was arranged and the episode was ended presumably to the satisfaction of all concerned. Mrs. Clemens accompanied her husband in a second visit to Vedder's studio and asked to see the portraits of Carrie and the children. In his letters Vedder kept expressing his regret that Carrie had to be in the country and his hopes to raise some money to get her in town to meet the Clemenses, "they will not leave before you come, that is, if I can get anything!" In view of the prospective sale, Hooker consented to lend some money, which was sent up to the studio on November 7. A "vaglia," or money order, was mailed to Perugia, and Carrie with the children arrived soon afterward, but probably not soon enough to meet the Clemenses. Before leaving Mark Twain bought the *Medusa Head*, on November 10, and paid \$250.

Why Mark Twain selected the Medusa, instead of the many other subjects on view at the studio, is not revealed in Vedder's correspondence. It is possible that Mark Twain became fascinated with Vedder's yarns on the subject, one which had interested Vedder for many years. Vedder's first sketches of the Medusa were done in Glens Falls, New York, in 1868. These two tiny pencil drawings represent "the calm face of a woman with flowing locks. Tiny serpents are just springing from her forehead," and "a tear-stained face, and from the head grow writhing

serpents, fiercely fighting one another." The inspiration for the Medusa is derived from Hawthorne's "Medusa Story" in the *Tanglewood Tales*. This is evident from the "Medusa Story," which Vedder himself wrote in 1872 and had privately published in London, through the good services of Edwin J. Ellis.



Fig. 1. *A Medusa Head*. Oil. Courtesy, Dr. Jacob Fine, Boston.

The Medusa myth, as told by Vedder, was preceded by an introduction, in which a wise old snake criticized the sketches left by the artist in his studio. The snake declared that the artist "had accidentally hit on the truth, as artists do sometimes," in his representation of the Medusa with serpents growing right out of her head and in showing the Medusa only as a reflection in a mirror. According to the serpent, Medusa had been a lovely baby, with two tiny rose-colored wings growing behind her temples. Later, she sprouted a wreath of little golden serpents around her forehead,

which were greatly admired by the people of her city. "As thoughts began to circulate under her lovely forehead, these serpents would underline, as it were, her moods, raise their heads and move about restlessly." When she fell in love and because of slander was abandoned by her lover, she changed from Medusa the Beautiful to Medusa the Fiend. She finally had to flee to an island, where the Gorgons welcomed her as being more wicked and miserable than they. Her wings had been bitten off by the snakes, who, aroused by her terrible dreams, rose now fiercely upon her



Fig. 2. *Medusa in Hades*. Tempera on paper. Courtesy, the Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego.

head all the time. Perseus came, carrying as a weapon the mirror of perfect truth. When Medusa looked into the mirror, she saw what she had become and the realization killed her.

In his autobiography, Mark Twain describes his library and the various ornaments standing on the mantelpiece and the shelves on both sides of it—two oil-paintings, twelve or fifteen bric-à-brac things, and Vedder's *The Young Medusa*. "Every now and then," Mark Twain wrote, "the children

required me to construct a romance—always impromptu—not a moment's preparation permitted—and into that romance had to get all that bric-à-brac and the three pictures."³ One wonders how many different versions of Vedder's Medusa story the Clemens children heard through the years.

The reaction of Vedder's friends to the Medusa story was not encouraging. Vedder dropped the idea of illustrating it, but his interest in the Medusa subject did not end. *A Medusa Head* (Fig. 1), *Medusa in Hades* (Fig. 2), *Perseus and Medusa* and *The Dead Medusa* are among his works that have come to light to date, together with a photograph of a *Young Medusa* painted in 1898. All show Pre-Raphaelite influence.

The Pre-Raphaelite influence on Vedder did not make his art more languid or more literary. On the contrary, it helped him to liberate himself from the subject and led him to a discovery of the Art Nouveau, of which he is one of the earliest exponents. As for Mark Twain, his leanings toward the Pre-Raphaelite style and to the Art Nouveau can perhaps be suggested, not only by his choice of the Vedder painting, but by other purchases for his home, such as the highly decorated Florentine bed, which seems to have been among his favorite possessions.

In his letter to Carrie, Vedder gives only the bare outline of his Roman meetings with Mark Twain. Knowing the deep affinities between these two Americans, one can read between the lines the mutual satisfaction they found in their conversations and one can well imagine the topics they dwelt upon. In each, his sense of humor had been stimulated in his youth by the incomparable Artemus Ward. They had many friends in common, such as T. B. Aldrich and Howells. They shared a view of the world and of eternity singularly skeptical and hopeful at the same time. Their paths would cross again soon in the 1880s in New York, when Vedder would rival Mark Twain as a speaker in those banquets where artists, writers and actors gathered together in a spirit of conviviality inspired by a sense of shared pursuits and interests in the arts unique in the history of American culture.

REGINA SORIA, *Archives of American Art, Rome*

³ *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Neider (New York, 1959), p. 204.

Mark Twain, W. T. Stead and "The Tell-Tale Hands"

IN HIS *Autobiography*, MARK TWAIN RECALLED AN EXPERIMENT IN PALMISTRY which he conducted with the renowned English editor, social reformer

and spiritualist, W. T. Stead, during the latter part of 1894.¹ Twain and Stead had corresponded with each other since 1890 when Stead published excerpts of the *Connecticut Yankee* and, almost alone among English reviewers, ranked it in his *Review of Reviews* with Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* as one of the three most significant books of his time.² But it was not until March 1894 that they met while crossing the Atlantic to England on the *S. S. New York*.³ Stead was returning home following an extended stay in Chicago where he gained notoriety for his "crusade" against vice and political corruption⁴ and, on meeting Twain, found that they shared an interest in civic reform and the study of psychic phenomena.⁵ Immediately after his return, Stead wrote of his shipboard conversations with Twain and told of Twain's irritation with "the incredulity of people" who refused to investigate the question of psychic phenomena and yet "assume that they know all about [it] and are justified in pooh-pooing it."⁶

In addition to his very successful monthly periodical, *The Review of Reviews*, Stead had undertaken in July 1893 to edit a quarterly review entitled *Borderland*, devoted to the "popularising" of all phases of psychological research. And, in accord with his avowed purpose of "bringing to

¹ Charles Neider (ed.), *The Autobiography of Mark Twain* (New York, 1959), pp. 66-67, hereafter cited as *Autobiography of Mark Twain*. On aspects of the life and career of W. T. Stead (1849-1912), see Frederic Whyte, *Life of W. T. Stead* (2 vols.; London, 1924); Estelle W. Stead, *My Father. Personal and Spiritual Reminiscences* (London, 1913); Joseph O. Baylen, "W. T. Stead and the Boer War: The Irony of Idealism," *The Canadian Historical Review*, XI (December 1959), 304-14; Joseph O. Baylen, "W. T. Stead, Apologist for Imperial Russia, 1870-1880," *Gazette: International Journal of the Science of the Press* [Amsterdam], VI (November 1960), 281-97.

² Stead welcomed Twain's *Connecticut Yankee* as a hard-hitting critique of the social order in Victorian England. [W. T. Stead], "Mark Twain's New Book. A Satirical Attack on English Institutions," *The Review of Reviews*, I (February 1890), 144-45. See also Philip S. Foner, *Mark Twain. Social Critic* (New York, 1958), pp. 113, 176; Louis J. Budd, *Mark Twain. Social Philosopher* (Bloomington, Ind., 1962), pp. 131-32; *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, p. 271; Gladys C. Bellamy, *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* (Norman, Okla., 1950), p. 312; Jerry Allen, *The Adventures of Mark Twain* (Boston, 1954), pp. 232, 250-51. Twain thanked Stead "for giving my Yankee such a handsome amount of space. . . ." S. L. Clemens to Stead, March 17, 1890. Stead Papers. (I am indebted to Miss Estelle W. Stead and Mr. W. K. Stead for permission to study the Stead Papers). On Stead's spirited defense of the book against its English critics, see Stead to S. L. Clemens, May 23, 1890. Mark Twain Papers, University of California Library.

³ [W. T. Stead], "Psychic Healing," *Borderland*, I (April 1894), 323; *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, p. 66.

⁴ See W. T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago* (New York and London, 1894).

⁵ Cf. [Stead], *Borderland*, I (April 1894), 323.

⁶ As Stead had observed, Twain was at this time much interested in "psychic healing" or "mind cure." *Ibid.* See also Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (eds.), *Mark Twain-Howells Letters. The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910* (Cambridge, 1960), II, 659.

the study of . . . obscure [psychic] phenomena . . . the searching interrogation of . . . experimental research,"⁷ Stead included articles in *Borderland* which ranged in content from experiments with "automatic writing" to palmistry. It was his desire to test the validity of the palmists' claims (and his acute sense of good news copy) which inspired Stead to join with Twain in an experiment in which the latter's hands were the subject. As Stead later wrote:

The origin of Mark Twain's desire to test whether there was anything in the alleged science was a controversy which had arisen between him and some acquaintances, as to whether palmistry was too drivelling a superstition for anyone, . . . to allude to its existence, even in a work of fiction. To settle the matter, at my suggestion Mark Twain had his hands photographed,⁸ both back and front, and in our last number [of *Borderland*, July, 1894] we invited experts to try their skill at reading the character of the subject from blurred and imperfect pictures of his hands,⁹ no hint being given as to whom they belonged. . . .¹⁰

Stead published the first results of the test in the October 1894 issue of *Borderland* with a preface in which he explained the circumstances of the experiment and identified the hands as those of Mark Twain. He noted that since very few palmists had volunteered to read the hands, "the lines of which were so imperfectly shown" in the photographs, he supplemented the readings submitted by two palmists with "two other delineations sent . . . by [psychometrists] who relied solely upon their intuitional impressions." On the basis of his personal knowledge of Twain, Stead judged the test "not . . . unsuccessful," and promised to publish in the next number of the quarterly Twain's opinion "upon the accuracy or otherwise with which these strangers have hit off [*sic*] his distinguishing characteristics."¹¹

⁷ William T. Stead, "How We Intend to Study the Borderland," *Borderland*, I (July 1893), 5. After over three years of publication, Stead terminated its publication in October 1896, as a result of the press of other work and some financial difficulty.

⁸ See S. L. Clemens to Stead, March 20 & 29, 1894. Stead Papers.

⁹ Stead published two photographs of Twain's hands and invited all palmists interested in the challenge to submit to him "a reading of the subject's life and character." [W. T. Stead], "A Remarkable Double Test in Palmistry. Is it Really a Science after all?" *Borderland*, I (July 1894), 463.

¹⁰ [W. T. Stead], "Character Reading by Palmistry and Otherwise. The Story of the Tell-Tale Hands of Mark Twain," *Borderland*, II (January 1895), 60. Twain's interest in palmistry was, perhaps, also aroused by the acute distress which a palmist had caused his daughter, Jean, by predicting that "she would have an unhappy life and that with all her gifts she would [always] fall just short of success." Albert Bigelow Paine (ed.), *Mark Twain's Notebook* (New York and London, 1935), p. 230.

¹¹ [W. T. Stead], "Test Readings of Mark Twain's Hands," *Borderland*, I (October 1894), 558.

Of the four "test readings," two were submitted by "scientific" palmists identified as "Lucis" and "E. L. C." The former rendered a "partial" reading on the grounds that "the signs [of Twain's] . . . temper, health, success, circumstances, . . . energy and important modifications of character" could not be discerned from the photographs. But, on the basis of his analysis, "Lucis" listed several points which described Twain as "a man of some talent . . . [whose] reason is modified by swift intuition, [and] prompt thought"; resenting any interference with his freedom; capable of "freaks of opinion" astonishing his friends; easily swayed by females and longing to be loved; "a generous man . . . [who] . . . shows caprice in his charities"; highly interested in social questions; tolerant, but "moved by honour and duty" and a desire to dominate; wise, prudent and often pessimistic; skillful in the manipulation of people; full of "energetic imagination, sentiment, [and] . . . a love of the mysterious," but plagued by "vague hopes, worries, and thoughts which cannot help him"; the product of "a precocious childhood, . . . [with] a self-directed, not uncontrolled, yet successful career"; and possessing "a strain of female southern blood" in his lineage.¹²

"E.L.C." evaluated Twain as "a man of peculiar temperament . . . [whose] views are often misunderstood. . . ." He attributed great force of character and persistence in motives to Twain and judged him to be especially skilled in discerning the character of men. But Twain was also deemed subservient to the opposite sex, extravagant in matters of art and music, and in his personal relationships capable of a generosity "superior to logic" and "combative and critical" in temperament. "He should be or is," concluded the palmist, "a scientific man; a good speaker, [and] either a clergyman or barrister" often addicted to "excessive alcohol."¹³

The "intuitionist" readings were rendered by the "psychometrists," Miss Ross and "J.E." Miss Ross was confident that the hands indicated great mental vigor, intensity of thought and "some originality" of ideas. As a result, it was her opinion that he "strikes out in fresh directions" and enjoyed discoursing on a wide variety of subjects with extraordinary "decisiveness and firmness." Miss Ross was particularly impressed with Twain's love of "hidden mines of truth" and his daring in entering "where some fear to tread." She was convinced that he was more of a prophet than his family and friends would allow him to be¹⁴ and has endured a life chequered by reverses, misunderstandings and censure

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 559-60.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 560.

¹⁴ On the role of Twain's wife as a "moral mentor" and "Twain's repression," see the review of his *Letters from the Earth* by Stanley Kauffmann, "Mark Twain from Under-Ground," *The New Republic*, CXLVIII (April 6, 1963), 21-22.

which have tended to make him self-willed, dogmatic and quick-tempered. Even more interesting was her description of Twain as inordinately sarcastic and "inclined to have rather a low estimate of his fellow-men."¹⁵

"J.E." submitted a more cryptic evaluation of the photographs. He described Twain as an actor or barrister; critical rather than artistic in temperament; clever, acute and subtle; a successful and popular man; timid, warm-hearted and basically cautious; a man with a strong sense of duty possessing "a strong and a fine sense of humor; presumably a bachelor regular in his habits," and living "chiefly in his profession"; and, finally, a vigorous person "liable to lose money." This estimate was concluded with the curious comment that "There is some queer contradiction in [Twain] which makes him perhaps a more brilliant, but certainly a less successful, man than he should have been."¹⁶

Stead summarized the statements of the four readers in the following table in which, on the basis of the number of "hits" and "misses," he attempted to tabulate the percentage of what he thought were "successful responses" and concluded that "In the matter of quality, if not also of quantity," the "intuitive" readings of the psychometrists, Miss Ross and "J.E.," were more valid than those of the "scientific palmists."

SUMMARY OF STATEMENTS¹⁷

<i>Kind</i>	<i>Delineator</i>	<i>Statements</i>	<i>Hits</i>	<i>Misses</i>	<i>Success</i>
Intuitional	J. E.	18	16	2	88 130/153 %
Intuitional	Miss Ross	ca. 34	ca. 30	3 or 4	88 30/153 %
Scientific	E. L. C.	25	17	8	68 %
Scientific	Lucis	25	10	15	40 %

Mark Twain's comments on the four readings were submitted in a letter to Stead which he published with his summary in the January 1895 issue of *Borderland*.¹⁸ In his communication, written apparently in early December 1894, Twain remarked with much amusement and candor:

¹⁵ [Stead], "Test Readings of Mark Twain's Hands," *Borderland*, I (October 1894), 558-59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

¹⁷ [Stead], "The Story of the Tell-Tale Hands of Mark Twain," *Borderland*, II (January 1895), 61.

¹⁸ In an earlier communication to Stead, Twain wrote: "I am not charging you anything for this 10 guinea article: but I will compromise if you will send me a lot of back numbers [of *Borderland*]. I want to see some of the readings of other people's hands." S. L. Clemens to Stead, November 30, [1894.] Stead Papers.

As I understand it, the four hand-readers who discussed my printed hands did not know whose hands they were.¹⁹ Then to my mind they did some very remarkable things with them. Miss Ross made only three or four errors in setting forth my character. Each error was a compliment to me, so I prize the errors above the facts.

J.E.'s chart consists of eighteen paragraphs. With sixteen of them I am not able to find fault. I have no personal friend or relative who could read me any closer than this. 'The strain of southern female blood' in me dates back two hundred and forty years. Am I to believe that I haven't got that out of my system yet, and that my hands are still able to advertise it? J. E. claims that the sense of humor exists in my make-up; the other three are silent as to that. It may be that the three are right.

Concerning Lucis' chart, it is difficult to speak with precision itself. It crowds several specialties into a single sentence, with sometimes the facts in the majority, sometimes the errors. As nearly as I can make out, Lucis has made ten hits and fifteen misses.

By my estimate—assisted by friends, as in the three previous cases—E.L.C. makes seventeen hits and eight misses.

Each of the four hand-readers scores one or two hits of particular excellence, because they go so far in among my carefully concealed privacies, and one of these special hits is made by *two* of the readers and hinted at by a third.

If this is guessing, it is guessing which my nearest friends could not do. E.L.C. makes one disastrous hit which not even my mother could have made: but it is a true hit, nevertheless. Am I going to point out these things? Not if I can get excused.²⁰

Eleven years later, Twain, recalling the results of Stead's interesting experiment, recorded in his autobiographical notes an interpretation of the evaluations which, although somewhat at variance with the facts, also reflected his thought on the test.

By those estimates [he declared] I found that my make-up was about like anybody else's; I did not seem to differ much from other people; certainly in no prominent and striking way—except in a single detail. In none of these estimates was humor mentioned—if my memory is not mistreating me—except one;²¹ in that one the palmist said that the possessor of that hand was totally destitute of a sense of humor.²²

¹⁹ In a postscript to the letter cited in note 18, Twain asked: "Did *none* of these people know or suspect whose hands they were?" *Ibid.*

²⁰ "Mark Twain to the Editor of *Borderland*," [Paris, December 1894]. [Stead], "The Story of the Tell-Tale Hands of Mark Twain," *Borderland*, II (January 1895), 60.

²¹ In this direction, see "J.E.'s" statement that Twain's personality was distinguished by "a strong and fine sense of humour." [Stead], "The Readings of Mark Twain's Hands," *Borderland*, I (October 1894), 559.

²² *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, p. 66.

Indeed, Twain was convinced that "History repeated itself" when, as a result of similar experiments conducted by his publisher, Colonel George Harvey, in 1904, six professional palmists judged the photographs of his hands to denote a man lacking a sense of humor. "Now then," wrote Twain, "I have . . . the evidence that I do not possess the sense of humor . . . and at last I believe it myself."²³

But seeking such evidence concerning himself through bemused experiments with palmist divination was also, perhaps, only an aspect of Twain's conscious and subconscious yearning to see and know himself by determining how he appeared to others. Above all, he appears to have sought the satisfaction of discerning that in some imperfect way men could grasp the very serious purpose which lay beneath his humor. If palmistry, with all its limitations and inexactitude, could serve this purpose for Twain, then it served him well.

JOSEPH O. BAYLEN, *University of Mississippi*

Twain in Howells' *A Modern Instance*

CRITICAL BIOGRAPHIES OF WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS DEMONSTRATE THAT Howells converted personal experience and observation into realistic fiction. It is possible that for significant details of characterization and behavior in *A Modern Instance* (1882) he drew on his intimate acquaintance with Mark Twain.

In discussing Twain's interest in religious controversy in the Hartford days, when Twain was "in the first fine flush of his agnosticism," Howells wrote in 1910 in *My Mark Twain*:

Long before that I had asked him if he went regularly to church, and he groaned out: "Oh yes, I go. It 'most kills me, but I go," and I did not need his telling me to understand that he went because his wife wished it. He did tell me, after they both ceased to go, that it had finally come to her saying, "Well, if you are to be lost, I want to be lost with you."¹

Still later, in 1918, in reviewing Paine's edition of *Mark Twain's Letters*, Howells again recalled Twain's response to orthodox religion in the early years of his marriage:

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹ William Dean Howells, *My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticisms* (New York, 1910), pp. 31-32.

The faith he had been taught in his childhood passed with his childhood, but it held against his reason and remained in his affection long after it had ceased in his conviction, and until his church-going became a meaningless form. Then when he turned from the form the heroic woman who had no life apart from his could only say, "Well, if he must be lost, I do not wish to be saved," and their Christianity ceased to be a creed and remained a life.²

A similar situation occurs in *A Modern Instance*. Bartley Hubbard goes to call on Squire Gaylord "in the very heart of sermon-time," knowing that on Sunday morning he will find the old man reading in his office "in a grim protest against the prevalent Christian superstition." Of Squire Gaylord's agnosticism Howells writes:

Even his wife, to whom it had once been a heavy cross, borne with secret prayer and tears, had long ceased to gainsay it in any wise. Her family had opposed her yoking with an unbeliever when she married him, but she had some such hopes of converting him as women cherish who give themselves to men confirmed in drunkenness. She learned, as other women do, that she could hardly change her husband in the least of his habits, and that, in this great matter of his unbelief, her love was powerless. It became easier at last for her to add self-sacrifice to self-sacrifice than to vex him with her anxieties about his soul, and to act upon the feeling that, if he must be lost, then she did not care to be saved. He had never interfered with her church-going; he had rather promoted it, for he liked to have women go; but the time came when she no longer cared to go without him; she lapsed from her membership, and it was now many years since she had worshipped with the people of her faith, if, indeed, she were still of any faith.³

The close verbal resemblances between reminiscence and fiction suggest that other resemblances may be more than coincidence. In the same passage in *My Mark Twain*, Howells says of Twain: "Later he was more tolerant in his denials of Christianity. . . ."; in the same passage in *A Modern Instance*, he says of Squire Gaylord: "Of late years, however, . . . he had grown much more tolerant. He still clung to his old-fashioned deistical opinions; but he thought no worse of a man for not holding them; he did not deny that a man might be a Christian, and still be a very good man."⁴ Like Twain, Squire Gaylord was deeply versed in the Bible, "from which he was furnished with texts for the demolition of its

² "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CXXXVI (December 1917—May 1918), 603.

³ *A Modern Instance* (Boston, 1909), p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

friends, his adversaries." Like Twain, too, the Squire remained a personal friend of the minister in spite of their differences in belief. There is, moreover, an echo of Livy's fruitless efforts at reform in Mrs. Gaylord's inability to change her husband "in the least of his habits." But principally it is Mrs. Gaylord's decision to "be lost" along with her husband that seems to be an almost word-for-word translation, for literary purposes, of a personal revelation, made in confidence by one friend to another.

Beyond the similarities observed here, there is little resemblance between the Gaylords and the Clemenses. The details are important ones in Howells' novel, however, for Squire Gaylord's vigorous independence of mind forces certain developments in its plot, and his wife's withdrawal from society as a result of giving up her church membership affects Marcia's personality and behavior. Indeed, as a recent study points out, it is a model for Marcia's own withdrawal from society at the close of the novel.⁵

During the years from 1873 to 1882, when Twain lived in Hartford and Howells in Cambridge, their relationship was particularly close. Howells began writing *A Modern Instance* in 1881, at the height of this personal association. The fact that many years later Howells recalled Twain's sentiments and experiences in the matter of religion and church-going—and Livy Clemens' reaction to them—suggests that they were in his mind at the time he was writing this novel and may have provided realistic details which suited his fictional purpose.

If this is so, it shows something of the way in which Howells used actual experience in the construction of his novels, although this is admittedly slight evidence on which to base any general conclusion. In the case presented here, the details make important contributions to the development of the plot; yet the whole fictional situation created by Howells bears no resemblance to the actual situation from which the details were possibly drawn, for Mrs. Clemens did not withdraw from society when she stopped going to church. Howells' plots, though marked by fidelity to experience and probability of motive, were largely the product of his imagination, but the mass of concrete detail in which those plots were embedded was derived from real experience. It is those details which confirm "the truthful treatment of material" and give to the reader of Howells' novels the conviction of realism.

MYRTLE M. DUFFY, *University of Pennsylvania*

⁵ Kermit Vanderbilt, "Marcia Gaylord's Electra Complex: A Footnote to Sex in Howells," *American Literature*, XXXIV (November 1962), 373.

Barnum, Bridgeport and *The Connecticut Yankee*

IN THE OPENING PAGES OF *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, Hank Morgan receives "a crusher alongside the head that made everything crack"; and when he awakens, he finds "a fellow fresh out of a picture-book" challenging him to "just." Hank suggests that the knight "get along back to your circus," and as the two march along Hank is puzzled because "we did not come to any circus or sign of a circus." Then follows the passage which Bernard DeVoto claimed no one before Mark Twain could have launched a novel with:

At the end of an hour we saw a far-away town sleeping in a valley by a winding river; and beyond it on a hill, a vast gray fortress, with towers and turrets, the first I had ever seen out of a picture.

"Bridgeport?" said I, pointing.

"Camelot," said he.

To my knowledge, no one has questioned why Hank should take a knight in armor so matter-of-factly, why he should refer three times to a circus or why a vast gray fortress with towers and turrets should not seem out of place in Bridgeport.

If Twain's allusion is obscure to modern readers, it was not to his contemporaries. Bridgeport was the headquarters of P. T. Barnum, whose path Twain had first crossed when he described the Museum in an *Alta California* letter of April 9, 1867, and burlesqued Barnum's political aspirations in another letter the next day. The two later became friends, and Barnum attempted in the mid-1870s to persuade Twain "to write something that would help to popularize 'The Greatest Show on Earth.'" ¹

Directly to the point, in 1848 Barnum constructed his "castle" Iranistan on the hills overlooking Bridgeport. Perhaps the best description of Iranistan is Constance Rourke's:

The extravagant house . . . arose, with serried balconies, wide wings, shining domes, spires, minarets, and a lacy fretwork wherever fretwork could be introduced, along the balconies, above the windows, at the cornices. Everything glittered; the edifice might have been washed with gold or silver; a huge fountain played outside; bronze deer appeared in clusters on the grounds; and beyond, lay the fair semblance of an English park.²

¹ Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography* (New York, 1912), II, 564.

² Constance Rourke, *Trumpets of Jubilee*, with an introduction by Kenneth S. Lynn (New York, 1963), p. 304.

Woodcuts of Iranistan appear in almost every edition of Barnum's *Struggles and Triumphs* (a book that was among Mark Twain's favorites), and it is towered and turreted enough for anyone to understand Hank Morgan's confusion about Bridgeport and Camelot.

In addition, Barnum collected at Iranistan all the rejects and leftovers from his museums and menageries, including Rocky Mountain elk on the grounds and an elephant with a keeper in Oriental costume who hitched a plow to the animal and dug furrows whenever a train appeared on the adjacent New York and New Haven railroad track. In such a setting, why expect Hank to be nonplused at a knight in armor?

When Iranistan burned in October 1852, Barnum built a succession of smaller, less palatial homes in Bridgeport—Lindencroft, Waldemere and Marina; but it is undoubtedly Iranistan, patterned on George IV's Brighton Pavilion, which provides the gloss for Hank's mention of Bridgeport.

There are, further, some tantalizing parallels between Hank Morgan and P. T. Barnum. Both were Connecticut Yankees, both shrewd entrepreneurs; both were interested in dazzling "effects" of showmanship and humbug, and both were amateur inventors. Perhaps it strains the indebtedness too far to suggest that Mark Twain had Barnum in mind when he created the character of Hank Morgan, but it does seem certain that the opening passage of *The Connecticut Yankee* which refers to circuses and a castle in Bridgeport can be read properly only in the context of Barnum's career.

HAMLIN HILL, *University of New Mexico*

Twain's Use of Music

A Note on *Life on the Mississippi*

MARK TWAIN NEVER SEEMS TO HAVE HAD FORMAL MUSICAL TRAINING BUT at important periods of his life he was associated with others who had, and on his own he may have learned to play well enough to entertain on the riverboats and amuse the miners in California.¹ There is more

¹ Edward Charles Wagenknecht, *Mark Twain: The Man and His Work* (New Haven, 1935), p. 28. See also Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain* (New York, 1923), I, 44, 75-76, 91, for accounts of Twain's sister Pamela helping to support the family at two periods by giving piano and guitar lessons with a piano received from her father around 1846 or 1847. Both Suzy and Clara, Twain's daughters, studied music in Europe, and though Suzy died before she could fulfill her promise, Clara had a singing career and married a concert pianist, Ossip Gabrilowitsch. That much is well known. Some of Twain's other musical associates were Clara's teacher, the great pianist and pedagogue, Theodore Leschetitzky, Paderewski, Ole Bull, Dvorak, the pianist Mark Hombourg, and possibly Saint-Saëns, who received an Oxford degree on the same occasion as Twain.

than one account of how movingly he could sing, and although he always preferred spirituals, in later life his taste grew to include works in the standard classical repertory. His favorite piece, he said, was Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*.² No one has adequately explored the full meaning of music to Twain or assessed its influence on his writing, but an interesting and brilliant use of it for satirical purposes occurs in *Life on the Mississippi* in the chapter entitled "A Cub-Pilot's Experience":

The mate said:

"We've got to land at Jones's plantation, sir."

The vengeful spirit in me exulted. I said to myself, ". . . you'll have a good job finding Mr. Jones's plantation on such a night as this. . . ."

Mr. Bixby said to the mate:

"Upper end of the plantation, or the lower?"

"Upper."

"I can't do it. The stumps there are out of water at this stage. It's no great distance to the lower and you'll have to get along with that."

"All right, sir. If Jones don't like it, he'll have to lump it, I reckon."

And then the mate left. . . .

Mr. Bixby made for the shore and soon was scraping it, the same as if it had been daylight. And not only that but singing:

"Father in heaven, the day is declining," etc.

It seemed to me that I had put myself in the keeping of a peculiarly reckless outcast.³

The main purpose of the passage is to arouse the reader's admiration for the skill of Mississippi riverboat pilots. But it easily does more than that. Its full effect depends on a canny use of the whole hymn—it is called "Last Beam"—though only one line is quoted. As much, perhaps, as anything else in the passage the hymn creates the dramatic situation

² Paine, III, 1227. Paine also mentions here the titles of some of Twain's favorite pieces: Chopin's nocturnes; Schubert's "Impromptu," opus 142, number 2, played by Paine at Jean's funeral; Handel's "Largo"; and the "Intermezzo" from Mascagni's opera, *Cavalleria Rusticana*. He hated Wagner's *Tristan*, but he loved *Tannhäuser*. In his writings, Louis Bourgeois' fine hymn, "Old Hundred," Huck's "doxolojer," emerges as a favorite. See *The Portable Mark Twain*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (New York, 1946), p. 395, and Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (New York, 1922), p. 153. Clara gave as examples of spirituals Twain had sung in her childhood, "Go Chain the Lion Down," "Rise and Shine and Give the Glory, Glory" and "The Golden Chariot." Ralph Holmes, "Mark Twain and Music," *Century Magazine*, CIV (October 1922), 845. By contrast, "The Battle of Prague" might have been one of his serious childhood traumas. It came to stand for the worst in music to Twain. See *The Portable Mark Twain*, p. 326, and Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* (New York and London), II, 29 ff. For a description of it, see Joseph Slater, "Music at Col. Grangerford's," *American Literature*, XXI (1949-50), 108-11.

³ Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (New York, 1923), pp. 48-49.

between Mr. Bixby and young Sam. Their father-son relationship emerges for the reader through the spectacle of young Sam failing to grasp Mr. Bixby's surely intentional sarcasm in singing this particular hymn. Sam thinks Mr. Bixby is the outcast, but as apprentice it is really he himself who is. Mr. Bixby knows what Sam is thinking and mocks him with "Last Beam." And in the larger sense, Bixby embodies Twain's mature intelligence, for the hymn is a specimen of the "genteel culture" which Twain liked to satirize by confrontation with everyday reality.⁴

In both hymn and narrative it is night, the day has "declined," and dangers are certainly present. Sam's ignorance and uneasiness are paralleled in the lines, "Safety and innocence fly with the light,/Temptation and danger walk forth with the night." Young Sam, of course, is losing a part of his innocence, but until he does so, that is, until he learns the pilot's trade, it will be he who is the greenhorn outcast, so that his very fears are keeping him from being initiate. "Shield me from danger, save me from crime," amusingly hysterical because of its contrast with the calm competence of Mr. Bixby, extends this theme through its exaggeration of the state of mind young Sam is in, with *crime* in the hymn nicely harmonizing with *outcast*, Twain's word for the guise in which Bixby appeared to him. The morning bells are a ludicrous and unrealistic genteel touch: compare the mate's blunt and earthy, "If Jones don't like it, he'll have to lump it, I reckon." Thus the hymn counterpoints the narrative and each contributes humor to the other.

But Twain also, I think, means us to remember the melody as we read. By its smoothly flowing, mostly even note values, it is a perfect musical counterpart to the genteel clichés of the hymn and its womanish fears wishfully dispelled by an absurd faith in the goodness of life by day. It will be noticed that the melody has the range of a tenth, two notes greater than the usual octave of music written for untrained voices, such as those of congregations. Twain probably remembered such groups whooping and straining to reach the high F# on the words "Father, have mercy" and the cracked, hysterical sound it often must have had. Thus the very inadequacies of the singers, who would also have been the readers, evoke the sort of grotesque anticlimax Twain used to satirize the genteel tradition and also burlesque young Sam's terrified incompetence. If the reader imagines "Last Beam" as sung in full by Mr. Bixby, a splendid bit of musical satire emerges.

ARTHUR M. KOMPASS, *Purdue University*

⁴ Henry Nash Smith, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (Cambridge, 1962), p. vii, and elsewhere.

LAST BEAM. P. M.

1. FAD-ING, still fad-ing, the last beam is shining, Fa-ther in Heav-en, the day is de-clin-ing,

Safe-ty and in-no-cence fly with the light, Temp-ta-tion and dan-ger walk forth with the night:

From the fall of the shade till the morning bells chime, Shield me from dan-ger, save me from crime.

Fa-ther, have mer-cy, Fa-ther, have mer-cy, Fa-ther, have mer-cy thro' Je-sus Christ our Lord.

Father in Heaven, O hear when we call,
 Hear for Christ's sake, who is Saviour of all:
 Feeble and fainting, we trust in Thy might;
 In doubting and darkness Thy love be our light;
 Let us sleep on Thy breast while the night taper burns.
 Wake in Thy arms when morning returns.
 Father, have mercy, etc.

"Last Beam" from *Carmina Sanctorum: A Selection of Hymns and Songs of Praise* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1885).

Mark Twain: Ambivalence Not Disjunction

MIGHT MARK TWAIN CRITICISM BE SERVED IF WE STROVE, FOR A GENERATION, to avoid the disjunctions which have become so explicit a part of the canon? The terms of the disjunction, though varied, call forth similar diversions as we tick off the more familiar paradigms: East vs. West, Tom vs. Huck, head vs. heart, patterned vs. poetic, machine vs. garden, realist vs. romantic.

Are the disjunctions really as clear in Mark Twain's works as they are in the preferences of his critics? Aren't the critics implying—or explicating—preferences? And when this happens, doesn't one half of the disjunction come under a cloud? Doesn't "romantic" become a pejorative, or "realist" take on sinister colors? For every critic who senses that river-pilot *sachlichkeit* saved the "romancer" from wistfulness, isn't there another who remembers Howells' classification: "At heart Clemens was romantic"?

Except as a classroom exercise, why should we try to decide whether Mark Twain was a realist or a romantic? Are his works merely Freudian excrescences of the subconscious polarity of his preferences? Or are they works of art, which objectify the ambivalence of *all* preferences?

Often I have thought that those critics who find Huck Finn betrayed would prefer to float down rivers rather than paddle up; while those who sympathize with Boss Morgan would rather blow up worlds than suck timothy. But why suppose that Mark Twain's works are records of the attempts to do either? Why, especially, when the self-contradictions of each are so clearly rendered?

Heart and head are not merely opposed: this is rudimentary; but self-contradictory. The heart goes toward suicide, and the head to madness. These are the ultimate conditions of each drive. The Grangerfords, Old Boggs, the Duke and Dauphin represent the madness implicit in the world of head; but, no less, Huck's decision to free Jim represents the heart's impulse to suicide—the self-destructive determination to "go to hell."

Huck's impulses—so praiseworthy, according to most critics—are set in a world outside of time; the unreal world of poetry, myth, introspection: of floating, sleeping, dreaming. Surrounding this world—so crass, according to those same critics—is the head's world, the Lockean world of the senses, and of desire, and of ultimate madness.

Of course these two worlds have nothing to do with each other; no reader is likely to miss this; no reader needs to go to Mark Twain to

discover it.¹ But that they have, curiously, paradoxically, nothing much really to do with themselves is not so apparent.

Yet each world—heart and head, raft and shore—has its own determinants and follows its own laws and contradictory destiny independently of the other. The central fact of life on shore is its madness: thirteen deaths, most of them violent; the lynching of the Duke and Dauphin; the quixotic ineffectualness of the Phelps, of Tom, of the Widow Douglas. The central fact of life on shore is *its own* will to violence and madness.

The real plot on the raft, on the other hand, is the drift toward self-destruction: Jim floating south “to freedom,” Huck choosing hell in the name of the heart’s feeling. Both of these aspects of the journey are independent of causal connections with the shore. They are reflections of the community of the heart itself, and its environment.

So these two worlds, contradictory to each other, are also contradictory in their own inherent tendencies. We see, critics see, unmistakably the two opposing worlds of shore and raft. But in the artist’s vision we must see too that each world carries its own contradictions. So that while we cannot fail to recognize the validity of each—the heart and the head, Huck and Tom, romance and realism, raft and shore, garden and machine—we can’t subscribe to either with impunity.

When we see that the price of radical independence is suicide, while that of society-as-constituted is madness, it would be pretense indeed to suppose that either one could be resolved in terms of the other. Yet so many of our critics within the canon work like sociologists for life adjustment or like politicians for rapprochement.

JAMES HINER, *Milton College*

Twain in Progress: Two Projects

A PROJECT IS WELL UNDER WAY TO EDIT THE PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED WORKS of Mark Twain. With few exceptions his works have been edited either badly or not at all, and the aim of the scholars involved is to arrest the corruption of his texts and to establish them according to the most reliable principles. The project is expected to take about five years to be completed.

All the major works published in Twain’s lifetime and posthumously will be in this edition, but the notebooks and correspondence have been

¹ See, for example, Henry M. Littlefield, “The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism,” *American Quarterly*, XVI (Spring 1964), 47-58, and ask how much of the canon treats Twain like L. Frank Baum.

reserved to the edition of the Mark Twain Papers. Minor works will be represented in several collective volumes—political writings, criticism, etc. In every instance the editors will examine relevant texts that are extant, employing sight and machine collation to determine final readings. Many pre-publication materials survive in the case of Mark Twain—notes, manuscripts, typescripts and proofs—and they will have their proper role in the editorial scheme.

The Editorial Board consists of John C. Gerber (Iowa, Chairman); Paul Baender (Iowa, Secretary); Walter Blair (Chicago, Associate Editor); and William M. Gibson (NYU, Associate Editor). William B. Todd (Texas) is Bibliographer, and Warner Barnes (Iowa) is Assistant Bibliographer. Volume editors are Frederick Anderson (California, the *Autobiography*); Roger Asselineau (Sorbonne, *A Tramp Abroad*); Paul Baender (religious and philosophical writings); Howard Baetzhöld (Butler, middle and late tales and sketches); Allan Bates (Chicago, co-editor of *Life on the Mississippi*); Gladys C. Bellamy (Southwest State College, Oklahoma, *Following the Equator*); Walter Blair (*Huckleberry Finn* and co-editor of *Life on the Mississippi*); Edgar M. Branch (Miami, Ohio, earliest tales and sketches); Louis J. Budd (Duke, political writings); Hennig Cohen (Pennsylvania, short travel pieces); Leon Dickinson (Missouri, *Innocents Abroad*); Paul Fatout (Purdue, speeches); John C. Gerber (*Tom Sawyer*); William M. Gibson (*The Mysterious Stranger*); Hamlin Hill (New Mexico, *The Gilded Age*); Lewis Leary (Columbia, criticism); Franklin R. Rogers (San José State College, *Roughing It*); Roger B. Salomon (Yale, *The Prince and the Pauper*); Albert E. Stone (Emory, *Joan of Arc*); William B. Todd (bibliographical volume); Arlin Turner (Duke, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*); James D. Williams (Fairleigh Dickinson, *A Connecticut Yankee*).

PAUL BAENDER, *University of Iowa*

The University of California Press expects to publish approximately twelve volumes (eight titles) of Mark Twain's works which have either remained unpublished or have been published in such inadequately prepared editions as to be unacceptable by contemporary scholars. Most of the manuscript sources for this edition are in the Mark Twain Papers at Berkeley although other collections are being drawn upon whenever possible.

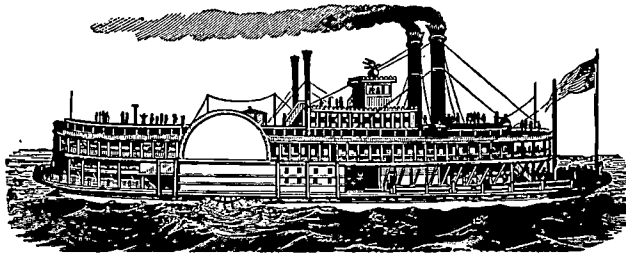
Present plans are for the appearance of the first volumes in 1966 to coincide with the publication of the first volumes of the new Harper & Row edition of previously published works. Among the early volumes

in the University of California Press project are a collection of pieces related to *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*, compiled by Walter Blair; a collection of Mark Twain's literary burlesques and satires, prepared by Franklin Rogers; an edition of Mark Twain's early (1870-92) correspondence with his publishers and other business agents; the joint publication with Harper & Row of all versions of *The Mysterious Stranger*, in which William M. Gibson will present the original Mark Twain texts rather than the much revised version that was originally published in 1916; and a volume of the late writings which express Mark Twain's pessimistic and deterministic views, edited by John Tuckey.

Volumes to be issued later will consist of a complete edition of Mark Twain's notebooks (edited by Frederick Anderson), a collection of later business correspondence (edited by Lewis Leary), approximately two volumes of miscellaneous short stories and sketches (selected by Richard Bridgman), and two or three volumes of general correspondence (Frederick Anderson and Hamlin Hill).

Henry Nash Smith, Walter Blair and Donald Coney compose the Editorial Advisory Board for the project and Frederick Anderson, Editor of the Mark Twain Papers, is serving as the coordinating editor.

FREDERICK ANDERSON, *University of California, Berkeley*



Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

New Books on Twain¹

ALTHOUGH WE ARE ONLY IN WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED THE SECOND GENERATION of scholarship on American literature, we seem already to have reached points of diminishing returns. True as it may be that each generation must write its own books, each new book does not necessarily make a substantial contribution to learning. Certainly Mark Twain "scholarship" has reached the point where it proceeds largely by dribs and drabs, so that instead of opening the latest book with great expectations one asks only that a little something new will be added.

Approached in such a mood of diminished expectations, these four recent Mark Twain books can provide moderate satisfactions, each in its own quiet way. *Mark Twain's San Francisco* is a compilation of pieces written by Mark Twain between 1863 and 1866, "being," to quote the jacket's quaint subtitle, "a Generous and Uninhibited CORNUCOPIA of Reports, Speculations, Satires, BRICKBATS; MUSINGS, Topical Verse and other observations." The editor has selected the items which gave him the most pleasure—certainly an impeccable criterion for a Mark Twain anthology—and the book will serve well for one who wishes merely a generous selection of early Twainiana, someone we might call the "casual scholar." Neither the serious scholar nor the casual reader, however, will find it contributing largely to his needs, since the former must of course make foundation trips to the distant libraries to read *all* the pertinent Twain pieces, unselected, and the latter is not likely to be as much amused as were Mr. Taper or Californians of the 1860s by these lightest samples of Twain's early, heavy-handed humor.

Hamlin Hill's *Mark Twain and Elisha Bliss* is a scholarly contribution of the most orthodox and approved variety, being a collection of material to provide a full account of the relation between the two men—just as the label says. Henry Nash Smith has packaged his slender product with equal

¹ The following books are considered in this review: *Mark Twain's San Francisco*. Edited by Bernard Taper. xxvi, 264 pp. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963. \$6.95; Hamlin Hill, *Mark Twain and Elisha Bliss*. xvi, 214 pp. University of Missouri Press, 1964. \$5.95; Henry Nash Smith, *Mark Twain's Fable of Progress: Political and Economic Ideas in "A Connecticut Yankee."* 116 pp. Rutgers University Press, 1964. \$3.50; and Robert A. Wiggins, *Mark Twain, Jackleg Novelist*. xii, 130 pp. University of Washington Press, 1964. \$5.00.

propriety, calling it *Mark Twain's Fable of Progress: Political and Social Ideas in "A Connecticut Yankee."* This detailed study of the *Connecticut Yankee* adds both facts and interpretations to improve our understanding of a major step in Twain's descent into the slough of despair. It is a bit harder to know just what Robert Wiggins' *Mark Twain: Jackleg Novelist* can be said to contribute. As a critical survey of Twain's novels it shuffles over well-trodden ground. It might prove useful as a manual for secondary-school teachers of Twain or for college students wanting an easy way to check back on the development of Mark Twain's fiction and find ready-made, sensible evaluations of each work (and either of these are perfectly respectable uses).

The title of Mr. Wiggins' book raises expectations that the text does not fulfill. "Jackleg," the author explains, was a nineteenth-century term meaning "impostor or incompetent workman." To show that the workmanship in Twain's major novels was incompetent in many respects is an undertaking neither interesting nor challenging. But more might well have been done with "impostor." Impostor, we recall, is the epithet Mark Twain used toward the end of his Whittier birthday dinner speech to describe the tramps who had claimed to be New England literary worthies. Then he finishes by quizzically suggesting that the term might be applied to himself, too. This might indeed have been worth subtle exploration, the "impostor" aspect of Twain in his fiction, with all it implies of the Westerner in the East, the simple man among the sophisticated, the gifted amateur among the gilded semi-pros.

But Mr. Wiggins seems to forget his title, as he takes for his central point something quite different: to wit, that "Twain had only one basic story to tell, the story of a folk hero." To tell this story, the author contends, Mark Twain "chose" realism and humor as his modes. (One might better say that realism and humor came to him naturally and inevitably from his western journalistic background—as the *San Francisco* book amply demonstrates.) These modes were particularly suitable for contrasting the folk or primitive mind with the civilized and sophisticated, and his fiction is at its best when he sticks to them—so goes the argument. This is a reasonable point, and actually a variant of Henry Nash Smith's earlier thesis in *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* that Twain's basic strategy was to put in opposition the orthodox culture and his "vernacular" hero. (Peculiarly, Mr. Wiggins never mentions Mr. Smith.) The variant would certainly have been worth a tight, carefully-worked-out essay. Here this point gets lost in a humorless, plodding account of novel after novel, and the jackleg thesis, which might easily have been shown to be related to the folk-hero thesis, gets lost in the shuffle, to use an image of the sort that dots the book.

Actually the jackleg idea emerges, by implication, more clearly in *Mark Twain and Elisha Bliss*. Although much of the material here presented has not been brought together in this form before, the book retraces rather familiar ground in its account of Mark Twain as businessman of letters. In meticulous detail Mr. Hill recounts the relation between Twain and the president of the American Publishing Company, the subscription house which published all Twain's major works from *Innocents Abroad* through *A Tramp Abroad* in 1880. Most interesting to me was the picture we were given, almost incidentally, of the subscription house business, and I kept wishing that the author would tell us more about exactly how the agent system worked and that he had indeed concentrated a good deal more on this fascinating example of American nineteenth-century salesmanship and on Elisha Bliss as a minor New England tycoon.

Mr. Hill's thesis is simple, simply stated and clearly and convincingly supported by the text: that "Mark Twain was shaped in his aims, techniques, and craft by the influence of the American Publishing Company and his subscription audience." The author shows clearly the extraordinary extent to which Mark Twain's concerns in writing his books through *A Tramp Abroad* were concentrated on questions of sales and costs, and one gets the impression that if he gave an occasional thought to "literary" rather than commercial considerations it was primarily because he wanted to be respected in that strange new eastern world of Hartford and the *Atlantic*. The extent to which as novelist he was jackleg, in both senses, is suggested by the almost total lack of concern for fiction or problems of fictional technique that we observe here in the details about the publishing of his early novels. Although Mr. Hill takes pains to explain that Twain's philistinism was not as complete as it might seem from his relations with the supremely philistine businessman Bliss, I came away from the book feeling, as I often feel about Mark Twain, that the wonder is not that he failed as much as he did but that he achieved *any* lasting artistic success.

Mr. Smith's book consists of three lectures delivered at the University of Puget Sound. But, alas, excellent as they may be, sound lectures do not always make a solid book, and this one I confess to finding slender in substance as well as in form. My first inclination was to attribute the book's shortcomings to the fact that the essays were written to be read to a large, heterogeneous audience. But I think that is not the real trouble. I think, baldly, that Mr. Smith tries to find something in *A Connecticut Yankee* that simply is not there, or at least not to the degree that he claims.

Two quotations give Mr. Smith's contention about the novel:

The task that faced the writers of the post-Civil War period was the discovery or the construction of a new system of values taking into

account the new conditions. Mark Twain tried to do this in *A Connecticut Yankee*. Although he did not succeed fully in his undertaking, the fact that he embarked on it reveals the intuitive recognition of central issues and the courage that make him a serious writer.

A Connecticut Yankee is thus not a mere tall tale but a philosophical fable which sets forth a theory of capitalism and an interpretation of the historical process that has brought it into being.

Fine words, all of these, but Mr. Smith does not demonstrate convincingly that Mark Twain tried to find "a new system of values." Nor does he show how we can see the book as "a philosophical fable." Despite Mr. Smith's urbane blandishments, the *Connecticut Yankee* still seems a hodgepodge of conflicting points of view mirroring Twain's multiple confusions.

Of course Mr. Smith is not so incautious as to claim that the book is a success or that Mark Twain was clear about what he was doing. On the contrary:

Mark Twain could not work out adequately his contrast of medieval and modern civilizations because the protagonist who represented the modern world in the story was an inadequate vehicle for depicting industrial capitalism.

These perversions of the thematic pattern bespeak a crisis in Mark Twain's thought and feeling about progress, a crisis so severe that it led to an almost complete loss of control over his materials. The world of the novel falls into a chaos.

But implicit in these admissions of failure, as in Mr. Smith's book as a whole, is the assumption that Mark Twain was really coping seriously, or more seriously than his contemporaries, with the social and cultural crisis. In his opening lecture Mr. Smith discusses, and dismisses, Charles Dudley Warner and William Dean Howells as examples of genteel evasion. In contrast to Mark Twain, they "were condemned to failure from the beginning because they had no categories of interpretation except a set of out-moded moral principles." But what did Twain have that was actually superior? Mr. Smith shows that he was bothered and bewildered, but not that he had effective categories for interpreting nineteenth-century America. Mr. Wiggins' simple judgments sometimes make one smile, sometimes wince, but when he says that Twain was "entirely out of his depth" in dealing with the large questions he raised in *A Connecticut Yankee*, his simplicity makes a kind of Mark Twain-like sense in contrast to Henry Nash Smith's sophisticated complexities.

As a sort of postscript, I would like to note that Mr. Smith scrupulously uses the whole pen-name, Mark Twain, as one and indivisible, thus prov-

ing that he belongs to the club (something he certainly does not have to prove), whereas the other three authors, in crude jackleg manner, allude to him as Twain. They may get bad marks among the cognoscenti for their vulgarity, but I'll bet that Sam himself would have guffawed at the solemn insistence that his pen-name always be written out in full.

JOHN LYDENBERG, *Hobart & William Smith Colleges*

Chauncey Wright's Enduring Naturalism

THE WRITINGS OF CHAUNCEY WRIGHT LAY LARGELY UNNOTICED FOR ALMOST half a century after his death, while his memory was barely kept alive through brief mentions in the writings and letters of William James, Charles Eliot Norton and Charles S. Peirce. True, his friends had published two volumes of his writings—one, a selection from his essays and reviews,¹ and the other, a volume of letters²—but the editions were very limited and never reached a wide audience. In any case, the period just after Wright's death, what Morton White has called "no Golden Age of American philosophy,"³ could hardly have cared less for the firm naturalism of Wright—a view that not only rejected all non-natural explanations of events but equally firmly rejected all efforts, like Spencer's, to erect specific scientific findings into metaphysical systems. Wright was unsuccessful in lowering Spencer's influence, however, and Spencer became "America's philosopher"; but Wright's naturalism proved far more enduring than philosophical "evolutionism" and reappeared in various strands of later pragmatic and positivistic thinking.

Wright died in 1875, but study of his thought can be dated only from 1921, when Morris Cohen's chapter on "Later Philosophy" for the *Cambridge History of American Literature*⁴ presented Wright in a way that recognized something of his real merit. Even so, another decade passed before any other writings appeared that elaborated on the nature of that merit. The year 1935 marks a turning point in the study of Wright. The publication that year of Gail Kennedy's essay, "The Pragmatic Naturalism of Chauncey Wright,"⁵ and a considerable discussion of

¹ *Philosophical Discussions*, ed. C. E. Norton (New York, 1878).

² *Letters of Chauncey Wright*, ed. James B. Thayer (Cambridge, 1878).

³ *The Origins of Dewey's Instrumentalism* (New York, 1943), p. 3.

⁴ Part II, Vol. III, eds. W. P. Trent et al. (New York, 1921), pp. 226-65.

⁵ *Studies in the History of Ideas*, Vol. III, ed. Philosophy Department, Columbia University (New York, 1935), 477-503.

Wright's relationship to William James in Ralph Barton Perry's *The Thought and Character of William James*,⁶ stand at the beginning of some twenty-five articles, chapters and, recently, a book that fairly spell out the nature and significance of Wright's work. Philip P. Wiener, in a study relating ideas about evolution to the founding of pragmatism, called Wright "unmistakably our key figure";⁷ Max Fisch in his essay on "The Classic Period in American Philosophy" called Wright "one of the pioneers of our classical period";⁸ and Joseph L. Blau showed the importance of Wright's moral philosophy.⁹ The first book-length study of the man and his thought is Edward H. Madden's *Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism*.¹⁰ This book clearly establishes the fact of Wright's significance and shows, in its essential features, the nature of that significance. It may fairly be said to bring previous study of Wright to a culmination.

Madden, in discussing Wright's place in the history of American philosophy, calls him "the first in the series of technically proficient and original philosophers."¹¹ Academic philosophers had been technical but not original, while transcendentalists had been original but untechnical. It is Madden's aim to spell out in detail the nature of Wright's technical proficiency and originality. What he has succeeded in doing is not only clarification and elaboration of ideas formerly set forth in his and other papers on Wright, but he has succeeded also in clarifying much of Wright's obscure writing and knitted together his scattered insights into a coherent whole. Wright, as Madden presents him, becomes a stronger figure than might have been drawn by an author restricting himself to Wright's influence on others or to his anticipations and prefigurements of later thought. Much of Wright's merit lies in the intrinsic value of his own work; he presents, in a fragmentary way, the elements of an enduring naturalism.

Wright rejects by various arguments all theistic and idealistic interpretations of nature. But it is not enough, he thought, for a naturalist to reject the obvious forms of teleology; he must also be alert to show the deficiencies of such so-called scientific philosophizing as that of Herbert Spencer. Spencer in his own way was a teleologist. He imputed dramatic unities to nature and came out with his "law" of evolution.

⁶ (2 vols.; Boston, 1935).

⁷ *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 33.

⁸ *Classic American Philosophers*, ed. Max H. Fisch (New York, 1951), p. 12.

⁹ "Chauncey Wright: Radical Empiricist," *New England Quarterly*, XIX (1946), 495-517.

¹⁰ Seattle, 1963.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. v.

Wright invariably fought all efforts like Spencer's to raise the findings of particular sciences into the status of metaphysical first principles.

To apply the mechanical law of the conservation of force, which, as a scientific truth, has no meaning beyond the nature and conditions of material movements . . . to apply this law analogically to all sorts of changes—to the "movements" of society, for example—is, in effect, metaphysics, and strips the law of all the merits of truth it has in the minds and judgments of physical philosophers, or of those through whose experimental and mathematical researches it came to have the clear, distinct, precise, though technical meaning in science which constitutes its only real merit.¹²

The view that hypotheses become meaningful insofar as they are found to be testable in the particular subject matter for which they are formulated; that whatever meaning is found therein, no particular meaning is thereby gained for other subject matters; and, that meanings in one subject matter may suggest, but not warrant, hypotheses for another—is a characteristic of Wright's thinking that has endured wherever naturalism has had a place in human affairs. Dewey's naturalism, in which there is a basic pattern of inquiry and techniques peculiar to the separate sciences, reflects this same insight. Wright would have applauded Dewey's long-standing efforts against those who would take the findings of one science as the presupposition of another.

Wright stalked Spencer with great diligence. Spencer's further mistake, he thought, was this: In generalizing the results of science into metaphysics, Spencer acts as if scientific principles are simply *summaries* of truth when, in reality, they are *finders* of truth. Wright's oft-quoted statement that scientific principles are "finders, not merely summaries of truth,"¹³ and his emphasis on the "working-hypothesis" nature of such principles, has been taken by some commentators as an anticipation of the later pragmatic conception of mind according to which all ideas are working hypotheses and all empirical statements—even such apparently simple ones as "This diamond is hard"—are hypotheses. Madden sometimes refers to this pragmatic view as denying the "self-containedness" of the "given." In this sense, he thinks that Wright did not hold a distinctively pragmatic view. His "working hypothesis" interpretation extended only to scientific principles and not to simple sensory experiences or simple empirical propositions. For Wright, "This diamond is hard" would not be construed as a hypothesis. Madden concludes that "Wright's

¹² Wiener, *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism*, p. 57.

¹³ *The Philosophical Writings of Chauncey Wright*, ed. E. H. Madden (New York, 1958), p. 14.

arguments can historically be best understood as providing the logic of scientific thought which later philosophers did generalize into pragmatic epistemologies." ¹⁴

While Madden's conclusion is correct in the main, there is one sense in which Wright might have held the later pragmatic view that there is no self-contained "given" in experience. Wright discussed the problem of perceiving spatial relations in a series of letters to his friend Francis E. Abbot. Wright contended that relations are perceived directly and immediately, just as properties are—a point made previously, interestingly enough, by Thomas Brown. But neither properties nor relations, Wright thought, are perceived in a vacuum; they all result by comparison and contrast from previous perceptual experience.¹⁵ This guiding factor in perception, a functional *a priori*, seems to suggest the non-self-containedness of a perceptual "given." In any case, throughout the book, Madden's discussion of the sense in which certain elements in Wright's thinking can and cannot be said to prefigure later pragmatism does much to clarify the nature of Wright's naturalistic empiricism. His naturalism is a subtle blend of positivistic and pragmatic-like concepts.

Madden shows us how Wright discussed the nature of scientific meaning in a way that has interesting relations to some recent work in the philosophy of science. For example, not only did Wright, in general, hold the view that the tests of scientific hypotheses and concepts are to be sought in future concrete experimentation rather than in their origins, but he held, in particular, a non-restrictive view of verifiability that some philosophers of science have recently come to hold. The early logical positivists and P. W. Bridgman thought that "*every* theoretical concept had to have a criterion of use, or had to have an operation that established it, and that *every* hypothesis using it had to be tested by direct experience." ¹⁶ Einstein, however, early denied the necessity of testing all concepts in a logical system, arguing that "in order to be able to consider a theory as a *physical* theory it is only necessary that it implies empirically testable assertions in general." ¹⁷ Later logical positivists, Madden points out, came to hold essentially the same view when they argued that a theoretical concept receives its meaning "from the *system* of concepts in which it occurs . . . and thus the only requirement for the legitimate use of a concept is that *some* of the hypotheses that utilize a system of concepts must be empirically testable." ¹⁸ Wright, Madden

¹⁴ Madden, *Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism*, p. 77.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-27.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

tells us, held such a non-restrictive view of testability. This view was suggested by Wright in an undeveloped but essential way when he wrote that the concepts in scientific research, whatever their origin,

though in themselves insusceptible of simple verification . . . must still show credentials from the senses, either by affording from themselves consequences capable of sensuous verification or by yielding such consequences in conjunction with ideas which by themselves are verifiable.¹⁹

Madden demonstrates in many ways that Wright was truly a sophisticated and technically proficient philosopher of science. Wright was an expert mathematician, physicist and botanist, and he brought his talents in these to his discussions in the philosophy of science. In the case of one of these—botany—a detailed analysis of Wright's work is not to be found in Madden's book. Wright was a friend of Asa Gray, and Gray set him the task of applying mathematics to the problem of phyllotaxy. Wright's article on "The Uses and Origin of the Arrangement of Leaves in Plants"²⁰ is the result. It is to be hoped that Professor Madden will sometime work out the details of the nature of its contribution to the philosophy of science.

Madden tells how Wright, in his longest essay, "The Evolution of Self-Consciousness," opposed both realism and idealism and set forth a neutral monism that somewhat resembled James' later conception of pure experience.²¹ Wright objected to realism's holding that subject and object are immediately known in perception by attributes essentially subjective and objective; and to idealism's claim that conscious subjects are immediately known and objects known mediately by effects. Phenomena, Wright thought, are not essentially subjective or objective in the very nature of things. Classification into subjective and objective is dependent on certain kinds of experience, including that which, in the development of the species, may be considered as having been instinctive and naturally selected; after the development of a self-conscious creature, the distinction of subject and object are made through observation and analysis which, in turn, are influenced unconsciously by the immediate perception of relations and properties. What constitutes the existence of attributes that are known as subjective and objective are due to functional, not substantive, distinctions that have had a history in human experience—both in pre-self-conscious animals functioning instinctively and in self-conscious men who have developed the ability to reason. Not

¹⁹ *The Philosophical Writings of Chauncey Wright*, p. 7.

²⁰ Cf. *Philosophical Discussions*, pp. 296-328.

²¹ *Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism*, pp. 129-35.

only Wright's embryonic neutral monism advanced in his essay on the evolution of self-consciousness, but the similarities and differences between Wright's functionalism and that of James and Dewey, are matters dealt with by Madden that bring out at once ways in which Wright's naturalism continues in later thinkers as well as ways in which it has a character peculiarly its own.

The importance of Wright's naturalistic and empirical conception of scientific inquiry and its place in the range of human meanings stands out in his utilitarian moral philosophy—in a more fundamental way, perhaps, than any of the commentators have yet pointed out. Wright said, with respect to the "highest good":

From the scientific point of view, there is but one fundamental sanction, to wit, the test of all right conduct (for the test of conduct is fundamentally the warrant of it), namely, the 'highest good.' To act from this sanction, from the love of the 'highest good,' is to act religiously, disinterestedly, and 'on principle.'²²

As in his consideration of hypotheses in the physical sciences, so in his consideration of an act that bears on human conduct: The hypothesis in one subject matter, the act in another, are tested, not by looking to their origins, but in examining consequences that follow from putting them to work in experience. Wright was not opposed to people who had feelings that grew out of some sort of intuition or conscience, just as he was not opposed to ideas in physical science, as ideas, whatever their source. What he was opposed to was the assumption that feelings, as feelings, are moral judgments and that certain feelings impose an imperative for conduct. To Wright's naturalistic, empirical and utilitarian way of thinking, possible actions, whatever their source—in conscience, intuition or empirical evidence gained from past conduct—appear prospectively good insofar as an examination of the conceived consequences that would follow from the action appear to make for good moral conduct. Good moral conduct would be that which leads to the greatest happiness for the greatest number. The act is judged good, in retrospect, insofar as it in fact did lead to the greatest happiness for the greatest number. The counterpart in Wright's moral philosophy of a test that verifies a hypothesis in physical science would be that action which does in fact lead to those consequences of greatest happiness for the greatest number which the proposed action, originally prospective, had predicted. Again, for Wright, "the test of conduct is fundamentally the warrant of it."

²² *Letters of Chauncey Wright*, p. 117.

Along with Nicholas St. John Green and Charles Peirce, Wright found suggestive the notion that "ideas tend to act themselves out."²³ Wright conceived the evolutionary connection between animal instinct and human reason as a coming to self-consciousness of ideas whose counterparts, viewed retrospectively, had been certain tendencies toward action instinctively acted on. In a self-conscious human being, the tendency to act on ideas remains but is capable of objectively directing itself, i.e., it can direct itself toward correcting imperfections felt in knowledge, rather than only toward acting on ideas felt instinctively. Thus, one can act from "objective motives" in situations ordinarily called "moral." This is to say that "objectivity" is held forth as a possibility for situations whose subject matter involves securing the greatest good for the greatest number; objectivity is not restricted necessarily to the physical sciences. The subject matter of ethics would be scientific, according to this way of thinking, insofar as its actions find meanings in sensible experience that verify particular hypotheses determining the nature of the experience.

Wright did not write a systematic treatise setting forth his moral philosophy, and even less came from his pen on the attempt to combine a utilitarian ethics with Darwinian natural selection. Yet he said enough to enable us to find in his thoroughgoing naturalism an opposition to Alfred Wallace's contention that the human mind and men's moral qualities could not have been a product of natural selection.²⁴ Wright argued that man's "moral sense" needed no metaphysical cause. He thought that those feelings tended to survive in pre-self-conscious creatures which led to useful actions. In the long run, what have come to be called moral actions by self-conscious reasoning men can be seen to have had their counterparts in feelings instinctively acted on—actions that have led to the "highest good" for the species, namely, the greatest good of the greatest number. Tendencies we now call moral are among those which the species naturally selected in its evolution. Thus, in Wright's way of thinking, it is no more difficult to conceive the development of moral tendencies that have led to the greatest good of the greatest number for the species, than it is to conceive the development of human intelligence from instinctive pre-human ancestors.

The foregoing discussion points only to some of Wright's philosophic interests. And it introduces briefly only part of the wide scope of Wright's life and work that is discussed in Madden's *Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism*. In addition, and among others, the follow-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 181. Cf. Wiener, *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism*, p. 68.

²⁴ Wright reviewed Wallace's *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection* in an essay, "Limits of Natural Selection," *North American Review*, CIII (October 1870), 282-311.

ing matters are considered in Madden's work: Wright's agnosticism and its influence on James' "will to believe," Wright's criticism of metaphysical concepts of space, the differences between Wright's meaning criterion and Charles Peirce's "principle of pragmatism" as a criterion of meaning, the difference between Wright's notion of "accidents" and Peirce's doctrine of tychism, and Wright's use of counter-factual inference. Furthermore, there is a biographical chapter giving the fullest account of Wright's life that has been written since 1878, when James Bradley Thayer's commentary was prepared for the *Letters of Chauncey Wright*. In his notes, Madden presents sketches of the thought and character of Charles Eliot Norton, James Bradley Thayer and George William Curtis, three of Wright's philosophical companions not well known to students of American thought.

William James has said that Wright's best work was done in conversation. And Charles Eliot Norton once wrote something that marks the inseparable connection he found between Wright's thought and character: "To argue with him was a moral no less than an intellectual discipline."²⁵ The closest one can now come to the literary embodiment of that moral is to follow the line of thought in some of Wright's letters. And we are fortunate in having now available, in the work from Morris Cohen in 1921 to Edward Madden in 1963, a considerable body of philosophical discussion showing us that the work of Chauncey Wright is to be prized, not only for its own sake, but for the meanings suggested by its enduring naturalism.

J. J. CHAMBLISS, *Rutgers University*

MARGARET CHURCH, *Time and Reality: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*. viii, 302 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1963. \$6.00.

JOSEPH FRANK, *The Widening Gyre: Crisis and Mastery in Modern Literature*. xvi, 278 pp. Rutgers University Press, 1963. \$6.00.

GABRIEL VAHANIAN, *Wit Without Idols*. 256 pp. George Braziller, 1964. \$5.00.

JULIAN N. HARTT, *The Lost Image of Man*. xii, 131 pp. Louisiana State University Press, 1963. \$4.00.

THESE four books deal with modern culture. They try to analyze our dilemmas — the inability to face time, the dehumanization of spirit — as presented in literary texts. They marry philosophy and criticism.

Joseph Frank tells us that he has chosen his title to emphasize "one of the crucial dilemmas of modern culture": the desperate attempt of our

²⁵ *Philosophical Discussions*, p. xii.

writers to describe, combat and defeat spiritual emptiness. Mr. Frank deals at length with many variations of this one problem — he discusses such writers as Malraux, Trilling, R. P. Blackmur, Mann, John Peale Bishop and Robert Penn Warren; but I want here to mention only his “Spatial Form in Modern Literature.”

Because we lack any sense of historical continuity — we have no confidence in the past or the future — we want to flee from time. We are attracted to space because it gives us the illusion (or reality?) of comfortable boundaries. Using Wilhelm Worringer's ideas, Mr. Frank demonstrates that these attitudes influence or create aesthetic forms. In a fascinating analysis of *Nightwood*, *The Waste Land* and *Madame Bovary*, among other works, he persuades us that resistance to time and allegiance to space — the need to “transform historical imagination into myth” — have forced writers to employ a non-naturalistic style, a style in which time has been vanquished: “time is no longer felt as an objective, causal progression with clearly marked-out differences between periods. . . .”

Mr. Frank runs into problems: Can our time-sense be divorced from literature which is read *in time*? Is ironic juxtaposition spatial? Is myth Transcendent? But these problems do not violate his general argument. We will have to return to it again and again.

Miss Church is also concerned with “modern time.” She cites the familiar names — Bergson, Proust, Joyce and Faulkner — but she does not contribute radically new insights about their ideas or techniques.

She begins her book, really a loosely-bound series of essays, with a discussion of Bergson; she defines “*durée*,” “succession” and the “two forms of memory” so awkwardly that we are not sure about their meaning or their value for her later explorations of novels. Miss Church makes philosophy somewhat unreal.

When she explains the work of Faulkner, she continues to mention Bergson (and Proust), but she has lost us. Her references do not enlarge our understanding or sharpen her analysis of individual novels. These remarks about *Light in August* are pseudo-philosophical: “Christmas, however, progresses in the book from one who is concerned chiefly with time to one who recognizes that the highest role in life is the transcendence of time.” Miss Church does not list Mr. Frank's 1952 essay on “spatial form” in her bibliography, but many of her heavy statements echo his more acute distinctions.

Mr. Hartt, unlike the other two critics, is not interested in time (as theme or technique). He wants to explain our *entire* situation by looking at the representative novels of Durrell, Faulkner, Styron, Joyce *et al.*

What exactly is the "image of man?" How did we *lose* it? Mr. Hartt does not inform us, but he seems to equate Man with Christian Man; our anti-Christian (or post-Christian) culture has, for him, "cancelled its heritage." This bit of information is not very original.

But Mr. Hartt manages to interest, if not startle, us when he charts the transformation of specific "master images." ("Image," "Heritage" and "Convention," three abstractions at the heart of his book, are incompletely defined.) He describes the "epic image" as parodied by Joyce; the "dream of innocence" as shattered by early Faulkner; and the "travail of erotic man" as portrayed by Durrell. There is no doubt that these "images" are in the novels he evaluates (or merely summarizes), but they are not as static as he wants them to be. Because he does not explain *how* or *why* they *work*, he is unconvincing about their peculiar, appealing modernity.

Mr. Hartt is an apologist for Christianity. His remarks about our false, secular idols — see his discussion of Death, the Fallen Woman or the "Freudian jungle" — are biting. They do not, however, enable him to judge the formal relevance of literature; indeed, they compel him to like those novels — *Cry, the Beloved Country* is one example — which contain The Right Image.

Mr. Vahanian agrees that we need a rebirth of images. He does not ask us to return to traditional beliefs; he demands that we participate in a "cultural revolution," not a "theological reformation." Perhaps the crux of his stimulating, violent book lies in these statements: "the world has been deprived of its sacramental significance; human existence has lost its transcendental dimension. Shorn of its *symbolic* (i.e., covenantal) significance, language still performs a duty as a means of communication, but it has been neutralized; communication does not necessarily entail, or presuppose, communion." We have seen these points in the other books — the need for transcendence, the sacramental value of literature — but Mr. Vahanian elaborates them in complex and challenging ways.

His discussion of three American novelists is especially illuminating. Hawthorne, Melville and Faulkner stand "between history and the eternal." Hawthorne believes that "perfectionism," born of the desire to find transcendence beyond Faith, represents the "obsolescence" of Christianity. Melville is more removed from orthodox religion; his characters devoutly wish for self-deification. Faulkner's Compsons lack the iconoclastic will to exalt themselves (or even to rise from the pit); only Dilsey has a "rendez-vous" with existence (and its transcendent present-ness).

Mr. Vahanian claims that modern writers serve as the heralds of new religion; they give us striking, "post-Christian" strategies for approaching

the Lord. Thus he joins the other critics in suggesting that our culture needs writers who, by virtue of their philosophical techniques, assault chaos and assert eternity. And we also need critics who try, even if unsuccessfully, to relate philosophy to literature — those who, in Mr. Vahanian's words, "may partly exonerate theology [or philosophy] from its cultural ineptitude and partly redeem literary criticism from the vacuous purpose to which it often seems to delight in condemning itself."

IRVING MALIN, *City College of New York*

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, *O Strange New World: American Culture: The Formative Years*. xvi, 464 pp. The Viking Press, 1964. \$8.50.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, *History and the Contemporary: Essays in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. viii, 176 pp. University of Wisconsin Press, 1964. \$4.50.

THE first of these books is the long-gestating initial volume of a projected two-volume history of American culture. (I predict and hope that it will run to at least three volumes!) No one in American studies, concerned with the history of ideas and the history of sensibility, can afford to neglect this volume or what is to follow it. Professor Jones has achieved an original, major synthesis wherein the pioneering scholarly bent of Eggleston's *The Transit of Civilization*, the imaginative thrust of Benét's "Invocation" to *John Brown's Body*, and the findings of specialists in many fields are triumphantly united. Deriving his title from a line of Lowell's *The Biglow Papers*, Professor Jones opens with two chapters that contrast the good and bad images of the New World and its aborigines as these exist in the vast literature of milieu that extends from the Vinland History of *The Flat Island Book* and Columbus' letter concerning his first voyage to the more melodramatic accounts of Indian captivity at the tail-end of the tradition started by Mrs. Rowlandson. Discounting somewhat the impulse toward empirical veracity in this literature, he treats it as prevailingly colored by European literary and artistic stereotypes. In chapters III through VII he does justice to the following neglected motifs in the complex orchestration of early American development: (1) the Southern Renaissance heritage of Spanish chivalry and of Machiavellianism; (2) the English Reformation-Renaissance heritage of a colonial idea affected by experience with the "wild Irish" and of an ethos of the useful and the good in terms of which Franklin and Edwards become complementary; (3) the Graeco-Roman heritage subtly impinging on literature and life from the second part of Smith's *A Map of Virginia* to the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Concluding

chapters define the roles of the Revolution, the emergent Republic and the American landscape in helping to transmute the European heritage into something more "radically" strange and wonderful. The firm stride of Professor Jones' sentences, the sharp flick of his wit and his facility in relating the remote to the more recent sustain interest even at those occasional points where a minimal tedium threatens from the overpacking of facts and quotations.

The second book is a miscellany of previously published, uncollected addresses and papers. Of greatest interest to devotees of American Studies is the title piece, which rebukes modern education for its "obsession with the present tense" and modern scholarship for its sacrifice of historical perspective on the altar of critico-philosophical faddism. What criticism with an historical perspective should seek to accomplish is then demonstrated by two pieces on more general aspects of the nineteenth century—its overall greatness and the generation of 1830—and by a series of revaluations of nineteenth-century authors—Cooper, Holmes, Arnold, Thoreau, Poe and Whittier. The importance of landscape painting and trinitarian religion in Cooper's fiction, Thoreau as a master of *sententia*, the ineptitude of Auden as an interpreter of Poe and of Arnold as a critic of America—all this has still a lively relevance. Without minimizing the weaknesses of Holmes and Whittier, Professor Jones makes cases for them that every teacher of American literature should ponder.

JOE LEE DAVIS, *University of Michigan*

The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805. Edited by Ernest Staples Osgood. 335 pp. Yale University Press, 1964. \$12.50.

THE discovery of Captain Clark's field notes in a St. Paul attic in 1953 is well known to students of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. This handsome volume makes these documents available both in facsimile and transcript; with Donald Jackson's *Letters . . . with Related Documents* and the various *Journals* they now make available practically everything relating to this famous expedition.

Professor Osgood's editing is an impressive job. He has provided the necessary apparatus to make the volume useful. The index, for example, is a carefully chosen and full listing of topics as well as names. The notes accompanying the transcript show a meticulous attention to detail, particularly relating to the *Journal*. They are also enlivened by the editor's wit and commentary that often make apparently prosaic scraps of paper come alive as human documents.

It is in his Introduction, however, that the editor is most engaging as a scholar who goes beyond the expected attention to detail in tracking down obscure matters. In clear, workmanlike prose he tries to tell the reader something of the significance of these documents. One may not always assent to Professor Osgood's conclusions, but they represent reasonable hypotheses in the light of the available facts.

ROBERT A. WIGGINS, *University of California at Davis*

The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. *Winterthur Portfolio One*. 255 pp. 1964. \$9.50.

JOHN A. H. SWEENEY, *Winterthur Illustrated*. 183 pp. A Winterthur Book, 1963.

Winterthur Illustrated is a handsome picture guidebook to the more than sixty period rooms at the Winterthur Museum at Winterthur, Delaware. It and the hard-bound *Winterthur Portfolio* give a good idea of the riches of this great collection of American furniture and interior architecture between 1640 and 1830. The Winterthur Program in Early American Culture by now is well known as an experiment in a joint-institutional (with the University of Delaware) inter-disciplinary curriculum which places its major emphasis on the fine arts and more particularly the decorative arts.

The profusion of excellent black and white plates, the fine paper, the careful editing of the volumes bespeaks the connoisseurship that went into Henry Francis du Pont's collecting and now the scholarship shown in the conservation, documentation and arrangement of the collection by the staff. According to the announced editorial policy, any study which will extend current information about an object which appeared in an American home or its setting may appear in the annual publication of the *Portfolio*. However, it is expected that most of the articles will be staff written.

The first issue of the *Portfolio* is made up of some general articles on the history of such resources as the gardens, the estate and the library followed by articles on such specific objects as English hardware, pewter communion tokens and Charles Wilson Peale's engravings. The concluding paper is intellectual history, but it is drawn from a reading of John Adams' papers—not from a study of objects as such. This issue could be summed up as illustrating the approaches of social and art history which merge oftentimes into the history of taste.

If future issues of the *Portfolio* are comparable to this first one, students of American culture will profit from the historical scholarship. We must wait to see if future issues will or can find ways to present iconological interpretations of our culture based on the analysis of the decorative arts.

KENNETH J. LABUDDE, *University of Missouri at Kansas City*

Folk, Religion, and Society: Selected Papers of Howard W. Odum. Arranged and edited by Katharine Jocher, Guy B. Johnson, George L. Simpson and Rupert B. Vance. xiv, 480 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1964. \$8.00.

THESE selected papers cover a great many subject matters: "The Negro and Race Relations," introduced by Guy B. Johnson; "The Region and Regionalism," introduced by Rupert B. Vance; "The Folk and Folk Society," introduced by George L. Simpson; and "Sociology in the Service of Society," introduced by Katharine Jocher. They suggest the interests and thought of Howard W. Odum, and they combine the objectivity of the social scientist with the sympathetic insights of the humanist. They illustrate the work of a man whose basic education was earned in the classics and who built his professional work in psychology and sociology on that firm basis.

Essays illustrative of each period of Dr. Odum's work are reprinted in the collection: "Religious Folk Songs of Southern Negroes," combining unusual aesthetic insight with sociology, is from his early work; "A Southern Promise," showing his deep concern with society in the South, is from the middle period; and "Expanding Higher Education: Which Way Is Forward in the Social Sciences," written just before his death in 1954, illustrates his continuing interest in education as the means for the solution of social and political problems in America.

The collection is well organized to be representative of the best of Dr. Odum's work. The introductions, though somewhat repetitive, give clear indications of the value of the work and the contributions to the intellectual ferment of the times.

A "Bibliography of Howard W. Odum," though not definitive, lists two pages of titles of books and monographs and twelve pages of articles, brochures, chapters and pamphlets.

The book, as the subtitle suggests, is a carefully selected monument to the man and scholar whose work it represents.

CLYDE E. HENSON, *Michigan State University*

RANDOLPH C. RANDALL, *James Hall, Spokesman of the New West*. 371 pp. Ohio State University Press, 1964. \$7.50.

JAMES HALL is an excellent example of the nineteenth-century Westerner's versatility. A professional soldier in his youth and an officer in the War of 1812, he later studied law at Pittsburgh, traveled down the Ohio in 1820, and became a practicing attorney in Shawneetown, Illinois. As circuit judge and state treasurer he was influential in the political world, while as a newspaper and magazine editor he left his impact on the young state. From 1833 until his death in 1868 he was a bank cashier and president in Cincinnati.

But today his writing seems more significant than his role as man of affairs. Hall wrote one novel, a number of memorable short stories about frontier themes, several volumes of historical and economic interpretation of events in the Ohio Valley, and a spate of essays on education, slavery, religious toleration and cultural developments. He consistently championed, like Dr. Daniel Drake and Timothy Flint, the importance of the West in the national scene and he labored vigorously not only to advance education and society but to record the past before the artifacts had disappeared. Despite the frustrations of a pioneer man of letters and the limitation of a temperamental conservatism, he was unquestionably the spokesman of his region.

Randolph Randall's biography of Hall is primarily factual and specific. Eighty pages, over one-fourth of the book, sketch his life before he gets to Shawneetown, and subsequent events are chronicled in similar detail. Biographical incident is given more space than interpretation, and the framework in which Hall operated is sometimes thin. The notes are meticulous and pages 323-47 provide the most complete bibliography of Hall's work in print. The list of secondary material, on the other hand, is incomplete. The author, for example, has scrupulously failed to include the first book about James Hall and several relevant articles, all the work of the present reviewer.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN, *University of Illinois*

ROBERT L. GALE, *Thomas Crawford, American Sculptor*. 241 pp. University of Pittsburgh Press, c1964. \$8.00.

A life of Thomas Crawford (1813-57) has long been overdue and this one, which not only records all the essential facts but quotes liberally from hitherto unpublished letters written by Crawford and provides a catalogue of his sculpture, is doubly welcome. One of the earliest and

most versatile of American sculptors, Crawford worked in both marble and bronze, executed both portrait and ideal pieces, and filled orders for both individual patrons and the national government. In putting his material together, moreover, Mr. Gale has written in a sprightly style which not only keeps the reader's attention but seems appropriate to Crawford's own high-spirited nature.

Partly because the author has made such good use of his unpublished material, one wishes that more of Crawford's correspondence had been available to him. The bulk of the letters which have been drawn upon are from Crawford to his wife, to Charles Sumner and to Montgomery C. Meigs (in his capacity as Captain of Engineers in charge of the extension of the Capitol)—most of them written during the last fifteen years of his life. One wishes, too, that more data about Crawford's first twenty-two years (covered in some three pages) could have been brought to light, particularly that the dates of his birth and of his parents' migration to America from the British Isles could have been established. Such lacunae, however, do not keep Mr. Gale's book from being one of interest and value to students of American culture and American art alike.

NATHALIA WRIGHT, *University of Tennessee*

DONALD L. KINZER, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association*. x, 342 pp. University of Washington Press, 1964. \$6.50.

Noble men are in our ranks —
We are not a band of cranks —
We are not a lot of bigots or of fools.
But, ye Roman Catholic hordes,
We will buckle on our swords,
If you dare to meddle with our public schools.

SUNG to the tune of "Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!," this stanza from a song-book of the American Protective Association of the 1890s is one of many fascinating details included in the first book about this superpatriotic anti-Catholic organization since H. J. Desmond's long out-of-print and scarce *The A. P. A. Movement: A Sketch* appeared in 1912.

Kinzer traces the rise of the group, describes its period of "guerilla warfare," its years of success and role in the election of 1894, and its decline and dissolution after it "rode the crest" in 1895. His distinction between the A. P. A. as a secret society with a limited membership and the "A. P. A. movement," a cooperative, voluntary arrangement for political purposes among self-styled "patriotic" groups, will tempt many

a reader to indulge in comparisons with the political scene today. The volume will be welcomed by students of American politics and anti-Catholicism as the definitive history of the secret A. P. A. order and its influence, but should not be overlooked by those concerned with the history of public schools, civil rights and reform movements in American life.

JOHN J. APPEL, *Michigan State University*

MICHAEL MILLGATE, *American Social Fiction: James to Cozzens*. xii, 217 pp. Barnes & Noble, 1964. \$7.00.

W. TASKER WITHAM, *The Adolescent in the American Novel: 1920-1960*. vi, 345 pp. Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1964. \$8.50.

OF these two generic surveys, the latter, which is based largely on a 1961 doctoral thesis at the University of Illinois, is by far the more competent and provocative, although a number of the books it considers are barely semi-respectable. There is a timid awkwardness about Millgate's book which is not entirely explicable by the fact that he is British. The subject matter and scope seem to have placed him in an embarrassingly vulnerable position, which can be sensed from the opening statement of the Preface: "The novelists discussed in this study are alike in that they set out deliberately to create an image of the society in which their characters move. . . ."

Spanning the eighty years from James' *The American* (1877) to Cozzens' *By Love Possessed* (1957), Millgate's survey encompasses novelists all of whom, apart from James, are (as he puts it) "outside the acknowledged first rank." Prominent among these are Howells, Norris, Wharton, Dreiser, Anderson, Lewis, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos, Marquand and Cozzens. A "common line of inquiry" in this book, which somehow omits the proletarian novels of the 1930s as well as the work of Louis Auchincloss, is the treatment of the figure of the businessman, so important in American social history and so obsessive an image in American literature, according to Millgate.

Witham's book is extraordinarily ambitious: it seeks to explicate the treatment of specific adolescent problems, in *well over 500 novels of adolescence* (omitting purely sensational or juvenile works) from 1920 to 1960. Just as Millgate amplifies his survey by appeals to the critics (particularly Trilling), so Witham extends his range by informed comments on important critical works like Fiedler's *New Leader* essays on the child in literature (1958). Considering the importance of Witham's "Adjustment to School and College" section, however, it is surprising

that he omits mention of the important study by John Lyons, *The College Novel in America* (1962).

Other problem areas considered here are "Sexual Awakening," "Revolt from The Family and Juvenile Delinquency," "Facing the Future," "Community Environment" and a set of "Special Problems" (animals, witnessing death, addiction, etc.) A former YMCA secretary, Witham is fearless in detailing all the phases of sexual awakening from puppy love to abnormal sex experiences. And, too, he feels that "novelists of the period studied have not done justice to the importance of religious adjustment during the adolescent years."

SAMUEL I. BELLMAN, *California State Polytechnic College*

WILLIAM E. WILSON, *The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony*. xiv, 242 pp. Indiana University Press, 1964. \$6.95.

NEW HARMONY, Indiana still makes interesting books. Because it was the perfect symbol of the complex relationship between early sectarian and later secular communities in America, the town which was founded by the millennialist society of Father Rapp and sold to Robert Owen for his "Community of Equality" became the ideological center of Arthur Bestor's classic *Backwoods Utopias* (1950), a book whose implications go far beyond New Harmony and the banks of the Wabash. Because its symbolic character was rich and its history ambiguous, Marguerite Young had failed to bring any order, poetic or historic, into her *Angel in the Forest: A Fairy Tale of Two Utopias* (1945) and had left the task to better writers and more disciplined minds such as those of Bestor and William E. Wilson.

With echoes of Hawthorne in the angel and serpent images, Wilson skillfully employs the irony of human nature to illuminate the ironies of the town's past, bringing it to down to the 1960s with a glimpse of modern New Harmony in the hands of a Texas heiress (married to a descendant of Robert Owen) and immersed in yet another utopian project. This is not to say that scholarship is a minor element of the book. The first half, especially, supplements Bestor, documenting the daily life of the Rappites, their beliefs and their architecture and town planning; and Wilson's analysis of two ancient mysteries—the death of John Rapp and "Gabriel's footprints"—is certainly definitive. Two Rappite documents are printed in full as appendices; a good index and bibliography take the place of footnotes quite adequately.

JOSEPH EVANS SLATE, *The University of Texas*

MARSHALL McLUHAN, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. vii, 395 pp. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964. \$7.50.

ANY extension of man is a medium, and according to Mr. McLuhan, he uses media to define both the feel of the culture and the forces which bind it together. The form of the medium, not especially its content, is his subject—not the content of the book but print, not the TV program but TV itself. Henry Adams standing before the dynamo saw its force as mystic: mystic means unified, whole, one, all parts equivalent. McLuhan says that our culture has been a print culture: linear, compartmentalized, logic-minded, analytical; it is now becoming unified, intuitive, “mythic” because of the very force to which Adams responded in the humming dynamo. So brave an approach leads immediately into areas of prime importance to “civilizationers,” not merely because McLuhan’s work grows partly out of contact with the myth-critics whose stuff has been so fruitful for American Studies, but also because it enables him to be “anthropological” about our culture in areas in which until now we have been too limited by vagueness of definition to operate. Long upset by the problem of recognizably elite arts in a democracy, for example, we have too often tended to be hostile to other arts. McLuhan makes it possible to transcend taste as an anthropologist does, and to deal instead with form and the force of form.

Indeed, *Understanding Media* is about a number of things which neither we nor he know how to handle, so in many of the short chapters, when the topic grows too cosmic or complex to be handled or even grasped adequately, McLuhan ducks out by changing the subject to something only intuitively connected to what was under discussion. A dry list of the complications involved would be more helpful, if poetically less successful. Intuitive methods are a good way of implying the new unity he feels in our society, but one has the strong feeling that in some cases, awed by what he has turned up, the author fakes a little. Frequently one wonders whether his brilliant analogies have any real content; in other places in which one is quite certain that they do, the author’s insight is presented so briefly and impressionistically as to be merely tantalizing. These are, however, the faults of a good book which tries to do too much and of an author too filled with bright insight to get it all down.

STUART LEVINE, *The University of Kansas*

FOSTER RHEA DULLES, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel*. 202 pp. University of Michigan Press, 1964. \$5.95.

A book covering two centuries of American travel abroad in 181 pages of text and published by a university press immediately invites the question of intended audience. The publisher's blurb says: "If you have ever been to Europe, plan to go, or merely dream of a future European adventure, this book is a must on your reading shelf." Well, it doesn't take the place of *Europe on Five Dollars a Day* or Michelin, and it is the sketchiest kind of history. It is not much concerned with ideas, the impact of Americans on Europeans or the effects of European travel on the American mind. These matters are better treated in the many specialized studies available.

Yet it is undeniable that Professor Dulles has packed his book with a lot of entertaining and curious facts. To wit: The Cunard Line never lost a passenger or piece of mail until the sinking of the "Lusitania" in 1915. Sir Walter Scott's home at Abbotsford was the high spot of Thurlow Weed's trip to Europe. The American Express Co. began issuing travelers' checks in 1891. It took Franklin D. Roosevelt and his bride four and a half hours to drive by auto from Paris to Fontainebleau in 1905.

JAMES WOODRESS, *San Fernando Valley State College*

MARK TWAIN'S FABLE OF PROGRESS

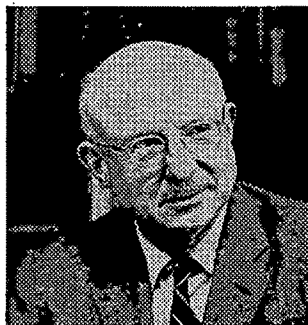
Political and Economic Ideas in
A Connecticut Yankee

What happened to Mark Twain in the course of writing *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*? "At some point in the composition of this fable," says Henry Nash Smith, "he passed the great divide in his career as a writer." This brief, lively study discusses the impact of Twain's book as work-in-progress on the writer himself. It has grown out of the author's reconsideration of a tragic American hero, Hank Morgan, "a stranger and forlorn," who dies an exile from any hope of redemption. Short and incisive, *Mark Twain's Fable of Progress* is a bench mark in American literary criticism. \$3.50

by HENRY NASH SMITH

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Brunswick, New Jersey





Howard Mumford JONES

has written "one of the year's
outstanding books."

—*Library Journal*

"What he has done, with immense learning, with deep insight, with humor and fancy and literary skill is to give us chapters in a history of the discovery, the invention, the definition, and the self-realization of America. What he has done is to recreate for us the elusive sense of the wonder and excitement of the unveiling of a new world."

—HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Book Week*

"By all odds this monumental achievement . . . sets a new and high standard in interpretive history."

—GEORGE PATRICK WELCH, *Chicago Tribune*

"This book simply demands consideration for the Pulitzer Prize."

—WENDELL D. GARRETT, *Boston Globe*

"Fascination and entertainment to be found in every chapter. . . . He has made a major contribution to the understanding and interpretation of what we are pleased to call American culture."

—LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *N. Y. Times Book Review*

Illustrated \$8.50

O STRANGE NEW WORLD

American Culture: The Formative Years

THE VIKING PRESS • New York, N. Y. 10022

Battlefield and Classroom

FOUR DECADES WITH THE AMERICAN INDIAN, 1867-1904

by *Richard Henry Pratt*

Edited with an Introduction by Robert M. Utley

As founder and longtime superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School Pratt played a major role in the unfolding federal Indian policy. "Utley has not hesitated to evaluate Pratt's work, and his felicitous writing style combines to make this a valuable addition to the library of those persons interested in the American Indian."—Frederick J. Dockstader, Director, Museum of the American Indian. \$8.50

The American Vision

ACTUAL AND IDEAL SOCIETY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FICTION

by *A. N. Kaul*

Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville, and Twain are shown to have accepted the American social order, but at the same time to have projected images of an ideal society. "I trust that all men dissatisfied with the present literary and political Establishments will applaud Kaul's book . . . a return to relevance."—Allen Guttman, *The Nation*. \$7.00

Yale Paperbounds

The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin

Leonard W. Labaree, Editor

The text is drawn with scrupulous care from the original manuscript, and the Introduction, Notes and Index have been prepared by the editors of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. \$1.95

The Colonial Period of American History

by *Charles M. Andrews, with a Foreword by Leonard W. Labaree*

"The most thorough and scholarly, administrative and political history of the colonies. . . . From every point of view an impressive achievement."—Henry Steele Commager, *New York Herald Tribune*,
In four volumes each volume \$1.45



Yale University Press, New Haven and London

CANADIAN ORDERS: MCGILL UNIVERSITY PRESS



Nathanael West: The Ironic Prophet

Victor Comerchero

An examination in depth of West's view of modern neurotic man in a disintegrating society as revealed in his four novels, this study analyzes West's dominant themes of frustration and bitter self-awareness, his symbolism, and his world-view, and discusses West's place in modern American literature. \$5.95

Civil Liberties and the Arts

Selections from *Twice a Year*, 1938-1948

William Wasserstrom, editor

This anthology of fiction, poetry, essays and articles from the journal founded by Dorothy Norman reflects the concern for the individual in his society that was central to *Twice a Year*. Professor Wasserstrom, in his introduction, places the journal in its historical and literary position on the American scene. \$8.75

Growing Up in the Cooper Country Boyhood Recollections of the New York Frontier

Louis C. Jones, editor

These two autobiographical accounts of pioneering in the "Leatherstocking" country of upstate New York soon after the Revolution were written by two entirely different personalities. They provide a vivid picture of social life, religion, family life, work patterns, and education in frontier conditions. \$4.95

Back Home in Oneida: Hermon Clarke and His Letters

Harry F. Jackson and Thomas F. O'Donnell

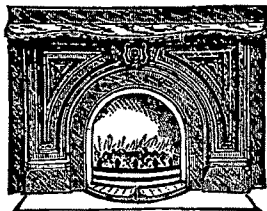
Daily life as a Union soldier and the peaceful country life "back home in Oneida" provide an intriguing contrast in these 72 letters by an engaging and observant boy to his father. The authors have furnished the historical background of Hermon's family and village in upstate New York as well as his regiment's campaigns in the Civil War. \$6.00

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS / SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13210



American Calendar

Winter



1964

NEASA. The New England chapter held its annual meeting on Oct. 24 at Amherst College. After an official welcome from president Jurgen Herbst, Wesleyan University, a large audience heard papers from William G. McLoughlin, Brown University, "The Contributions of the History of American Religion to American Studies," and Daniel H. Calhoun, Harvard University, "The Contributions of the History of American Education to American Studies." A discussion of the papers was chaired by Edwin C. Rozwenc, Amherst. John William Ward, Amherst, delivered an after-dinner address, "The Relation of Separated Things." 1965 officers are: John Betts, Boston College, president; Norman Holmes Pearson, Yale University, vice-president; Anne V. Schlabach, Bennington College, secretary-treasurer.

ASALM. The Lower Mississippi chapter held its tenth annual meeting on Oct. 16-17 at Louisiana

State University, Baton Rouge. The principal address of the meeting, "The Democratic Idea and the Deep South," by Joseph G. Taylor, McNeese State College, enunciated in its title the theme of the meeting. The theme was analyzed in symposium by Richard P. Adams, Tulane University, J. O. Emmerich, editor of the *McComb, Miss., Enterprise-Journal*, and Frank E. Smith, of TVA's board of directors.

OHIO-IND. The fall meeting of the Ohio-Indiana chapter was held Oct. 31 at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. Five papers were presented: "T. Thomas Fortune and the Negro Protest, 1880-1907," Emma Lou Thornbrough, Butler University; "The Role of the Professional Fugitive in the Abolition Movement," Larry Gara, Wilmington College; "The Nasby Letters: A Forecast of Racism," William Coyle, Wittenberg College; "The New Slavery and the New Freedom," Flint Kel-

logg, Dickinson College; and "W. E. B. DuBois, Negro Protest Advocate: The Link with the Present," Daniel Walden, Michigan State University. New officers for the forthcoming year are: Kenneth E. Davison, Heidelberg College, president; Howard Baetzhold, Butler University, vice-president; Walter L. Fertig, Wabash College, secretary-treasurer.

PACIFIC N. W. The American Studies Group of Washington State University played host to Henry Nash Smith on Oct. 13-14. Professor Smith addressed an open-to-all audience on "Themes in American Culture of the Gilded Age."

MIDCONT. Officers for 1964-65, elected at the Midcontinent chapter fall Executive Committee meeting, are: John Q. Reed, Kansas State College, president; Nicholas Joost, Southern Illinois University, vice-president; Jerzy Hauptmann, Park College, secretary-treasurer.

NYASA. The New York State chapter held its fall meeting at Hewett Union, State University College at Oswego, on Oct. 31, under the general theme "Religion and American Culture." Paul Goodwin, Oswego, chaired an afternoon session with the following papers: "The Undergraduate and Religion," W. J. Lowe, Clarkson Institute of Technology; "Jewishness, Judaism, and the American Novel," Melvin Bern-

stein, Alfred University; "Religious Liberty: Some Continuing Legal Problems," David Manwaring, Hobart and William Smith Colleges. After a social hour arranged with the cooperation of the Oswego County Historical Society, Kendall Birr, State University at Albany, chaired a dinner session. The evening speaker was Winthrop Hudson, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, "Nativism and Americanism in the Late Nineteenth Century." Officers elected for the forthcoming year are: president, Kendall Birr; vice-president, W. J. Lowe, Clarkson Institute; and secretary-treasurer, Eric Brunger, State University College, Buffalo.

MAASA. The Middle Atlantic chapter, this fall, has experimented with great success in the intra-chapter meeting. The first was held on Oct. 10, at Princeton University, and featured a paper on "Pro-Catholic Nineteenth Century American Fiction," by Willard Thorp, Princeton. Marshall W. Fishwick, Wemyss Foundation, and chapter president, chaired the luncheon meeting. The second meeting was at the University of Pittsburgh on Nov. 6. Chaired by Monte A. Calvert, the meeting featured a paper by David Brion Davis, Cornell University, "Slavery in Western Civilization."

SHA-ASA. A joint session was staged with the Southern Historical Association on Nov. 13 at Little

Rock, Ark. Papers, on the general topic of Southern Conservatism, were given by Hugh C. Davis, Vanderbilt University, "An Analysis of the Rationale of Representative Conservative Alabamians, 1874-1914"; and Harvey Young, Emory University, "Quackery and Anti-intellectualism." Egal Feldman, Arlington State College, was the discussant and David Van Tassel, University of Texas and vice-president of Texas ASA, chaired the session.

SAMLA-ASA. A joint session with the South Atlantic Modern Language Association was held on Nov. 14, at Greenville, S. C. The topic was "Nineteenth Century American Cultural Values and the Oral Mode," and three papers were given: "New England Occasional Discourse, 1788-1860," Clarence Mondale, University of Alabama and president of SEASA; "The Rhetoric of Radicalism," Keith E. Melder, Smithsonian Institution; and "Post-Bellum Intellectuals and the Oral Mode," Donald E. Williams, University of Florida. Louis J. Budd, Duke University, was discussant and Peter Dowell, Emory University, chairman.

NCSS-ASA. Still another joint session was held on Nov. 27, this one with the National Council for the Social Studies. Robert J. Cooke, Syracuse University, chaired a session which featured a paper by Marshall W. Fishwick, Wemyss

Foundation, "The Theme of Crisis in American History." Jerome Mushkat, University of Akron, served as recorder.

RMMLA-ASA. The Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association held its annual meeting Oct. 9-10 at Phoenix, with Arizona State University at Tempe playing host. ASA staged a joint session with the group, under the chairmanship of Hamlin Hill, University of New Mexico, which featured three papers: "Irving's 'Rip Van Winkle': Crèvecoeur's American," Richard Erno, Arizona State University; "Melville as Malcontent," Cortland Auser, U. S. A. F. Academy; "William Dean Howells and George Ade," Jack Brenner, University of New Mexico.

JAPAN. The first national conference of Japanese scholars who specialize in American Studies was held in Tokyo Jan. 11-12, 1964, at the International House of Japan. The American Studies Foundation was sponsor. There were fifteen sessions, based upon both single-discipline and interdisciplinary approaches, which ranged from Transcendentalism to American Urbanization in subject matter. A 33-page report, with summaries of all the sessions, is available, and may be obtained by request to the American Studies Foundation, Dai-ichi Seimei Bldg., Yurakucho, Chiyodo-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

HIGH SCHOOL. An Amherst University Committee on the Study of History has received a contract of \$246,226 from the United States Office of Education for a project designed to improve the teaching of American history in high schools and adult education programs. Headed by Van R. Halsey Jr., Amherst, the Committee work will be directed by Richard H. Brown, Northern Illinois University (on leave). The Wemyss Foundation provided close support for this effort over the past two years.

PHILIPPINES. An American Studies Association of the Philippines has grown out of a Special Seminar in American Studies held in Manila during the month of July 1964. Given under the auspices of the USIS, the seminar featured four lectures on modern literature by Grace Nutley, Brooklyn College, seven lectures on the development of the American drama by Wallace Bacon of Northwestern University, two lectures on the development of American music and American literature by Edward Mattos, Cultural Affairs Officer, one lecture on new American writers by Jerome McDonough, USIS. The American Studies Association of the Philippines, formed directly out of the conference, has elected the following officers for 1965: Elmer A. Ordonez, University of the Philippines, president; Josephine Serrano, University of Santo Tomas, vice-president; Feliciano A. Reyes,

Centro Escolar University, executive secretary; Lilia O. Alles, Lyceum of the Philippines, treasurer.

S. D. REV. The *South Dakota Review*, vol. 1, number 2 (Autumn 1964), features three papers which were originally presented at a joint session of ASA and the Western History Association, held at Oklahoma City, Oct. 30, 1964. The papers are: "The Western Short Story," J. Golden Taylor, Utah State University; "The Novel in the American West," John R. Milton, State University of South Dakota; "Poetry of the West," Alan Swallow, Denver, Colo. The joint session, under the theme "Three Creative Approaches to the West," was chaired by Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas. The *SDR* volume also contains a 35-page symposium on the western novel, by eight novelists, and an extended bibliography of the western American novel.

MISS. Q. The *Mississippi Quarterly*, Summer 1964, has emerged as a special edition on William Faulkner, under the editorship of James B. Meriwether. The issue features "Faulkner and the Royal Air Force," Gordon Price-Stephens, Loughton, Essex, England; "*As I Lay Dying* and *The Waste Land*—Some Relationships," Mary Jane Dickerson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; and "Early Notices of Faulkner by Phil Stone and Louis Cochran," James B. Meriwether, University of North

Carolina. As usual, free copies of the special issue can be obtained on request to Robert B. Holland, Box 23, State College, Mississippi.

FELLOWSHIPS. The University of Delaware, in cooperation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two or more Hagley Museum Fellowships in April of 1965 for the academic years 1965-67. Recipients of these grants take graduate work in history and related fields at the University of Delaware. In addition, they do Museum Research Training at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. Each stipend is for \$2,000, and is renewable once. Applications should be in by March 5, 1965. For further details write the chairman, History, University of Delaware, Newark, Del. . . . The Winterthur Fellowship Grants for 1965-67 will be awarded in the coming spring, and applications should be filed by Feb. 15, 1965. Five grants of \$2,500 a year for two years will be awarded to fellowship applicants. The program is a two-year graduate course of study in early American arts and cultural history, leading to an M. A. Sponsored by the University of Delaware and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, the program will be more fully described by The Coordinator, Winterthur Program, University of Delaware, Newark, Del.

NDEA. The Office of Education of the U. S. Department of Health,

Education and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C., has distributed a series of fact sheets on changes in the National Defense Education Act fellowship program as it will be administered during the fiscal years 1965-68. Under the several headings of Student Loans, Instruction in Critical Subjects, Graduate Fellowships, Guidance, Counseling and Testing, Language Development and Communications Media, the documents cover most phases of the program, and are available upon request to the Office of Education. The executive secretary's office has a file, and is available for consultation on the various problems posed by this fellowship program.

IN BRIEF. The American Studies Research Program of the Wemyss Foundation has published, through the Washington State University Press, in Pullman, Wash., *Young Man River, A Selected Bibliographical Guide for History-English Oriented American Studies Ph.D. Programs*, compiled by Carol L. Bagley. Mrs. Bagley is the Program Chairman of the American Studies Group at Washington State. . . . The Citadel Press, New York, has just published *No Pie in the Sky, The Hobo as American Culture Hero in the Works of Jack London, John Dos Passos, and Jack Kerouac*, by Frederick Feied, Michigan State University. . . . Joseph H. Schiffman, Dickinson College, has returned from eight months in India,

where he had gone to establish the American Studies Research Center at Hyderabad. . . . On May 14-15, 1965, the Purdue University English Department will sponsor a mid-America Conference on Literature, History, Popular Culture and Folklore. Persons interested in attending should write to Ray B. Browne, English, Purdue. . . . John A. Hague, Stetson University, is editor of *American Character and Culture: Some Twentieth Century Perspectives*, a cross-section anthology of essays dealing with problems in American Studies. . . . Ralph F. de Bedts, Old Dominion College, has just returned from a Fulbright appointment at the University of Hong Kong, where he initiated an American Studies curriculum in the department of history. American Studies programs in both the history and English departments at Hong Kong are going forward under the sponsorship of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils and the Committee on International Exchange of Persons. . . . David Herreshoff has been made acting chairman of the American Studies program at Wayne State University, Detroit, for 1964-65. . . . Hanover College, Ind., played host to a *Perspectives on America* program Nov. 8-14, on the general theme of "Creativity and the Critical Response." Among featured participants were Alfred Kazin, Dore Ashton, Hollis Summers and Thomas Gaydos. The program was chaired by Edward Lueders, Hanover. . . . R. F. L.

AMERICAN CHARACTER AND CULTURE

Some 20th Century Perspectives

Edited by John A. Hague

10 ORIGINAL VIEWS OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

MARSHALL FISHWICK

"Diagnosing the American Dream"

NELSON M. BLAKE

*"How to Learn History from
Literature and the Arts"*

DAVID M. POTTER

*"American Women and the
American Character"*

MORRELL HEALD

"Technology in American Culture"

ALBERT E. STONE

*"Henry James and Childhood:
'The Turn of the Screw' "*

GERALD E. CRITOPH

"The Contending Americas"

STOW PERSONS

*"Public Opinion—A Democratic
Dilemma"*

MURRAY MURPHEY

*"Culture, Character, and
Personality"*

ROBERT S. CHAUVIN

"The South and the New Frontier"

JOHN A. HAGUE

*"The Romantic Heritage and the
American Character"*

*"Exciting, provocative, and very
significant—an important book."*

JOHN A. HALL
Associate Professor
University of Miami

PAPER — 2.95

CLOTH — 5.50

EVERETT EDWARDS
133 S. Pecan Ave.
DeLand, Florida

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

REGIONAL SOCIETIES

- CHESAPEAKE CHAPTER OF ASA (Maryland-District of Columbia-Virginia). Robert H. Walker, Jr., George Washington University, Washington, D. C., President. Francis S. Grubar, University of Maryland, College Park, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE. Robert Crawford, East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, President. Robert White, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI. Darwin H. Shrell, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, President. John Pilkington, Jr., University of Mississippi, University, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK. William D. Gettel, The City College of New York, President. Sidney Ditzion, The City College of New York, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF MICHIGAN. Edward Lurie, Wayne State University, Detroit, President. Don Hausdorff, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Secretary-Treasurer.
- MIDCONTINENT ASA. John Q. Reed, Kansas State College of Pittsburg, President. Jerzy Hauptmann, Park College, Parkville, Mo., Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES. Marshall W. Fishwick, Wemyss Foundation, 200 West Ninth St., Wilmington, Del., President. George P. Winston, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., Secretary. Charles Bohner, University of Delaware, Treasurer.
- AMERICAN STUDIES GROUP, MINNESOTA AND THE DAKOTAS. Margaret Boddy, Winona State College, Winona, Minn., President. David Cooperman, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Secretary-Treasurer.
- NEW ENGLAND ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN STUDIES. John Betts, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass., President. Anne V. Schlabach, Bennington College, Bennington, Vt., Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF NEW YORK STATE. Kendall Birr, State University of New York, Albany, President. Eric Brunger, State University College, Buffalo, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. Reynold Wik, Mills College, Oakland, President. Elizabeth Bock, 3917-A, California St., San Francisco, Secretary-Treasurer.
- OHIO-INDIANA CHAPTER OF ASA. Kenneth E. Davison, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio, President. Walter Fertig, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind., Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST. Roger B. Stein, University of Washington, Seattle, President. Bruce LeRoy, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ROCKY MOUNTAIN ASA. Stuart B. James, University of Denver, Colo., President. B. June West, Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, Secretary-Treasurer.
- SOUTHEASTERN ASA. Clarence Mondale, University of Alabama, University, President. Gerald E. Critoph, Stetson University, DeLand, Fla., Secretary-Treasurer.
- SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER OF ASA. William John Niven Jr., Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, President. Charles R. Metzger, UCLA, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF TEXAS. John Q. Anderson, Texas A. & M. University, College Station, President. Charles W. Hagelman Jr., Lamar State College, Beaumont, Secretary-Treasurer.
- ASA OF WISCONSIN AND NORTHERN ILLINOIS. G. Thomas Tanselle, University of Wisconsin, Madison, President. Claude William LaSalle II, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis., Secretary-Treasurer.



THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

Volume III: 1833-1839

Volume IV: 1840-1844

Edited by JAMES FRANKLIN BEARD

Continuing the publication of the full texts of all the known and available letters and journals of Cooper, these volumes cover some of the most difficult periods of his life, and further illuminate the development of his complex and often contradictory personality. *A Belknap Press Book.* \$25.00 the set

CALLED UNTO LIBERTY

A Life of Jonathan Mayhew, 1720-1766

By CHARLES W. AKERS

This first modern biography of Mayhew, the boldest and most articulate of those colonial preachers who taught that resistance to tyranny was a Christian duty as well as a human right, adds a new dimension to our understanding of the religious background of the American Revolution. \$6.50

THE DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS OF MASSACHUSETTS

Politics in a Young Republic

By PAUL GOODMAN

Foreword by OSCAR HANDLIN

Exploring the origins and development of the first political parties in the post-Revolutionary period, Mr. Goodman sheds new light on the entire process of party development in America. *Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America.* \$6.95

INDIVIDUALISM AND NATIONALISM IN AMERICAN IDEOLOGY

By YEHOASHUA ARIELI

The first systematic attempt to analyze the form and dynamics of the dominant types of national identification during the formative period of American history (1776-1865), based on a new general theory of modern ideologies and the structure of nationalism. *Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America.* \$9.95

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

30 JAN 1985